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OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

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THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

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CRONIQUES ET ANCHIENNES ISTORIES DE LA GRANT BRETAIGNE, A PRESENT NOMME ENGLETERRE.

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RECUEIL

DES

CRONIQUES ET ANCHIENNES ISTORIES DE LA GRANT BRETAIGNE, A PRESENT NOMME ENGLETERRE,

PAR

JEHAN DE WAURIN,
SEIGNEUR DU FORESTEL.

EDITED

BY

Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A.,
CLERK OF THE RECORDS OF H.M. DUCHY OF LANCASTER.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

V. I

FROM ALBINA TO A.D. 688.

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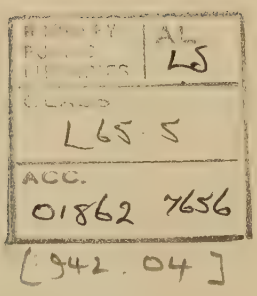

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INTRODUCTION.

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INTRODUCTION.

In viewing the ancient memorials, written and traditionary, preserved to us, of the infancy of a country, how slight must be the line that should be drawn between history and romance. We are apt to lose sight of the dignity of the former when under the temporary fascination of the latter; but where fiction and fact are so blended that truth becomes obscured by inventions of fancy, the work which presents such alternations loses much of its utility, though it may gain something in interest and amusement. If history have its romance, as who can deny, yet genuine history always suffers when disguised by or intermingled with incidents of fable. The conviction of this presses with peculiar force on the mind of the editor of an ancient chronicle, particularly of one of that class at the head of which stands confessedly the noble chronicle of John Froissart. The character of the work now for the first time to be edited rather partakes of that class than of the more rigid and graver chronicle of purely English origin. Not that the province of an editor is either to pronounce judgment upon the history, or to reject the romance as fictitious: his duty simply is to allow his author to speak in the language he intended, pure from the corruptions of his transcribers, but without alteration of the text or emendation of style and expression.

Character of the English chronicles.

England has little cause, less perhaps than almost any other country, to complain of the dearth of annals of her history: and when we look at the ample field of

Character of the English chronicles.

English chroniclers, and contemplate with some degree of satisfaction the result of their important labours, disposed though we may be to acknowledge with thankfulness the fruit of the following implied censure, yet we cannot accept as true, without qualification, the observation attributed to an Artois noble in the fifteenth century, which was, it appears, the cause of the work now in course of publication being compiled. The author, in the prologue to his work, thus addresses his nephew and patron, Monseigneur Waleran, lord of Wavrin, Lillers, Malannoy, and Saint Venant: —"Forasmuch as after your late return from Constantinople, whither you had been commissioned and sent as captain-general of several galleys and armed vessels, furnished with numerous men-at-arms and archers, by the appointment of the most high, excellent, and powerful prince Philip, duke of Burgundy, Brabant, and Limburg, count of Flanders, Artois, and Burgundy, &c., into the seas of the Levant and of Greece, to oppose and resist the enterprises of the Turkish infidels, you were pleased often to converse with me concerning many beautiful and ancient histories, among which you spoke of that noble and ancient kingdom of Great Britain, formerly called the island of Albion, and at present England, where there have been very high, excellent, and powerful kings and princes, by whom that noble kingdom has been energetically governed even to this day, and which has also been always well furnished with noble knights, who have in their day undertaken and accomplished many lofty enterprises through their great prowess, concerning which, as you conversed with me, you could not enough marvel how that *no clerks of that kingdom had come forward to write the lives and deeds of these kings and princes, except only in some little books concerning each king apart.*"

The imputation is on first view startling, but it is perhaps not entirely without foundation. Our own country, if we except Higden's *Polychronicon*, had not at that time furnished anything towards a general collection of English chronicles, at all similar in comprehensiveness of design, or difficulty in its completion, to the collection of ancient chronicles undertaken by John Bastard of Wavrin. It was bold for a stranger to our land to have been the first not only to point out but to make an attempt to supply the want, in a collected form, of the then existing materials for English history. Character of the English chronicles.

Froissart, before Wavrin, had written a chronicle in which English affairs bore a prominent part, but the period was limited to that of the author's own time, and his work did not involve research for ancient memorials and the investigation of the written annals of a country of which he was not a native. Froissart.

France in our own time has not been remiss in acknowledging the merit of Wavrin's compilation, and if not the first to originate the design of publishing it, she has been yet more alert in bringing to light the valuable contents of our author's pages. The editor selected by the Council of the French Historical Society has proved herself thoroughly competent to the task; and if the delay which has occurred in the production of the present volume has been attended with any inconvenience, this will be more than compensated by the advantages which the editor of the future volumes will derive from the recent French edition.[1] Wavrin's merit appreciated in France.

The territory of the good duke of Burgundy, for reasons which may very readily suggest themselves, was fertile in historiographers. Among the writers of eminence distinguished in that branch of literature, who were born in Artois, Picardy, or Flanders towards Series of Picard and Flemish writers contemporary with Wavrin.

[1] Anchiennes cronicques D'Engleterre par Jehan de Wavrin,—choix de chapitres inédits annotés et publiés pour la Société de l'Histoire de France, par M^lle^ Dupont. 3 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1863.

Series of Picard and Flemish writers contemporary with Wavrin.

the close of the fourteenth century, and who by their memoirs or chronicles have contributed so large a share of that information which we possess relating to the important occurrences which took place in the two great kingdoms of France and England during the progress of the succeeding century, the name of John de Wavrin, seigneur du Forestel, must stand conspicuous. If hitherto his labours have been neglected, it is not for want of merit and originality; the apparent truthfulness and impartiality of his narrative, the opportunities he had of access to authentic memorials or oral testimony, and the copious details he has given of the many stirring events of the times in which he lived, and in not a few of which he took in some sort an active part, might well entitle his extensive labours to have taken long ere this a place by the side of the printed volumes of his fellow countrymen and contemporaries. The works of Monstrelet, Lefévre de Saint-Remy, Olivier de la Marche, Chastellain, and Jacques du Clercq have been long known and rendered popular through the press, their authority cited by modern historians, and their value and importance appreciated by being known; whilst the obscurity in which our chronicler has been hitherto concealed, can only be accounted for by the repugnance felt on the part of individuals or societies to undertake the publication of any single chronicle of such volume and magnitude, and the yet greater objection which must always be entertained to mutilate a grand work by printing portions of it only upon a selection however honestly and judiciously effected.

The valuable class of chronicles for which we are mainly indebted to the encouraging patronage of Philip duke of Burgundy and his son Charles the Bold,[1]

[1] Monstrelet, according to the best authority, was a native of Picardy. His Chronicle begins in 1400, and reaches only to 1444. As he died in July 1453 (shortly before the completion of Wavrin's first edition of his collection of chronicles) it is just possible that Wavrin may have

is not the less deserving of our consideration, because many of the incidents, and in some instances a great portion of the narrative, were grounded upon and derived probably from an identical source, or borrowed perhaps from personal intercourse by mutual interchange of memories and friendly relation of individual experience, and thus may have to a great extent the appearance of being mere plagiarsims, one of the other, or even of being surreptitious copies and appropriation of one another's labours: although this can scarcely be credited under the circumstances of these publications respectively. On the contrary, should they not the rather be regarded as independent witnesses, corroborating each other's testimony so far as personal knowledge or authentic communication from eye witnesses, or others who would be likely to be well informed, could enable them to register the various occurrences of their time? Characteristic reflections and idiosyncrasies in observation and remark are rarely met with in chroniclers of that age; and such alone would betray an absolute appropriation and unacknowledged assumption of the originality and credit due to a contemporary and fellow labourer in the same field.[1]

Series of Picard and Flemish writers contemporary with Wavrin.

derived some information, assistance, or advice personally from him in connection with the last thirteen years of his, Wavrin's, first issue, viz., from 1400 to 1413. Wavrin refers once only to Monstrelet by name (Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. vi. lib. 4, c. 33). Nevertheless, for the period included as well in his first issue, as for the period embraced by his second publication, after Monstrelet's death, viz., to the year 1443, which is comprised in Wavrin's fifth volume, either the chronicle of Monstrelet or some other more copious authority, common alike to Wavrin and Monstrelet, appears to have supplied the material for Wavrin's work. The "Chronicles of France" are expressly cited more than once by Wavrin (Vol. iv. lib. 6. cc. 19 and 29), but there can be but little doubt that Monstrelet's Chronicle was also available to him.

[1] Unlike the old chroniclers, such as Matthew Paris and others of that class, who, instead of each taking up the history where his predecessor had left it, imported his predecessor's labours bodily into his own work, and thus the original chronicle, as well as the continuation, acquired and passed under the name of the last continuator.

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These writers were all contemporaries, born in the same province or in adjoining countries, and probably well known to and acquainted with each other, retainers of the same illustrious family, that of the duke of Burgundy, and filling, in his household or in his son's, the important offices of chamberlain, councillor, or the like; and they not improbably continued on terms of intimacy and friendship, or at least enjoyed occasional interviews, during the progress of their literary labour, and on to its close. Plagiarisms therefore, such as would be implied by a charge of borrowing a contemporary's narrative or relation, could not fail of being at once detected and exposed. We know indeed, from their own testimony respectively, that the seigneurs of Forestel and of St. Remy were well known to each other [1] after they were both somewhat advanced in years; and perhaps whilst they were enjoying the competence which their previous services in the field, or in the exercise of official duties, had enabled them to acquire, after they had relinquished the more engrossing pursuits of their youth and the exciting turmoils of a soldier's life. Then, probably contemplating a history of their own times [2] and experiences, they may have been in the frequent habit of freshening each other's reminiscences and imparting one to the other a knowledge of those facts which had been within their own immediate observation when in former days, the one as a soldier and the other as a pursuivant at arms, they had been engaged upon the same scene

[1] Wavrin mentions St. Remy under the name of "Thoison d'or" (A.D. 1436). Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v., lib. 5, c. 36. They were both in England in 1467, and present together at the tournament between the Bastard of Burgundy and the Lord De Scales. (Lansd. MSS. No. 285.)

[2] In 1455 Wavrin had already published a collection of ancient chronicles carried nearly down to the period when he may be said to have entered himself on the busy scene of life, namely, to the coronation of King Henry the Fifth in 1413.

of action, sharing in the same dangers, though on hostile sides, and probably inspired with conflicting hopes and wishes for the final success of the enterprise; and though both were present during the engagement, yet being each on opposite sides, each had the opportunity of witnessing only the movements and occurrences on his own side of the two contending armies.

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We have adverted to the circumstances under which the original design of preparing this compilation was first suggested to our author. From slight casual observations only,—rather in the nature of a personal comment, such as "*moy, acteur de cet histoire, estoie avec* "*la compagnie,*" interpersed throughout the work,—can be gleaned the few particulars afforded us relative to the author's own profession, the circumstances under which he composed his chronicle, and the persons from whom he derived his information. These instances, gathered from the MS. itself, will be cited in their order of date, and by their aid a test is furnished of the authenticity of the statements and what reliance should be accorded to them. But before doing this, the editor must express his unfeigned regret that so long a time, since the first announcement of its publication in the series of "The Chronicles and Memorials of Great "Britain," should have been allowed to pass without redeeming the pledge to the public implied in the printed circular of the works in progress. The task of editing it, confided to the writer of this notice, has not however been neglected, although the time has passed apparently without result.[1]

Wavrin has supplied us with nearly all we know of his life.

[1] Conditions which it is unnecessary to state here rendered it expedient that an entire transcript of the Chronicle should be completed with dispatch, and through the courtesy of the officers under whose charge are placed the MSS. in the Imperial Library at Paris, and owing to the facilities obtained from the friendly assistance of M. Claude, the valued principal of the MS. department, the whole work has been transcribed, and is now ready to be prepared for press.

First instalment of the work hitherto inedited.

The volume now printed comprises the first portion of the work described as "a collection of the chro- "nicles and ancient histories of Great Britain, now "called England, by John de Wavrin, lord of Forestel." The entire work embraces a period from the first fabled settlement in Britain to the author's own times; namely, to the expedition undertaken by King Edward IV. against the Bastard of Falconbridge, after the defeat and death of the prince of Wales and Queen Margaret at Tewkesbury in the year 1471. The text of the present volume concludes with the cessation of rule of the Britons, and their final expulsion into Wales by the Saxons, after the death of Cadwalader in the year 688.

The copy in the Imperial library.

The volume is printed from a manuscript of the fifteenth century preserved in the imperial library at Paris, and believed to be the only complete and nearly contemporary copy of Wavrin's entire work now in existence.[1] This Chronicle was not unknown to English antiquarians, whose attention was invited to it so long ago as the beginning of the last century.[2]

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[1] This beautiful copy is in twelve volumes, folio maximo, vellum, bound in red morocco, and is illustrated with exquisite miniatures, vignettes and initial letters. It was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, having been expressly executed for Louis de Bruges, seigneur de la Gruthuyse and earl of Winchester, from whose cabinet it passed into the library of Louis XII. at Blois. The arms of the seigneur de la Gruthuyse, with his motto *plus est en vous*, were conspicuous throughout these volumes, though now covered by the shield of France. The work was originally comprised in six volumes, but these have since been rebound in twelve volumes, as in their actual condition in the Imperial library, under the designation f. fr. 74–85 (olim anc. f. fr. 6748–6759). Upon the death of Louis XII. this copy, with the rest of the king of France's library at Blois, passed to his successor Francis the First. In the Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de François I. à Blois in 1518, ed. H. Michelant, 8vo., Paris, 1863, it is described, No. 23, "Chroniques "d'Angleterre" (en six volumes), and the editor in a note, p. 11, says, "cette chronique est sans aucun "doute celle de Jean Wavrin."

[2] In the Bodleian library there is preserved a letter written to Carte, the historian, on the subject of publishing Wavrin.

M. Paulin Paris, the eminent academician, in his valuable description of the manuscripts in the imperial library[1] at Paris, speaks of this work as having to the time when he wrote escaped the notice of the learned. He says, "Les Chroniques d'Angleterre ont, jusqu'à "présent, échappé à la curiosité des savants et des "antiquaires. Je ne crois pas que les bibliothèques de "l'Angleterre en possèdent un seul exemplaire, et le "nom de leur auteur n'est pas même indiqué dans les "nombreux arbres généalogiques qui nous restent de "la famille de Wavrin."[2]

The copy in the Imperial library.

Like his more widely known contemporary, Enguerrand de Monstrelet, Wavrin was born of a noble and ancient family, but a blot was equally on the escutcheon of both. As regards our author, he tells us this fact in a manner clearly indicating how little he viewed such a circumstance as reflecting discredit upon his name, and perhaps few will be found at this day to esteem him the less on that account. At the period in which he lived, moreover, it is well known that bastards assumed a position according to the rank and station of their fathers. Wavrin was no exception to the rule. He thus describes himself:—"I, John de "Wavrin, knight, lord of Forestel, illegitimate[3] son of "your grandfather, Monseigneur Robert de Wavrin,

Particulars of the author's life.

[1] Les Manuscrits François de la Bibliothèque du Roy. Paris, 1836. Vol. i., p. 86.

[2] This is quite true with respect to the public libraries of England, which, it is believed, do not possess an entire copy of Wavrin's Chronicle; but portions of the work do certainly exist in the British Museum and the Bodleian libraries and perhaps others more or less complete may still be found in some of the private libraries in this kingdom.

[3] If the charter printed in the Appendix of documents No. I., from the original in the Archives of the Empire (Section Historique, JJ. 178, No. 250) can with certainty be referred to our author rather than to a member of some other knightly family of the same name, we may infer that there were legal impediments attending Wavrin's birth, which, so far as they could be taken away by royal diploma, he was desirous to have removed. There would seem, however, to be objec-

Particulars of the author's life.

" formerly knight, and lord of the lands and seignories " of Wavrin, Lillers, and Malannoy." In the general prologue to his work, which he dedicates to his nephew, Waleran, lord of Lillers, Malannoy, and Saint Venant, he intimates that he was then no longer in the prime of life,—" feeling within me that old age is approach- " ing, and that I can no longer follow the profession " of arms, nor prosecute long voyages, as I did afore- " time with you, and in the company of many other " princes and knights, which now, through the good " pleasure of our Lord God, I have quitted without " blame or reproach."

His lineage.

Our author belonged to a family of heroes. It is remarkable, however, that his name is not mentioned in any of the genealogical tables preserved of the house of de Wavrin in the elaborate work of Father Anselme.[1] Two bastards are named in the genealogy of the family, but the pedigrees are wholly silent as to Jean de Wavrin. Now, although he was the illegitimate son of Robert, lord of Wavrin, he was clearly acknowledged according to the custom of the time by the rest of the family. Educated, no doubt, with the care, and trained up with all the chivalrous bearing befitting a member of a patrician family of

tions to this presumption which appear to militate against its acceptance. The date of the Charter, 25th October 1447, is some years antecedent to the date to which we must refer the composition of Wavrin's prologue, wherein he continues to style himself *illegitimate*; and the spelling of the name "*Wavrain*" in the charter, though not alone of much weight, is strengthened by the simple designation of Robert, the father of John, "*quondam militis.*" The seigneur de Wavrin and de Lillers would not, perhaps, be adequately described so at that time in France, where seignoral titles were much more regarded than in England; on the other hand we must observe that the "*quondam miles*" of the charter corresponds well enough with the "*jadis chevalier*" of Wavrin's own description of his father Robert de Wavrin, and the bastard's own name is variously spelt, and on one occasion it is written "Weavrains." See note, p. xxvi.

[2] Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France, par le P. Anselme. 9 vols. fol. Paris, 1730.

France, the cradle of chivalry and the land of noble deeds and high exploits, he naturally embraced the profession of arms, in which so many of his ancestors had earned distinction, and who are mentioned with honour in the ancient French chronicles. In successive generations we find them in the same path of glory; they had graced by their presence or dyed with their blood the fields of Acres, Bouvines, Poitiers, Rosebeck, Liege, and Azincourt.[1] His lineage.

Thierri, sire de Wavrin, the first named in the authentic memorials of this house, filled the office of grand seneschal of Flanders in 1066, which office he transmitted to his descendants. Among the more illustrious of these may be noticed Robert de Wavrin, sire de Saint Venant, a marshal of France, who served with honour in Flanders in 1325, and having fought

[1] In 1093, Robert de Wavrin, brother of Hellin, seneschal of Flanders, on his way back from Palestine, being in Italy, heard of the death of Robert le Frison, count of Flanders. (Croniques et Annalles de Haynnau. Vol. 3, cap 52, fol. 56, col. 1, par J. de Guyse, Paris, Galliot du Pre, 1531–1532.) Hellin was killed at the siege of Acres in 1169.

Wavrin, seneschal of Flanders, was made prisoner at Bouvines with his three sons. (Chronique Anon. de Flandres par D. Sauvage, Lyon, fol., 1561–2, c. 15, p. 37.

Robert de Wavrin, sire de Saint Venant, was present at the battle of Poitiers in 1356. (Chronicques d'Engleterre, vol. ii, lib. 3, c. 15.)

Le sire de Wavrin, banneret, was killed at the battle of Rosebeck in 1382. (Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. iii., lib. 3, c. 8.) Cf. Froissart, liv. ii., c. 197, vol. ii., p. 250 (ed. Buchon, 3 vols. 8vo, 1837.)

Robert de Wavrin was present at the battle of Liege in 1408. (La Barre, Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France et de Bourgoigne, Paris, 1729, ii. 121.) Among the names of the nobles who were slain on the side of the French at Azincourt, occur "le seigneur de "Vavrin et son fils." (Monstrelet, vol. i., c. 148, p. 230 r°, fol., Paris, 1595.)

Philip de Wavrin, seigneur de St. Venant, great nephew of Wavrin, was present at the battle of Mont l'Héry (Mem. de Jean de Haynin, pp. 14–32). His wife was Isabella de Croy; ob. 1500, s.p. He granted his estates to his brother-in-law Charles de Croy, prince de Chymay. Wavrin's seignory was given in marriage to the second daughter of the princess de Chymay, who carried it to the comte de Lalain. (Bib. Imp., Cabinet du Saint Esprit.)

His lineage.

bravely in various actions against the English, died about the year 1360. Before the battle of Poitiers, King John of France committed his son Charles to the care of three lords, one of whom was Robert, sire de Saint Venant, as we are assured by Wavrin; and he also names Robert, sire de Saint Venant, as being one of the lords sent to England as hostages for the French king.[1]

Peter, lord of Wavrin and of Lillers, the great grandfather of Wavrin, was killed at the battle of Rosebeck, on Thursday, 27th November 1382.

Robert, the father of Wavrin, son of another Robert sire de Wavrin and de Lillers, by Margaret, natural daughter of Louis III., count of Flanders, who died in 1384, was hereditary grand seneschal of Flanders; he had been appointed chamberlain and one of the councillors to John the fearless, Duke of Burgundy. He was married to Jeanne, daughter of John de Gaucourt, Lord of Maisons-sur-Seine, by whom he had only two legitimate children, Robert, who fell with him on the field of Azincourt in 1415, and Beatrice, who became the heiress of the family honours and estates. These passed on the marriage of Beatrice to Gilles, lord of Berlettes,[2] one of the conditions of this alliance being that the husband of Beatrice should take the name and arms of Wavrin. From this marriage descended Waleran, seigneur de Wavrin, de Lillers, Malannoy, and Saint Venant,[3] the nephew and friend of our author, to whom he dedicated his work, and on whose suggestion, indeed, it was compiled as we have before stated.

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[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. ii., lib. 3, c. 15, and lib. 4, c. 13.

[2] Anselme, vi., 703.

[3] Walerand was still living 13th June 1469. (Arch. Imp., *Section Judiciaire*, Jugés, reg. 100, fol. 240vo.) After his death his son Philip sold the patrimony to Charles de Croy, first prince of Chimay, in whose family the estates continued, with the exception of the seignory of Wavrin, which passed to the family of Lalain by the marriage of Marguerite de Croy with Charles, count of Lalain. (Anselme, vi. 703.

We have nowhere any distinct indication of the time when Wavrin was born, but we may, from such materials as we possess, safely assume that it was towards the close of the fourteenth century. Robert, his younger brother, as we may naturally infer from the circumstances, was yet a very young man when he was at Azincourt. The "bastard of Wavrin," we may also presume, was born before the seigneur de Wavrin's marriage with Jeanne de Gaucourt. Supposing that Robert was under 20 years of age when he was slain, and taking into consideration that in 1455 Wavrin, as he himself tells us, was advanced in life (he had probably then passed his 60th year), we cannot greatly err in placing his birth somewhere about the year 1394, and that of his legitimate brother about two or three years later. Robert had been only six weeks before the battle married to Jeanne de Crequy, daughter of John, the fourth of that name, sire de Crequy and de Fressin.[1] Period of his birth.

As we have no precise information of the period of Wavrin's birth, so are we reduced to the necessity also of hazarding a conjecture as to the exact period of the termination of his life. His chronicle, as it is at present known to us, concludes somewhat abruptly at the end of chapter thirty-two, with Edward's letter to the men of Bruges, dated the 29th of May 1471; but the relation of the taking, by the king of Portugal, of the city of Azille, in Africa, by assault on the 24th August 1471, is given by Wavrin, in chapter twenty-

[2] Jeanne de Crequy was the sixth child of the marriage of the sire de Crequy with Jeanne de Roye, which took place in April 1395. After the death of Robert, in 1415, his widow formed a second alliance with Guillaume Lalain, seigneur de Buignicourt, and was still living in 1496. (Anselme, viii. 369.) Now if we assume the young bride to have been a few years only younger than her husband, we may approximate the probable date of Robert's birth, and so too of Wavrin's, upon the presumption that the "bastard" was born some time antecedent to his father's marriage.

four.[1] The portion of this narrative which follows from cap. 24 is based upon, and as regards the principal portion is closely translated from a contemporary English narrative of "the arrivall of Edward IV. in "England, and the finall recouerye of his kingdomes "from Henry VI., A.D. Mcccc.lxxj.;"[2] from circumstances which will hereafter be more fully canvassed in these observations it is conjectured that Wavrin wrote two accounts of the progress of King Edward the Fourth in recovering his crown; one immediately upon the news of Edward's victories reaching the court of the duke of Burgundy, and the second after he had become acquainted with the English narrative. The earlier relation appeared in the first edition of his sixth and last volume; the subsequent account was intended to take the place of the former in the revised edition, the materials for which he was preparing when overtaken by death He did not probably survive very long the period of Edward's recovery of the crown of England. Assuming the time of his birth to be satisfactorily referred to about the year 1394, he may be said to have died an octogenarian in or about 1474.

Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account. His military life.

The career of a military profession, peculiarly open to Wavrin, offered at the same time an ample opportunity of earning for himself distinction in an honourable pursuit, and afforded the best means of effacing any cloud by which the stain affecting his birth might be deemed to shade him. It was the one he would be most likely, from all the circumstances, to make choice of; accordingly, the first time we hear of him is in the very midst of those dangers to which a soldier's life is necessarily exposed, and in which the soldier, of that period at least, would always feel himself most at home. We are not therefore surprised to

[1] Vol. vi., lib. 6, cap. 24.

[2] Edited by John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A., for the Camden Society London, 1838.

find him fighting side by side with his father and brother in defence of his sovereign on that memorable day and in that action where both father and son so gloriously perished, together with nearly all the flower of the chivalry of France. Wavrin was destined to survive; and having continued for yet many years longer the military career in which he had embarked, finding at length the infirmities of age growing upon him, as he himself tells us, he abandoned the arduous and unsettled life of a soldier for repose and study; and it was reserved for him to achieve no less distinction in the safer and more tranquil field of literature.

Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account. His military life.

Wavrin's first entrance then upon life, so to speak, was at Azincourt. His father and brother, we have seen, fell on that field. How replete with interest are the few words in which he announces the fact of his having been there—some forty years after the event, during which time he must have witnessed many a scene of blood, insufficient still to efface from his memory the horrors of that day—"*ou a ce jour* "*jestoye.*" Is there not something of almost conscious pride in that simple announcement?—"I too was "there on that day." Wavrin had since fought on the side of England. He must have often heard from his English companions the honour in which all were held who fell or fought on St. Crispin's day. True he was on the less fortunate side at Azincourt, and there his father and brother were both among the slain; but though the French were not the victors on that day, all who were engaged won renown. Well may the persuasion be cherished even at this day by a claimant of such distinction, that his ancestor was present at Azincourt. Jean Lefevre, seigneur de Saint-Remy, who was *Toison d'Or*, king at arms, to the duke of Burgundy, tells us that Philip, then count de Charollois, actually shed tears of dissatisfaction at being forced to absent himself from the dangers and honours of that

Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account. His military life.

field. He was scarcely nineteen years old, and yet the memory and regret never forsook the good old duke, and at the age of sixty-seven he would still recur to that disappointment of his youth. "Et comme je fus depuis "informe," writes Saint-Remy,—"pour la desplaisance "qu'il en eut, se retrayt tout pleurant en sa chambre;"—and again, "Et ce nonobstant, jay ouy dire au conte "de Charallois depuis qu'il avoit atteint l'âge de soixante "sept ans qu'il estoit desplaisant de ce qu'il n'avoit eu "la fortune d'avoir esté à la dite bataille, fust pour la "mort fust pour la vie."[1]

The fact of Wavrin's presence at Azincourt is not alone attested by his own assertion. Saint-Remy, then only pursuivant-at-arms, and apparently engaged on the English side, has preserved an interesting record of that disastrous fight. Speaking of the condition of the French camp on the night before the battle (Thursday, 24th October 1415), he writes—"Now although "the French numbered fifty thousand men, and had "abundance of chariots and carts, cannon and muskets, "with other accoutrements of war, such as would be "requisite on the occasion, yet had they no instruments "of music to cheer and enliven them, and scarcely on "that night was heard even the neighing of a horse "throughout the whole French army;" and he adds—"je le sai pour vérité, *par Messire Jean, le bastard "de Wavrin, seigneur du Forestel,* car en celle journée "estoit du costé des Franchois, et j'estois de l'autre "costé des Anglois."[2]

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[1] Mémoires de Saint-Remy, cap. 59, edit. Buchon, Paris, 1838, p. 395, col. 1.

[2] "This I know for a truth from "Messire Jean the bastard of Wav-"rin, lord of Forestel, for on that "day he was on the side of the "French, while I was on the other "side with the English."

Wavrin, after giving the list of the names of those who fell on the side of the French at Azincourt, among whom are included "le seig-"neur de Wavrin et son fils," adds —"If I were to give by name and "surname all the barons, knights, "squires, and noble men who died "on this day, I should be putting "too much here, but to come "as near to the truth as possible,

When I come to speak of the different sources of this work, and to point out some of the characteristic differences in the narrative between this and contemporary chronicles, I shall have occasion to recur to the details which these two writers, actual sharers in the business of the fight, although in very different capacities, have left us of the particulars of the engagement which took place on the eventful morning that followed St. Crispin's eve.

Particulars of the author's career derived from his own account. His military life.

The next occasion on which we meet with our chronicler in his character of a soldier is only two years after this decisive field. A great change, however, had taken place in the condition of parties in France, which had a marked influence on Wavrin's future life. He had accompanied the lord of Wavrin to Azincourt upon the summons of the king of France issued to the great lords of Picardy to join the duke of Aquitaine with all their forces. The nobles of Picardy hesitated at first to obey this mandate, by reason of a prior command from the duke of Burgundy; but they afterwards complied.[1] We can readily believe that even at Azincourt

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" I have only named the most " renowned and well known; for " so many noble men and gentle " squires were slain there, that pity " it was; *as I, author of this work,* " *saw with my own eyes;* and with " what I gathered from the officers " of arms and others of the two " armies, I am well acquainted " with the truth of what was done " there, on the English side as well " as the French side. I received " also much information from Mes- " sire Hugh de Lannoy and Gilbert " his brother, which Sir Hugh was " taken prisoner, but he escaped in " the night." (Chron. d'Engle- terre, vol. v., lib. 1, c. 14.)

[1] " Wherefore he (the king) " prayed and commanded all his " subjects, as well of Picardy as of " other parts, to come, diligently to " serve him, in order to drive back " his said adversary, who was en- " deavouring to lay waste and de- " stroy his kingdom, commanding " all that they were to draw towards " his son, the duke of Acquitaine. " These commands were obeyed by " all, and they came in great force, " although Duke John of Burgundy, " because of the feud which he had " then in France against the Orleans " family, by his letters patent, had " commanded the lords of Picardy, " that is to say, the lord of Croy, " the lords of Wavrin, of Fosseux, " of Crequy, of Heuchin, of Brimeu,

Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account. His military life.

the animosities of the prevailing factions, and the ill feeling that existed between the partisans of the houses of Orleans and of Burgundy, contributed not a little to the disasters of the day. Wavrin shows that Henry was greatly influenced by his knowledge of this feeling when he determined on his wanton invasion of the kingdom after the refusal of his exorbitant demands.[1]

The duke of Burgundy at this time, still acting on the persuasion that he was serving the interests of his country in rescuing it from the influence of the Orleanist party, called together in Flanders all the lords who favoured his views and were under his seignory, to serve in the contemplated expedition against Paris, the great seat of the opposing faction. This appeal was quickly responded to, and with this view Philip de Saveuses[2] went to Beauvais, where he made his muster on the 31st August 1417. Wavrin was among the esquires who composed the company of De Saveuses, and his name occurs on the muster roll as "Le bastard "de Weaurians."[3]

"of Maumez, of La Vieville, of "Beaufort, of Inchy, of Noyelle, "of Noefville, and other noble men, "not to depart from their estates "until he called upon them to do "so; notwithstanding which thing "they obeyed the command of the "king." (Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v., lib. 1, c. 6.)

[1] "And King Henry of England, "who was one of the wise princes "of the world, seeing these disor-"ders and civil wars arise among "the French, especially between "Orleans and Burgundy, it seemed "to him that never was the time "better than the present to enter "upon the conquest of France on "account of the great divisions "which he saw there." (Chron. "d'Engleterre, vol. v., lib. 1, c. 4.)

[2] Wavrin bears testimony to the high character of Philip de Saveuses, whose death he records on the 28th of March 1468, at the age of seventy-eight. (Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. vi., lib. 5., c. 34.)

[3] I am indebted for this reference to the researches of Mlle. Dupont. Bibl. Imp. MSS., Fonds de Villevieille, 4e carton, 1358 à 1439, Cabinet des Titres (voir au 6 Septembre), —"Cest la monstre de Philippe de "Saveuse, escuyer, de 79 autres "escuyers avec luy, de 11 hommes "de trait, une trompette et un prestre "venus en sa compagnie pour ser-

The future career of Wavrin was now decided. The interests of the party under whose banner he was destined henceforth to serve, soon brought him in close connection with the English. At Azincourt he had been on the side of the king of France; his position was henceforward to be altered. The mutual jealousies and ill-will existing between the various members of the royal family still raged with unabated violence. The heartless assassination of the duke of Burgundy [1] on the bridge of Montereau, almost in the presence of the Dauphin, but undoubtedly at his instigation, on the 10th September 1419, decided the future policy to be adopted by his son Philip the Good. The desire of avenging his father's murder caused him to embrace thenceforward unreservedly the interests of the English party, and this caused a strange revolution in the king-

Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account. His military life.

" vir monseigneur le duc de Bour-
" gogne au voyage qu'il fait pré-
" sentement de son pays de Flandres
" vers Paris pour le bien du roy,
" de son royaume et de la chose
" publique d'icelluy; receus et passé
" à monstres, commencées à Beau-
" vais le dernier jour d'Aoust l'an
" mil quatre cens et dix-sept."

[1] See the touching account of this assassination in Wavrin, whose narrative differs in many particulars from Monstrelet and Saint Remy (Conf. Monstrelet, vol. i., c. 211, edit. 1595, p. 281, and Saint Remy, cap. 97), and especially in the manifest sympathy of the writer in the fate of the unfortunate prince, and abhorrence of his murderers:—" and when " the news had spread throughout " the realm of France, many a heart " was grieved and angered, and " some said that never had such " a like misfortune happened in " France, nor one of greater dis-" honour to the crown; and that " one day or other the kingdom " would be destroyed for it. On " the other hand, when the king of " England was informed of this, " one day after the occurrence had " taken place,—' Grant dommage' " dist il, ' est du duc de Bourgoigne, " ' il fut bon et leal chevallier et " ' prince dhonneur; mais par sa " ' mort a layde de Dieu et de Saint " ' George sommes au dessus de " ' nostre desir, si aurons malgre " ' tous Francois dame Katherine " ' que tant avons desiree.' Thus, " as you have heard, did the king " of England discourse with his " barons and knights about the death " of Duke John, at which, never-" theless, the English were greatly " rejoiced, for that they considered " their affairs would now be in a " better state." (Chron. d'Engle-terre, vol. v., lib. 1, c. 29.)

Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account. His military life.

dom of France.[1] The duke's vassals and retainers naturally embraced the interests of their lord, and among them the family of the lords of Wavrin was necessarily included. The head of the house at this time was the seigneur de Berlettes, who had married the heiress, Beatrice, only surviving legitimate child of the last lord, slain at Azincourt: the "bastard of "Wavrin" followed the fortunes of his family, and thereupon entered definitively in the service of the duke, whose protection he continued to enjoy to the close of the duke's life; nor was the patronage of the comte de Charolois denied to his father's tried and faithful servant after he had succeeded to the dukedom.

In the year 1420, under Pope Martin V., a fruitless crusade was set on foot against the Hussites. The leaders were the count Louis du Rhin and several other great lords of Upper Germany and the adjacent parts, accompanied by the archbishops of Cologne and Treves and the bishop of Liege. Wavrin, whose narrative of this expedition is altogether fuller than that of either Monstrelet or Saint Remy, was present with the army, as he himself tells us—"*and I, author of this* "*work, was with this army, with the Savoyards, whose* "*commander was the Lord of Aix,* and with him the "lord of Varembon, &c.;" and again, "and truly as "many notable persons have recounted, *and also ac-* "*cording to what I myself could see and discover.*"[2]

After the famous treaty of Troyes in 1420, and on to the 21st of September in the year 1435, when the treaty of Arras was signed by Duke Philip and Charles VII. of France, and peace finally established between

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[1] In after years it is said that when, on some occasion at Dijon, a Carthusian pointed out to Francis I. the body of the murdered prince, the monarch asked how came that hole, the monk replied, "C'est par "là que les Anglois sont entrés "en France." L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, xi. 81, Paris, 8vo, 1818.

[2] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v., lib. 2, c. 2.

the Burgundians and the French,[1] Wavrin was constantly employed with or in the service of the English.

Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account His military life.

In the beginning of July, in the year 1423, an expedition, at the head of which was the constable of Scotland, prepared to cross the Loire and besiege the town of Cravant held by the Burgundian party. The nobles of the country in the service of the duke of Burgundy were ordered to assemble their men and march to the relief of the town. Wavrin was present during the whole of this expedition, and at the battle of Cravant, where the English and Burgundian forces entirely defeated the French and Scotch.[2]

"Soon after this battle of Cravant, the earl of Suffolk "advanced to besiege the Castle of Coussy, which sur- "rendered to him some days after; and thence he "marched into the country of the Mâconnois, where "he brought to the subjection of King Henry of France "and England several fortresses which the French held "there for the king; in which expedition, *I, author "of this work, was during the whole time,*" &c.[3]

Again in 1424, he was at the siege of Ivry, serving under the earl of Salisbury, and he was present also at the surrender of the castle to the duke of Bedford.

"[4] Here the duke rested the whole of the day of Our "Lady, in honour of the glorious Virgin, and on the "morrow, after drinking a cup, he took his departure "from the town of Evreux, and forced the march until "he had passed the woods round Ivry." . . . .

"[5] In this journey the duke of Bedford rode before "his troops, being dressed in a robe of blue velvet, "on which was a large white cross, and over this

[1] Monstrelet, vol. ii., edit. 1595, p. 112.

[2] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v., lib. 3, cc. 13–16.

[3] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v., lib. 3, c. 17. For the "names of the "principal Englishmen present, "and the French and Scotch slain "and taken prisoners at the battle "of Cravant," see Harl. MS. 782, f. 51.

[4] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v., lib. 3, c. 28.

[5] Ibid.

Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account, His military life.

" was a vermilion cross ; and *I, author of this work,* " who was then in the company of the earl of Salisbury " during the journey, asked certain Englishmen the " reason why the duke of Bedford bore the white cross, " and the answer was that it was because of the two " kingdoms, and that it appertained to the duke of " Bedford alone as regent, and to no other, to wear " it, for that he represented the person of the king " of France and England, and these two crosses were " significant of the two kingdoms." . . . . .

" [1] The duke of Bedford that night encamped before " Ivry in expectation that the battle would take place " the next day ; so he established good watches through- " out the army, and sent out scouts for fear of a surprise, " a necessary precaution, and one usual with all good " generals to take in war. This night passed, and the " morrow came, which was the day for the surrender " of the place to the obedience of the king of France " and England." At the hour named for the surrender, the captain, Gerard de Paillieres, came forward and presented to the duke the keys of the castle, telling him that he was compelled to surrender as the assistance promised from certain nobles had not arrived.

The duke then returned the hostages given for the surrender of the castle of Ivry, and took possession of it, Upon intelligence received through the earl of Suffolk, that the French were in force before Verneuil, and learning the partial success of a stratagem on the part of the French under the duke of Alençon, the regent commanded the army to march on to Verneuil, having sent the earl of Suffolk forward with a force to clear the country from ambush. Wavrin accompanied the English to Verneuil, and was present at the famous battle fought there on Thursday, the 17th August, in the same year.

[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v., lib. 3, c. 28.

Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account. His military life.

"[1] The army set out from the town of Evreux, and "took its march to the woods, keeping the straight road "towards Verneuil, on Wednesday, the 16th day of Au- "gust, and on the march the duke exhorted his officers "and captains to act bravely, for they were going to "fight in a just and loyal cause," . . . "On the "morrow, when the proper hour came, the duke of "Bedford, regent, set out on his march in right good "order, and rode on until he had passed the woods "near Verneuil; and when he found himself on the "plain, he perceived the town, and the whole force of "the French ranged in order of battle, which was a "very splendid sight; for, without fail, *I, author of "this work*, had never seen a finer company, nor one "where there was more nobility than was there, or "better ordered, or showing greater likelihood or will "for fighting. I saw the assembly at Azincourt, where "there were many princes and men, and also that at "Cravant, which was a very grand affair, but certainly "that of Verneuil was the most redoubtable and the "best fought of all."

"[2] The battle commenced with great fury on both "sides ('laquelle bataille fut par ung joedy xviij^{e} jour "' (xvij^{e}?) dAoust ainsi comme a deux heures aprez "' midy commenchant'), and know that before the "attack commenced there were several new knights "made as well on the one side as on the other, who "valiantly acquitted themselves on that day." The combat lasted for about three-quarters of an hour, and was very fierce throughout. The French cavalry attempted to take the English in the rear, but were repulsed by the archers stationed near the baggage, the French being only able to carry off a little of the

[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v., lib. 3, c. 29.

[2] Ibid. The 17th of August fell on Thursday in the year 1424.

Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account. His military life.

baggage and some few horses, killing the pages who were taking care of them, and the men upon them.

"Just at this time the battle was hottest and most "cruel, for there was no one who did not fully prove "his strength and valour; and *I, the author,* know for "certain that on that day the earl of Salisbury sus- "tained the greatest weight of the battle, although "he wavered a little, and had much difficulty in "keeping his position. And certainly had it not been "for the skill and great valour of his single person "among the valiant men who fought under his banner, "all following his example most vigorously, there is no "doubt that the day would have gone badly with the "English, shaken as they were; for the French in all "this war had never fought more valiantly. On the "other part, the duke of Bedford, as I heard say, (*for "I could not see or comprehend everything, being "pretty well hampered myself in having to look to the "safety of my own person,*) performed wonders of arms "and slew many a man; for with his axe in both "hands he stopped at nothing, but struck down all "before him, as one who was strong in body and "powerfully limbed as well as wise and hardy in arms. "He was much harassed by the Scots, especially those "under the earl of Douglas and his company, so much "so that it could not be predicted how the affair "would terminate, for the French, who, were half as "many again as the English, fought only to gain the "victory. So they exerted themselves as vigorously as "they could, and I believe really that, if it had not "been for the mishap and ill fortune which usually "attended them, the English would not have been able "to sustain or endure their attacks much longer. But "from what I can ascertain—and I have also heard from "others the same opinion—the two thousand English "archers who, as it was said, had driven back the "French cavalry, at the head of whom was Caquetan

" le Borgne,[1] a Lombard knight, when they saw their " enemies fly, collected all their strength and were the " great means of the victory, for seeing the fight so " firmly contested, with a marvellous shout, all fresh " and unexpected as they were, they came pouring on " in front of their battalion, where on their coming up " they began to make havoc among the French, who " were very weary from fighting, and who, completely " astounded at this novelty, recoiled and fell back " somewhat, while the English recovered fresh vigour." The enemy losing ground gradually, were then totally defeated with the loss of more than 6,000 men, among whom were a large number of the Scotch. The English loss was not less than 1,600, including English and Normans. The duke of Bedford after this victory rested at Verneuil, which surrendered to him. After this he returned into Normandy with his prisoners, and marched on to Rouen.[2]

Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account. His military life.

Wavrin's whole narrative of this battle is full of interest, but it is too long to be extracted entirely. He relates the death of the bastard of Alençon, Peter, seigneur of Gallardon, brother of the duke, who was also at the siege of Verneuil, and taken prisoner by the duke of Bedford.

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[1] This name is written Quaquestan and Kaquestan.

[2] Monstrelet, in stating the names of the nobles and others who were slain and taken prisoners at the battle of Verneuil, omits several names mentioned by Wavrin. After naming the viscount de Narbonne, he adds, " whose body, after he was " found dead on the field, was quar- " tered and hung upon a gibbet, " because he had been an accom- " plice in the murder of the late duke " of Burgundy." (Vol. ii., edit. 1595, fo. 15 v°.) Wavrin, in commenting upon the viscount de Narbonne's body being found among the slain, roused by the remembrance of the deed, does not disguise his condemnation of the assassination of his patron's father, " le visconte de " Nerbonne, lequel, gisant mort " entre les autres, par lordonnance " et commandement du duc de " Bethfort fut prins et esquartele, " et son corps pendu au gibet, pour " la trahison que fait avoit davoir " este consentant et lun des facteurs " de mettre a mort le duc Jehan de " Bourgoigne defunct." (Vol. v., lib. 3, cap. 29.) Cf. Harl. MS. 782, fol. 51 b. for the " names of the " nobles of England at the bataill " of Verneuil en Perche," and the names of the French and Scotch slain and taken prisoners there.

Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account. His military life.

[1] "Now after my lord the regent had taken possession of the town of Verneuil, and had properly regarrisoned it with fresh soldiers, provisions, and artillery, he prepared to return into Normandy with his prisoners; and when he had come to Pont de l'Arche, the bastard of Alençon, who had been severely wounded, growing much distressed by the pain of his wounds, there gave up his soul to Him from whom he had received it. The duke of Alençon was much afflicted at this misfortune, for he had greatly loved him. From this place the duke of Bedford, regent of France, with a great part of his princes and captains, again set out on their route, and took the most direct way to Rouen." On his arrival the duke went directly to the church of Notre Dame, "and kneeling before the altar offered up thanks to his blessed Creator and the glorious Virgin Mary his mother for the great success they had given him against the French, his enemies. After his prayers so made, he proceeded to his house, where he was welcomed with all becoming joy; and then after the salutations, he said to madame the regent, his wife, 'My love, see 'here your cousin of Alençon, our prisoner,' and she answered that he was welcome, and then embraced and kissed him. After a few days had thus passed, the duke of Alençon was taken to the castle of the Crotoy, where he was kept some time a prisoner."

At the beginning of the year 1427, Philip, duke of Burgundy, having assembled an army from his countries of Flanders, Artois, and Burgundy, marched into Holland with the intention of besieging his cousin, the Duchess Jacqueline of Bavaria, in the city of Ghent. Wavrin appears to have accompanied the duke on this as on other similar expeditions, in the company of Monseigneur le Borgne de Thoulongon, at that time

[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v., lib. 3, c. 29.

marshal of Burgundy. This matter he relates somewhat briefly, and tells us, [1] "Albeit the duke had made "several journeys on a large scale, which I have not "fully described to you in the manner they were accom- "plished, nor the incursions, skirmishes, assaults, and "sieges which took place between la Haye and la "Gande, although at all these, *I, author of this work,* "*was present, in the company of Monseigneur le* "*Borgne de Thoulongon,*[2] *then marshal of Burgundy,* "where truly there was great abundance of fine feats of "arms, which would take long to recount, and would "much extend our principal matter, wherefore I shall "pass them by for the present, in order to bring to an "end the account of the said wars, and return to the "deeds of France and England."

Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account. His military life.

In the following year Wavrin accompanied the expedition to the frontiers of the Orleannois, commanded by Philip d'Esgreville, and which had been despatched by the regent for the purpose of intercepting the supplies which the duke of Bourbon and the lord of La Fayette were bringing to the people of Orleans during the siege of the city by the English. This expedition seems not to have been quite successful for the reasons assigned, and Wavrin, with the seigneur d'Esgreville (*moi et le seigneur d'Aigreville*), were obliged to return to Nemour, of which d'Esgreville was the captain. From this place Wavrin, with about six score fighting men, proceeded to Paris, where the regent was (*et de la men vins a Paris devers le regent, atout environ vj^{xx} combatans*). Here he was in the month of May, when news arrived from Lord Talbot that Beaugency on the Loire, where there was an English garrison, was be-

[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. vi., lib. 4, c. 3.

[2] Sir Anthony de Thoulongon, surnamed le Borgne, marshal of Burgundy, was one of the knights made at the foundation of the order of the Golden Fleece (Toison d'Or), instituted by Philip, duke of Burgundy, in 1429. *See* Monstrelet, vol. xi., edit. 1595, p. 56.

Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account. His military life.

sieged by the French, and that the place could not hold out long unless it were relieved. The regent soon got ready a force, consisting of those who espoused the side of King Henry, and despatched it to the assistance of the garrison. Wavrin formed one of this party (*et moy mesmes acteur dessusdit*). He was then fully retained by the regent in the service of King Henry, under Sir John Fastolf, grand master of the regent's household, who was thereupon ordered to the country of Beauce, for the relief of the abovesaid besieged within Beaugency (*lequel me retint lors de tous poins ou service du roy Henry, dessoubz Messire Jehan Fastre, grant maistre dhostel dudit regent, auquel il ordonna aller ou pays de Beausse pour baillier secours aux dessusdis assieges dedens Beaugensy*). [1] "And so at "this time we took our departure in the company of "the said Fastolf, being about 5,000 fighting men, as "well selected as any I had ever seen in the country "of France. In this brigade were Sir Thomas Rempston, an Englishman, and several other knights and "esquires of the kingdom of England; and we all set "off together from Paris, and went to lie at Estampes, "where we remained three days, and on the fourth "day we again left, and journeyed through the country "of Beauce, until we came to Jonville, which is a "pretty fair village, and within which there is a large "tower, in the manner of a donjon; this tower had "not very long before been taken by the earl of "Salisbury. We remained in this town four days, "awaiting to be still further reinforced with the army "which the duke of Bedford was to send us; for from "England and Normandy, and from all parts he had "sent for succour and assistance. We will now speak "a little of the condition of the French who were "carrying on the siege before Beaugency."

[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v., lib. 4, c. 10.

Wavrin proceeds to narrate the various reverses which the English arms now almost invariably sustained, and which first began in the year 1429. During all these wars he was personally engaged. The successes of the Maid of Orleans are impartially related, and he dwells minutely on the various exploits and valorous deeds of Lord Talbot, Sir Thomas Rempston, and Sir John Fastolf, under the latter of whom he was immediately serving. In describing the defeat of the English at Patay, he tells us that when the captain of the vanguard, thinking that in truth all was lost, and that his battalions were giving way, betook himself to flight with his white standard, and abandoned the haye :—

Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account. His military life.

[1] " Sir John Fastolf, then perceiving the danger of this " flight, and seeing that all was going wrong, was now " advised to save himself; but when he was told (*I*, " *the author, being present*) that he had best look " after his own person, since the battle was lost to " them, he was fain, at all risks, to enter the field again, " and there await such fortune as our Lord should " please to send him ; saying that he would sooner die " or be taken prisoner than shamefully to fly and so " abandon his people. And while he was even yet " hesitating to leave, the French had overpowered the " Lord Talbot, who was himself taken prisoner, and " all his men were slain." And then Wavrin adds : —" Thus, as you hear, went this affair, which, when " Sir John Fastolf saw, he took his departure much " against his will, attended with a very small com- " pany, and expressing the deepest sorrow that man " ever felt; and, for a truth, he would have gone back " to the battle, had it not been for those who were " with him, especially Sir John, bastard of Thiau, and " others who dissuaded him, so he took his way to- " wards Estampes, and I followed him as my captain

[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v., lib. 4, c. 13.

Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account. His military life.

" (*et moi je le sievis comme mon cappitaine*), whom " the duke of Bedford had commanded me to obey, " and even personally to serve." [1]

[1] It is unfortunate that the notice of this transaction in Monstrelet's Chronicle, which has fixed a stain upon the military reputation of Sir John Fastolf quite undeservedly, should have gained so extensive a circulation before Wavrin's version was sufficiently known to afford an antidote to the slander. Beltz, in his Memorials of the Garter, gives the whole account of the affair extracted from Wavrin's Chronicle, which he considers "should place " the conduct of Fastolf on the oc- " casion in question in a point of " view less unfavourable to his me- " mory." The election of Sir John Fastolf as knight of the Garter was on the 22nd April 1426. (Beltz, Memorials of the Garter, 8vo. London, 1841, p. xliv., *note*, and p. clix.) Wavrin continues the narrative after the battle, and relates the consequences when the news of the defeat was brought to the regent. The account of the actual engagement he gives from personal observation; the subsequent statement he can only have derived from report or from some other written account. Can he have copied his version from Monstrelet? No one who will take the trouble to compare the two accounts will maintain such belief. One is consistent, clear, and convincing, the other confused and inconclusive, betraying the presence of a remarkable bias, and even suggesting a suspicion that a passage has been interpolated. Is not this another evidence added to the many which will presently be adduced that Wavrin has not copied his account "*mot pour mot presque* " *textuellment*" from Monstrelet, but that Monstrelet and Wavrin must have been indebted to a source common to both? The following is Wavrin's account, and from it, but for Monstrelet's imperfect version (vol. ii., p. 46 r° et v°, edit. 1595), no suspicion of cowardice could have attached to Sir John Fastolf in his conduct at the battle of Patay :—

" On the Sunday following, the " battle having taken place on " Saturday, came the news to the " duke of Bedford at Paris of the " loss of his men and of the Lord " Talbot, who was a prisoner, and " of the flight of Sir John Fastre " (Fastolf), who had gone to Cor- " beil, and where he remained for " some days. He went afterwards " to Paris, to the duke of Bedford, " his master, who greatly blamed " him for the affair, and for that " reason took from him the order of " the Garter which he wore; but " afterwards, partly because of the " relation given of the remon- " strances above said, which he had " several times made to his com- " panions," (Wavrin had fully narrated in the preceding chapter the objections offered by Fastolf in the council where the question was debated with the Lord Talbot of the expediency of engaging the enemy at the particular time and under the existing circumstances,) " and also on many " other reasonable pleas and ex- " cuses which he showed forth, and

Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account. His military life.

After the peace of Arras in 1435, when the duke of Burgundy became reconciled with the king of France, a rupture of the duke's alliance with England, as might be expected, speedily ensued.[1] The nobles of Artois and Flanders, subjects of the duke, necessarily embraced the interests of their lord, and among the names of those who responded to the summons for immediate service in the wars then to be undertaken we naturally find the chiefs of the houses of de Crequy

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" which were well approved of, the " the said Garter was restored to " him *par sentence de proces*. How- " ever, this gave occasion to much " debate between him and the Lord " Talbot after his return from pri- " son, having been kept a prisoner " since the day above mentioned." (Wavrin, Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v., lib. 4, c. 14.)

[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v., lib. 5, cap. 25. Wavrin's narrative of the embassy sent from the duke of Burgundy to King Henry and his council on the occasion of the duke's reconciliation with the king of France, after the peace of Arras, is derived, apparently, from a source of which Monstrelet had equally availed himself. The original relation, probably in Latin, is represented in the two versions by just such a difference in language as indicates that one is not a copy of the other. Wavrin's account of the reception and treatment of the ambassadors in England is fuller in some respects than Monstrelet's, and differs in other minute particulars. Wavrin, for instance, says nothing about their being lodged " en " lhostel dun cordonnier," but he dwells more at length on the dissatisfaction felt by them of their reception, so different from what they and other envoys from the duke of Burgundy on former occasions had experienced. The envoys on this occasion were the two heralds, Toison d'Or (Jean Lefebvre, seigneur de S. Remy) and Franche Comté on the part of the duke, and an ecclesiastic sent from the two cardinals. The following is Wavrin's account of the return of the embassy. (Conf. Monstrelet, A.D. 1435, vol. ii., fo. 121 v°, edit. 1595.) " Les " trois messages devantdis ne furent " mie trop asseurs durant leur voy- " age tel fois fut pourceque partout " ou ilz venoient en ce dit royaulme " dAngleterre ilz veoient le peuple " fort esmeu aprez les nouvelles de " ceste paix espandues ; et oyoient " de grans injures et blasphemes " touchans tresgrandement lhon- " neur et chargans onerablement " la personne dudit duc de Bour- " goigne. Et y eut moult a dire de " la reception quon leur fist a ceste " fois et celles quon leur avoit cous- " tume de faire ou temps lors passe " quant ilz ou aulcun autre de par " le dit duc alloit ou pays porter " aulcun message, car ilz nen " retournoient jamais sans larges " dons." May not Wavrin have heard this expression of dissatisfaction from his friend St. Remy?

Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account. His military life.

and Wavrin. Waleran, lord of Wavrin, the nephew of our chronicler, had already succeeded to the honours of the family. It would have been strange then if we had not seen Wavrin too among the retainers of the duke of Burgundy; it may be that with reluctance and regret he separated himself from his former colleagues, but after this we shall find him employed in a service, and fighting under the banners of a leader in opposition to the interests of those whose cause he had heretofore supported. Philip, duke of Burgundy, by the advice of his Council was induced to make the attempt to recover Calais from the English. A total failure of the expedition was the result; the army which accompanied the duke of Gloucester from England brought the required relief, and put an end for a time to this ill-advised project. Wavrin tells us that he was present with the duke of Burgundy's army on that occasion,[1] and since this is the last time in which we find the accustomed addition to his description of those battles or sieges in which he had taken part, we may infer that the altered appearance which public affairs had now assumed, and the necessity which would in consequence often bring him into personal collision with his former friends, may have induced Wavrin to relinquish a military life, and

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[1] Durant lequel tempz les seigneurs de Crequy et de Wavrin, avec eulz pluiseurs hommes de Flandres, se partirent de Gravelinghes, ou ilz estoient en garnison, *et moy, acteur de ceste histore, estoie avec la compaignie*; et chevaulchasmes jusques a Drinkam, ou nous logasmes celle nuit dedens le chastel," &c. (Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v., lib. 5, c. 37.)

"Mais ilz ne furent mie sitost apprestez et venus que pour destourber au duc de Clocestre de parfurnir son emprinse, lequel, ainsi comme vous oez, ardant et exillant le pays de Flandres, sen alla logier devant la ville de Saint Omer, en labaye de Blendecque, et son ost, tout au long de celle petite riverette quy la court; *car moy acteur de ceste presente euvre, qui lors mestoie partis de Gravelinghues* la nuit Notre Dame, Septembre, et venu a Saint Omer vey le logement, et trouvay le seigneur de Saveuses, qui, cellui jour, estoit sailly hors de Saint Omer pour escarmuchier les Anglois." (Ibid.)

take repose after active service of nearly a quarter of a century.

Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account. His private life and pursuits.

So far we have been able from Wavrin's own narrative to trace step by step the incidents of his military career. The unobtrusive manner in which he relates his own share in the adventures which he describes cannot fail to be appreciated, while at the same time the simplicity and obvious truthfulness and impartiality of his narrative will secure for him credibility, and entitle him to rank high among the historians of his age. Of his private life he has given us no indication whatever, and his notices of his own employment and destination subsequent to his relinquishing the army are very few and meagre. When he quitted the army he must have been yet in the vigour of manhood. It is not impossible that upon that event he retired to his native country of Artois, and very soon afterwards we find him settled permanently at Lisle. Here it was that in or about the year 1437 he met with and espoused Dem^lle^ Marguerite Hangouart, the widow of William de Tenremonde, late a burgess of that town.[1] Now he had ample leisure to devote himself to the cultivation of letters, and in this town perhaps he found access to those chronicles and memorials of his own and former times which helped to form his taste and prepare him for the new character of historiographer in which he was shortly to make his appearance. In the meantime he had acquired the seignories of Forestel[2] and Fontaine—may we presume through the patronage of the duke of Burgundy? In a grant from the duke, made to him for reward of his services, in the year 1442, he is styled seigneur of Forestel and of Fontaine.[3]

Two years after this, his nephew Waleran, lord of

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[1] *See* the document cited in the note at p. xlvij., A.D. 1437.

[2] Forestel is in the department of La Seine inférieure, canton d'Aumale, being part of Picardy, and belonging to the Duke of Burgundy.

[3] *See* the document cited in the note at p. xlvij., A.D. 1442.

Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account. His private life and pursuits.

Wavrin, returned from the expedition with the ships that had been fitted out against the Turks at the charges of Philip, duke of Burgundy. Was the narrative of this expedition Wavrin's first essay in literature? We can easily believe that the incidents of this voyage, so important and full of interest, would be the subject of frequent conversation between the uncle and nephew, and nothing more likely than that from the lips of the relater, the principal acter in the scene, the account itself should have been prepared. The narrative carries with it all the force and character of an original composition by a contemporary, and made while the facts and impressions were fresh in the memory. It was probably composed in 1446.[1]

During the nine years which elapsed between 1445 and 1455 he was engaged in collecting and digesting the memorials of English history for his Chronicle from its earliest period down to the death of King Henry the Fourth. Beyond this meagre notice we get from his own account no glimpse of his domestic life. The natural conclusion would be that he now mingled rarely in public affairs, devoting himself exclusively to the completion of the task he had undertaken. If he filled any public appointment he has not thought fit to record it. It is only from another pen[2] we learn that in 1463 he made one in the embassy sent by Duke Philip of Burgundy to Pope Pius the Second on the subject of combating the Grand-Turk, the great enemy of the Christian faith, a design, the accomplishment of which the duke had much at heart. The embassy consisted according to Du Clercq, of John, bishop of Tournay,

[1] The account of this voyage is comprised in the chapters 2–19 inclusive of the first book of the sixth volume.

[2] If we are correct in our conjecture that Wavrin is the author of the continuation of Monstrelet, he also has mentioned the ambassadors on this occasion, and described himself under the name of the *seigneur de Forestel* (fol. 96 v°, ed. 1595). The mention of the embassy is altogether omitted in his revised edition.

Sir Simon de Lallaing, chevalier (seigneur de Montigny), and the *seigneur de Forestel, chevalier*, and other lords and notable persons.[1] We learn from himself that he was in England, at the court of King Edward, in the summer of 1467, when the news reached England of the death of the duke of Burgundy.

Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account. His private life and pursuits.

[2] "In the month of June in this year, which was the

[1] Jacques Du Clercq, Mémoires, lib. iv., c. 46 (edit. Buchon, Paris, 1853), p. 237, col. 1.

[2] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. vi., lib. 5, c. 26. From the peculiar language of this passage here cited, which we are enabled to compare with apparently a more complete redaction of the same narrative, as well as from other passages of this portion of the work, a suspicion arises that the copy of the last volume, at least, of Wavrin's work, effected manifestly several years after his death, has not been selected with judgment from the best materials that existed for furnishing a correct text of Wavrin's Chronicle. Several MSS. exist in the Imperial Library, and particularly No. 432, du fonds Sorbonne, which will have to be thoroughly collated when this portion of the work is printed, and from such collations valuable emendations of the text can be supplied. The writer of the passage in the MS. above referred to, which probably is a later and amended account, can be no other than Wavrin; and he there gives a reason for abstaining from a fuller description of this festival:—"I shall briefly men-
"tion it, because I was there with
"the others, but I content myself
"with not saying more than this,
"and leave it to others, who like
"myself were there also, to speak of
"it more at length. But during
"the time, one whole month, that
"we were there sojourning at Lon-
"don, Anthony, bastard of Bur-
"gundy, and those who were with
"him, were most honourably enter-
"tained, and would have been yet
"more so if it had not been that
"whilst we were there the news
"came to King Edward, to Sir
"Anthony the bastard, and to us
"all, that the most noble and most
"powerful prince Duke Philip of
"Burgundy was dead, and that he
"died in his good town of Bruges.
"This had caused great grief and
"sadness to all his barons and
"knights, and particularly to his
"most noble son Charles, count of
"Charolois, who took it sorely and
"grievously to heart. But it is fit
"that we pass all this over for the
"present, so I shall be silent, and
"say no more about it." (MS. Bib. Imp., No. 432, du fonds Sorbonne.)

The contents of the MS. in question on first view would appear to supply a revised redaction of Wavrin's narrative later than that represented by the text of the complete copy of the work in six volumes (f. fr., 6748–6759); but on the other hand it may be objected that the MS. in question does not represent the actual narrative of Wavrin, but is a pirated and touched up edition of Wavrin's work by a later hand. A thorough collation of the two MSS. with others of a similar class

Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account. His private life and pursuits.

" year 1467, the earl of Warwick crossed the sea to " make his said voyage to France. And on the other " hand Sir Anthony, bastard of Burgundy,[1] crossed over " and entered the city of London by the Thames, where " he was honourably received and entertained. And " there was a large attendance of the nobility in his " company, for a day had been appointed between him " and the Lord de Scales, son of the Lord de Rivers, for " a passage of arms, the which they two accomplished " very notably, as well upon horse as on foot; but I " forbear to say more of that now, for the sake of " brevity.[2] And the feast would have been much more " complete had it not been for the news which then " arrived of the death of the noble Duke Philip of Bur- " gundy,[3] *desqueles tous feusmes grandement troublez;* " *car je, acteur, y estoie avec les autres.*" [4]

At the time that the earl of Warwick was at Calais on the business of the marriage of his daughter to the duke of Clarence, in the July of 1469, he paid a visit to the duke and duchess of Burgundy at Saint Omer, and Wavrin relates that the earl having been entertained there with much feasting and good cheer, returned to Calais, and the duke and duchess went to Ypres. Wavrin at this time was residing with the

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can alone determine the difficulty, and now is not the suitable time to enter on the discussion.

[1] Anthony, comte de la Roche, illegitimate son of Philip, duke of Burgundy, and brother of Charles, count of Charolois.

[2] See the interesting account of the " tournament between Lord " Scales and the bastard of Bur- " gundy, A.D. 1467," in Bentley's Excerpta Historica, 8vo., London, 1831, pp. 171 et seq.

[3] It is remarkable that Wavrin had previously given a detailed account of Duke Philip's death (Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v., lib. 5, cc. 23 and 24.) Philip, duke of Burgundy, died on the 15th June 1467, and therefore after Wavrin had arrived in England. The previous narrative is therefore out of its order of date.

[4] Among the names of " the " lorde bastardes counsell " occurs " Mons' Forestres " (Excerpt. Hist. p. 202). It is not easy to discover, under this disguised spelling, the name of Wavrin, seigneur de Forestel.

duke, and attached to his household.[1] It was some years since he had published his fifth volume; he had doubtless prepared all the materials, and perhaps completed the first four books of his sixth and last volume, and was already far advanced with the fifth book. We may presume that now he was actually engaged in jotting down from inquiries, the relation of others, and from all the authentic sources open to him, the memorials and incidents of this history as they occurred. On the occasion just alluded to the earl of Warwick had returned to Calais; and, says our author, "[2] *et moy, acteur de ces croniques, desirant scavoir et avoir matieres veritables pour le parfait de mon euvre,* asked and obtained the duke's permission to go to Calais, for the duke was well aware that the earl of Warwick had promised me that if I came to see him at Calais he would make me welcome, and would put me in communication with a man who could inform me on all that I wished to ask respecting these matters. So I went to visit him, and he entertained me during nine days with good cheer and great respect; but I obtained very little information upon what I was in quest of, though he promised that if I would come back at the end of two months he would supply me in some measure with what I required; and on my taking leave of him, he furnished me with all necessaries, and gave me a fine saddle-horse. I saw plainly that he was busied with other weighty matter, and this was the marriage of his daughter to the duke of Clarence, brother of King Edward, which was solemnized five or six days after my departure in the castle at Calais.[3] There were not

Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account.

[1] He was the duke's chamberlain and councillor (*see* the Document cited in the note at p. xlviii., A.D. 1465).

[2] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. vi., lib. 5, c. 45.

[3] The ceremony was performed (11th of July 1469) in the church of St. Nicholas at Calais, by the uncle of the bride, the archbishop of York (Lingard, v., p. 215, edit. Paris, 1826.)

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Particulars of the author's career, derived from his own account.

" many persons present, and the festivities only lasted " two days."

The duchess of Burgundy was King Edward's sister,[1] and the communication between the courts of England and Burgundy must have been almost constant; the advantages thus afforded to Wavrin can easily be conceived, and the facilities secured to him of obtaining the most ready and authentic information relative to the proceedings in England, and on all matters worthy of the notice and attention of the chronicler, must render his account of the transactions of this time peculiarly valuable and full of interest.

From extraneous sources.

I have now brought to a close my observations on the personal history of our chronicler, so far as his own relation has furnished the materials; my own researches in Paris enable me to supply very little beyond the information derived from Wavrin's own statements, but the few notices of original documents in which he is named, and which I do not hesitate to reproduce, add not a little to the interest which every particular relative to the life of our author will be received.[2]

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[1] After the reverse of fortune which drove Edward from his throne in 1470, it was to his brother-in-law he looked for protection. Having embarked on the 3rd of October from Ipswich (Hepshuye), where he happened to find a vessel (Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. vi., lib. 6, cap. 15), he with some difficulty reached the port of Alcmaer, where he was received by the governor of Holland, under the duke of Burgundy, Louis de Bruges, seigneur de Gruthuyse; he afterwards proceeded to Aire in Artois, where the duchess, his sister was then dwelling, and he received from the duke the strongest assurances of assistance. The marriage of duke Charles with Margaret took place on the 3rd of July 1468, rather more than twelve months after his father's death, on the 3rd of June 1467.

[2] A.D. 1437. Wavrin receives from the duke of Burgundy, in consideration of the good services which he has rendered him in his wars and armies, the sum of fifty francs. In this grant he is designated " Jehan, bastard de Wavrin, " fils de feu Messire Robert, seig- " neur de Wavrin, escuyer," (Archives Générales du Nord, Compte de la recepte du duc de Bourgogne de 1436 à 1437, fol. vii^{xx}viii. recto.)

A.D. 1437. A document also of this year informs us that Wavrin, by the name of " le bastard de

For these indications taken from MSS. in the Imperial Library and elsewhere relative to the personal history of our author, I have great satisfaction in acknowledging my entire obligation to M^lle^ Dupont, the learned French editor of Wavrin's chronicle. To her researches we owe our knowledge of the documents mentioned in the note below.

Wavrin divided his chronicle, as originally designed, into four volumes, and each volume is again subdivided Arrangement of chronicle.

"Wavrin," was married to "De-"michelle Marguérite Hangouart," widow of William de Tenremonde, burgess of Lille. (Registre aux comptes de 1437.)

A.D. 1442, 14th May. He again receives from the duke of Burgundy another reward of 50 *salus d'or*.[1] The order which grants this favour describes him as John, bastard of Wavrin, *chevalier, seigneur du Forestel et de Fontaine*. (Registre aux comptes de 1441, 1442, fol. vi^xx^xiii. verso.)

A.D. 1453. Mons. de Forestel comes to the court (Lille) to take order respecting the gunners. (Archives de l'Hotel de Ville de Lille. Registre aux comptes de 1453, fol. lxxv. verso.)

A.D. 1458. In this year a gift of two fiefs, situate at Frelingham, was made to Mgr. John de Wavrin, chevalier, seigneur du Forestel, and Madame Marguerite de Hangouart, his wife. (Saint Genois, Monumens anciens essentiellement utiles à la France, aux provinces de Hainaut, Flandres, Brabant, &c., t. i. p. 1049.

A.D. 1462. John, bastard of Wavrin, seigneur du Forestel, chevalier, is cited among the knights who came to Lille in this year to renew *the law*, that is to say, civil magistracy. He is described as chamberlain of the duke of Burgundy.

A.D. 1463. On his return from Rome, where he had been sent on an embassy by the duke of Burgundy, Wavrin receives from the town of Lille 12 *los* of wine. (Archives de l'Hotel de Ville de Lille. Reg. aux comptes de 1463, fol. lxxii. verso, and Du Clercq, xiv. 229, 230.)

A.D. 1465. John, bastard of Wavrin, chevalier, and seigneur de Forestel, councillor and chamberlain of the duke of Burgundy, receives eight *salus* for having in the name of this prince renewed the *law* of Lille. (Archives de l'Hotel de Ville de Lille. (Reg. aux comptes de 1465, fol. lxxvii. verso.)

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1 "King Henry [the Sixth] caused a "piece to be stamped called a salus, "worth two and twenty shillings, and "blans of eightpence a piece, and so in "no place of France where King Henry "was obeyed any other money was received, but such as had the arms of "France and England stamped on it." (Stowe's Chronicle sub anno 1423.) See also Mémoires de Pierre Fenin (ed. Godefroy, fol., Paris, 1653), p. 496.

Arrangement of chronicle.

into six books, consisting each of an unequal distribution of chapters, varying in length and in number from five to eighty-four. The history comprised in these four volumes is carried down only to the death of King Henry the Fourth in 1413, and appears to have been compiled between the years 1445 and 1455. Some time after this publication a continuation of the chronicles was undertaken by Wavrin, and a fifth volume was added. It does not appear distinctly in what year this volume was actually completed, but we may conclude from several circumstances that it was soon after the accession of Edward the Fourth in 1461; the history is still, at the close of the fifth volume, only brought down to 1443, in which year the town of Dieppe, then occupied by the English, was relieved by the dauphin, Louis de Valois. Another volume, the sixth, was then commenced, and continued to Edward's recovery of his crown in 1471. That volume was at once issued with the title, *en ce livre sont escriptes les guerres advenues en France, en Angleterre, et en Bourgoine depuis lan* 1444 *jusques en lan* 1471. A new and revised edition of volume six was then contemplated and the materials prepared; but they were not brought down later than the former edition, terminating in the same manner with Edward's recovery of the crown and the demise of Henry the Sixth. At the beginning of the revised edition of the sixth volume is inserted the narrative of the expedition[1] fitted out against the Turks in 1444.

The entire work then, as it is at present known to us,

[1] A long and detailed account is given of this expedition, part of which was undertaken at the charges of Duke Philip of Burgundy, the command of the galleys furnished by him being entrusted to Waleran, the seigneur de Wavrin; the narrative, although it comes in its proper order according to the date of the events which precede it in the history, may yet have been composed some years antecedently to the time at which the author was engaged in preparing the materials for the revised edition of the sixth volume, namely, between the years 1471 and 1474.

is comprised in six volumes, in which the history is distributed as follows:—

Volume I. [from Brutus to A.D. 1337.]

Division of the work and period embraced.

Book the first begins with the story of Albina and her sisters, of whom Albina, being the eldest, gives the first name of Albion to the island, afterwards occupied by the giants.

Book the second goes back to the time of Jason and the Golden Fleece, and the first destruction of Troy, in the time of King Laomedon; thence to Aeneas and his great grandson Brutus, the supposed founder of the kingdom of Britain; and following the line of succession of the British kings, closes with the defeat of Vortigern by the two sons of Constantine.

Book the third ends with the final expulsion of the Britons by the Saxons, and the death of Catgualart or Cadwalader in 688.

Book the fourth contains the whole history of the Anglo-Saxon period, brought down to the conquest of England by the Normans, and the accession of William the First to the crown.

Book the fifth comes down to the death of King Edward the First.

Book the sixth begins with the accession of Edward of Carnarvon, and concludes with the account of Edward the Third's entry into Scotland, and his doings there, and the services of Sir Walter Manny and William Lord Montacute on the borders.

Volume II. [A.D. 1337–1377.]

Book the first treats of the origin of the wars between France and England, the English alliance with the Flemings, and carries the narrative down to the siege of Nantes, and the truce concluded thereupon in 1344.

Book the second begins with Edward's defiance of King Philip, by reason of the death of Oliver de Clisson, and continues to the battle of Crecy, in 1346.

Book the third begins with the siege of Calais by King Edward in 1346, and ends with the release from prison of Charles, king of Navarre, in November 1357.

Book the fourth carries the narrative down to the battle of Aurai, in which Charles of Blois was slain, and the peace made with John of Montfort.

Book the fifth ends with the account of the doings of Sir John Chandos, seneschal of Poitou, the application made to him from the earl of Pembroke, besieged by Louis de Sancerre,

Division of the work and period embraced.

marshal of France, at Puirenon, and how he was ultimately relieved by Chandos.

Book the sixth closes with the death of the Black Prince and that of King Edward the Third.

Volume. III. [A.D. 1377–1387.]

The first book begins with the coronation of Richard the Second, and comes down to the death of Charles the Fifth of France in 1380.

The second book closes with the account of the wars between Spain and Portugal, and the return of the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Cambridge to England.

The third book begins with the wars of the men of Ghent and Flanders against the earl, and ends with the pacification of Ghent in 1385.

The fourth book ends with the entry of the English into Spain.

The fifth book treats of the continuation of the wars of Spain and the settlement of the affairs between the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster.

The sixth book brings the narrative down to the embassy from the king of France to the duke of Brittany on the subject of Oliver de Clisson the constable, and the answer made by the duke to the ambassadors of Charles of France.

Volume IV. [A.D. 1387–1413.]

The first book begins with an account of the dissensions in England between the king and his uncles and the council, and the disfavour of De Vere, duke of Ireland, with the people, and concludes with an agreement made between the king of France and the duke of Gueldres.

The second book closes with the extension of the treaty between France and England, and the partial recovery of Charles the Sixth from his malady.

The third book comes down to the deaths of the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel.

The fourth book ends with an account of the resignation of the crown of England by Richard of Bordeaux to Henry of Lancaster in 1399.

The fifth book ends with the narrative of the demeanour of the king of France on learning the death of King Richard.

The sixth book closes with the death of King Henry of Lancaster in 1413.

Volume V. [A.D. 1413–1443.]

The first book begins with the coronation of King Henry the Fifth, and comes down to the marriage of Henry with Katherine of France.

Division of the work and period embraced.

The second book comes down to the death of King Henry, followed by that of Charles the Sixth of France in 1422.

The third book closes with an account of the return to France of the duke of Bedford with an army, and the duke of Gloucester's journey into Holland in aid of the Duchess Jacqueline.

The fourth book comes down to the death of the Maid of Orleans in 1431.

The fifth book closes with a relation of the earl of Eu's deliverance from prison, and his return to France in 1438.

The sixth book concludes with an account of the succour brought to the inhabitants of Dieppe by the dauphin, Louis of France.

Volume VI. [A.D. 1442–1471.]

The first book begins with describing the mischiefs that followed from the dissensions of the princes of the blood royal of England, and then proceeds with a relation of the expedition against the Turks under the conduct of Waleran, the seigneur de Wavrin, and concludes with his departure from Constantinople and return to Lillers.

The second book begins with the retaking of several towns in Normandy and Britany from the English, the duke of Burgundy's wars in Flanders, and the exploits of the seigneur de Croy against the Germans in the duchy of Luxemburg, in 1453.

The third book ends with the coronation of Edward, earl of March, as King Edward the Fourth in 1461.

The fourth book concludes with the king's intimation of his intention to marry.

The fifth book begins with a description of the nuptials of King Edward with a daughter of the Lord Rivers, and ends with the defeat of the Welsh under William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, and his brother, by Richard Lord Willoughby and the people of the north.

The sixth book begins with relating the treason of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, the execution of Herbert, earl of Pembroke, after the battle of Banbury in 1469, and Edward's subsequent imprisonment; narrates the account of Edward's loss of the crown, his arrival in Holland and the reception he met with from the seigneur de Gruthuse, and concludes with his return to England and restoration to the throne, and the letter of thanks which he sent to the good men of Bruges, dated 29th May 1471.

Wavrin a compiler of ancient

We shall see that Wavrin's work has a twofold object. He appears in the character of a compiler or

chronicles as well as a contemporary writer.

mere collector of the ancient chronicles or memorials concerning England before his time, and in that also of an original narrator of the incidents and transactions of his own day, attested either by personal observation or enquiry from trustworthy witnesses. For the first portion of his labour he is responsible only for the judicious selection of the materials best known and available to him for the purpose of his compilation. As to the second character to which he aspires, the work itself will show with what success he has profited by the great opportunities he possessed for obtaining information, whether from the report of contemporaries, or by actual participation in the incidents he was minded to record. It will be our business now to trace out as far as can be done within the limits of these introductory observations the written sources and memorials upon which he has founded his relation.

The earliest accounts of Britain.

In common with many persons of great name and acknowledged learning, even in much later times, when historical criticism and accuracy of judgment had attained a higher point than yet was reached in our author's age, he does not reject the fabulous history of Britain. He has inserted into his compilation of the ancient chronicles a prose version of the old Anglo-Norman metrical history of the first colonisation of the island under the famous Albine and her sisters, daughters of King Diodicias, who were succeeded by a race of giants sprung from the intercourse of demons with these royal fugitives. It is not quite clear whether the text here adopted was translated by our author direct from some older source in Latin,[1] or merely adapted from the

[1] There is a condensed Latin version of the story in the Eulogium Historiarum, vol. ii., p. 216 (edit. Haydon); and in a great number of the copies of the *Brut d'Engleterre* of the earlier part of the fourteenth century, the story of Albina occurs as an introduction to the history of Brutus. Royal MSS. 20 A. iii.; 19 C. ix.; MS. Addit. 18,462, art. 1; Cott. MS. Cleopatra D. iii., and others.

Norman French metrical version,[1] of which a copy is still extant in the Cottonian MS. Cleopatra D. ix., of the early part of the thirteenth century. This story, which is related here more fully than in any other version I have seen, occupies the whole of the first book, and the substance of it is to this effect :—

The story of Albine and her sisters.

[2] Diodicias, king of Syria, holds the sovereignty of the greater part of Persia, Media, and Mesopotamia, and is contemporary with Hercules and Theseus in Greece, and with Jahir, judge of Israel. Many kingdoms in higher and lower Armenia are subjugated by him. He is urged to marry. He sends ambassadors to Albana, king of Cyrenia, to ask his daughter in marriage; espouses her according to the pagan law; has by her fourteen daughters, of whom Albine is the eldest. Takes three other wives; has by them nineteen daughters and three sons; invites the kings and princes under his authority to celebrate a feast to his gods in his city of Tarsus—at this festival his four queens and their thirty-three daughters are present. Albine's great beauty commended. The daughters being all married to the kings and princes who had come to the feast, they betake themselves severally to their own countries. Albine grieves much at leaving her father's court. Refuses to show obedience to her husband, and attempts by letters and secret messages to them to incite her sisters to similar acts of disobedience to their husbands. The sisters commence a course of ill conduct, to put down which, after trying every kindness, their husbands are compelled to adopt rigorous measures. Albine's husband writes secretly to King Diodicias, informing him of his wife's conduct. The king orders his daughters to come with their husbands before him, to the city of Tyre. He there addresses his daughters in private, and rebukes them severely. [3] The sisters overcome with shame and fear on hearing their father, implore his forgiveness and retire from his chamber. Albine addresses her sisters. She discloses her plan for revenge, and induces her sisters to promise compliance. They follow her advice, and all appear before King Diodicias and their husbands in seeming contrition. Their conduct however soon alters, and disagree-

[1] This version was first printed in the *Nouveau Recueil des Contes, Dits et Fabliaux*, par Achille Jubinal, Paris, 1842, vol. ii. p. 354 ; and it is reprinted in the Appendix to the *Gesta Regum Britanniæ*, by Francisque-Michel, for the Cambrian Archæological Association, 1862, p. 199.

[2] Lib. i. c. 2, p. 6.

[3] Lib. i. c. 3, p. 15.

ments again arise between them and their husbands. The king, who is ignorant thereof, returns to Tarsus, after making handsome presents to his daughters and sons-in-law. Albine and her sisters then accompany their husbands on their journey to Damascus, of which city Sardacia, the husband of Albine, was king. At the half journey Albine feigns fatigue, and begs to be allowed to rest and refresh themselves. She then sends a trusty messenger to Damascus to her own apothecary, to mix a beverage composed of herbs and spices for a sleeping potion.

[1] Albine has a private meeting with her sisters, who all swear to keep to their project. They arrive with their husbands at Damascus, and go to the palace there. Having dined, they enjoy amusements until the evening, when the supper is served. The potion prepared by the apothecary is then introduced, which the husbands all take. This produces the desired effect, and the princes betake themselves to their sleeping apartments. Albine cuts the throat of her husband, King Sardacia, while he sleeps, and all her sisters, save the youngest, murder their husbands. The youngest sister, from love for her husband, relates to him the whole plot, and implores his forgiveness. The alarm is raised, and the citizens, roused at the sudden commotion, hasten to the palace and learn the terrible news. They seize Albine and her sisters to protect them from the fury of the attendants of the murdered princes. These are buried amidst great lamentations, and messengers are sent to King Diodicias to inform him of what had occurred. The king manifests great grief, and threatens to have his daughters burned alive. He commands that they should be seized and brought before him. They are conducted to the king, who is at Tyre. A council is called, when sentence is passed on the daughters, who are condemned to perpetual exile. They are placed in an open boat, with provisions for half a year, and sent adrift on the sea. Lament of King Diodicias.

[2] Albine and her sisters put to sea, and are soon wafted from the shores of Tyre; being driven towards the straits of Morocco, they are in great danger of perishing by the storms and by sea monsters. They escape these, and after much labour enter the Great Ocean. The sisters lament their fate, but are comforted by Albine. They are tossed about by the winds until they finally make the land and disembark. Discovering this to be a desert island, never inhabited by man, they give thanks to the gods, and Albine causes the land to be named Albion

[1] Lib. i. c. 4, p. 24.

[2] Lib. i. c. 5, p. 30.

after her name. They select a spot for habitation, and apportion the land. They find out a means of making fire, and of catching wild beasts and birds for sustenance. By the machinations of the devil they all become pregnant, and bear children, who grow up terrible giants, male and female. These occupy the land until the coming of Brutus, who afterwards conquers them. The two giants Gomago and Lancorigam. Their oppression of the Scotch and Irish, their neighbours.

The *Brut* of England.

The second and third books comprise a narrative of rather questionable historical worth, but they present a peculiar and distinct version of a work well known and widely diffused during the two centuries which preceded Wavrin's day, and which even at that time enjoyed considerable repute. Manuscripts of it abounded in almost every library of extent, and prose and metrical versions existed in more than one language; indeed, few works of that class were more popular than the Gesta Britonum, familiarly known as the Brut d'Engleterre.[1]

The chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth the foundation of all the romances concerning Britain.

The version now for the first time presented to the English reader differs in many interesting particulars from anything of the same class that has yet been published. The fabulous history of Britain as it has been transmitted to us from the pen of Geoffrey of Monmouth has no doubt furnished the basis of the chronicle contained in these pages. Every subsequent version of that celebrated work, whether metrical or prose, has been only a modification, abridgment, or amplification of his famous Chronicle of the British Kings.

[1] In the text, the work is called "La Cronicque de Brutus," see p. 35, and "Le livre de Brust "d'Engleterre," see p. 40. The author, before entering on the description which he proposes to give of the great deeds and high prowess of the exiled Trojans, who under their leader Brutus, after many adventures, finally arrive in the island of Albion, determines first to treat of the admirable nature and properties of the island of Britain, the most powerful island in the world; its geographical description and extent; its fertility and beauty; its mineral wealth; mountains, plains, and forests. Its fountains, springs, and rivers. The most important of these are enumerated. Once beautified with twenty-eight noble cities. Five different nations have inhabited the island.

Upon it have been engrafted by his imitators and followers, each according to his own fancy and the materials in his possession, the traditions or fables probably current in Geoffrey's own time, but neglected by him as unimportant, or excluded as unnecessary to the completeness of his design.[1] Whatever may be the defects of Geoffrey of Monmouth, he has the merit of having contributed, more extensively than any other writer, the materials for the fablers and romancers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to work upon. The romances of Merlin, Arthur, and of the Sangreal, of Sir Tristan and Lancelot du Lac, and the other knights of the Round Table—notwithstanding that this famous order of chivalry, and the names of the knights who founded it are not recorded in the Latin Chronicle of the British Kings,—were yet in all probability based upon the history composed or translated by Geoffrey, with some additional incidents perhaps borrowed from the British popular traditions which themselves constituted that history. If the account of Britain which he has preserved to us be a fiction, it at least is one respectable from its antiquity, and may obtain some consideration as supplying a blank in the annals of a people who without it must be content to date, if not their origin, their nominal existence in the catalogue of nations, from a period coeval only with their actual decline and fall. "Fiction," says a great writer,[2] "gives to mankind what history denies, and in some "measure satisfies the mind with shadows when it "cannot enjoy the substance." It cannot be desired to exalt fable at the expense of truth, but must we reject the entire annals of a people because tales of

[1] Geoffrey informs us that he translated into Latin the book with which he was supplied by the archdeacon of Oxford, but it is not unlikely that some of the tales and fabulous stories were omitted in the translation; and it is by no means certain that the collection comprised all the metrical histories relating to Britain which were at the time current in Britany.

[2] Bacon, De Augmentis Scientiarum, lib. ii.

chivalry and enterprise have been grafted upon incidents of genuine history. We assume, perhaps, too confidently, that Britain was without a written history. The meagre production of Nennius and the historical lament of Gildas are in themselves sufficient evidence that Britain, as she had her bards, may have had her historians also.

Traditions relative to the Princes of Britain preserved in Armorica.

The enmity of the Saxons, and their desire to obliterate every trace of the greatness of a people whom they first deceived and afterwards subdued, may well explain the actual absence of any written record of the annals of the country from which intelligence and mental culture had been banished, and compelled to give place to barbarism and ignorance. But though the memorials in writing of the deeds of the heroes and princes of the nation may have perished, the historical songs and traditions survived. Communication between Britain the Great and Armorica, or Lesser Britain, was kept up long after the time of King Arthur, whose fame, and the fabulous relations of his exploits, are attested by Alan de Lisle [1] as having been celebrated in Britany in his time and antecedently to the publication of Geoffrey's translation. The simple historical traditions of the succession and exploits, the victories and the genealogies of the British princes were transferred from the soil of their birth to a country

[1] Alanus de Insula was born at Lisle, in Flanders, in the beginning of the twelfth century, as we must infer from his own relation. (Lib. v. p. 198, ed. 1608.) He was a monk of the Cistertian Abbey of Clervaux, in Champagne, in the diocese of Troyes, and having been placed by St. Bernard as the first abbot in the monastery of La Rivoure, he was thence advanced to the bishopric of Auxerre in 1151. In 1167 he relinquished his see and returned to his monastery of Clervaux, where he died about the year 1182. From internal evidence we may conclude that his Commentaries on the prophecies of Merlin must have been composed between the years 1167 and 1171. In the editions of this work, Francof. (Megiser), 8vo., 1603, and 8vo., 1608, Alan is inaccurately styled *Doctor Universalis*, and considerable difference of opinion has prevailed as to his identity. Compare Oudin (C.) Comm. de Script. Eccles. Antiquis., 3 vols. fol., Lips. 1722, vol. ii. col. 1386.

which appears to have cherished them with no less affection and pride than could have done the nation itself to which they more peculiarly belonged, had that nation been suffered to retain its position as an independent kingdom. In Armorica these simple British traditions, founded upon historic truth, were not long permitted to keep their original purity, and in course of time they became enveloped in a garb of romantic fiction, probably introduced into Britany from the Normans. Between this people and the inhabitants of Armorica it is well known that a friendly intercourse had existed from an early period, and it is likely that from them was derived the desire for romantic embellishments and the adventures of chivalry. Of all the different theories which have been suggested for explaining the origin and growth of metrical romance, that which attributes the cultivation of romantic fiction in France to the influence of the northern scalds seems to be the most probable. It was they who originally performed the functions of historians by recording the lineage and valiant deeds of their princes in narrative song or ballad; and afterwards, to satisfy the craving for greater novelty than the ordinary events and occurrences of life among a simple though warlike people could supply, it became their business to entertain and delight, rather than solely to instruct. Thus their recitals were embellished with marvellous fictions and invented tales, more calculated to please the ignorant minds of their hearers, and satisfy their wild and rude fancies, than the simple and unadorned narrative of battles and genealogies. The bards who probably attended the army of Rollo from the north may have introduced into the province acquired by that famous chieftain the skill and art of romantic fiction, which descended to the minstrels and Norman trouveurs, and from them were imported into Britany. The art of mingling fiction with history in an attractive form rested here upon a fruitful soil. Nearly all the French romances

originated in Britany, and from the French the other nations of Europe derived their tales of chivalry. The fabulous and incredible relations, which so abundantly disfigure the narrative of Geoffrey as scarcely to allow being sifted from them the purer and simpler incidents of history, derived their source avowedly from the Armorican fabliaux. Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, during a visit to Britany, appears to have collected a large mass of these traditions and historical songs: he placed a volume which contained this collection in the hands of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who translated it into Latin prose, and this was by him dedicated to Robert, earl of Gloucester, natural son of King Henry the First, under the title of the History of the British Kings. Notwithstanding the invectives of Polydore Virgil, who has been followed by later writers in the opinion that this chronicle was for the most part an invention of Geoffrey, there is ample reason for accepting the translator's own account of the share he had in it; and we cannot shut our eyes to the internal evidence which the history itself presents of an Armorican origin. It is not irrelevant to notice the curious fact, that the entire chronicle from the coming of Brutus, and through the whole line of succession of the monarchs of Britain, was drawn up in the form of a legal instrument, and in the year 1301 was transmitted in a declaratory letter from King Edward the First to Pope Boniface in support of his claim to the kingdom of Scotland.[1] It is true that this can add nothing to the credibility of the incidents narrated, but it may in some degree strengthen the importance and authority of the history.

That many of the fables inserted in this history, as well those grounded upon the chronicle of Geoffrey as those derived from other sources, evince a northern origin will scarcely admit of doubt. The antiquity of

The chronicle now printed not a translation of Geoffrey.

[1] Close Roll 29 Edw. 1, m. 10 and 9 dors., and Thomæ Walsingham Historia Anglicana, ed. Riley, vol. i. p. 87.

the legends, and the simplicity of the manners and somewhat rude condition of morality which they commemorate, would seem to bespeak an emanation from the north; and this gives support to the theory that from the northern scalds were imported into Normandy, and thence transplanted into Armorica, the wild tales and adventures which engaged the attention of the minstrels and trouveurs of those countries.

Sources and authorities used by Wavrin. The chronicle called the Brut of England.

So much has been written on the subject of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Gesta Regum Britonum, and so many opposite opinions have been advanced and supported in all the different shades of rational argument or partial vindication, that I should here add nothing with advantage to settle this grave dispute or throw new light upon the question so ably contested among the learned, and yet so little likely ever to obtain universal agreement. This introduction, moreover, is not the proper place to discuss the historical worth of Geoffrey's chronicle, but as the chronicle adopted by Wavrin is to some extent based upon the same sources as those used by Geoffrey, it may not be irrelevant to contrast the two versions. In seeming to depreciate the value of this production as a history, we still believe it not to be altogether worthless, and that in some points of view it merits the attention of the student of history. Groundless and fabulous stories are so mixed up with probable events and traditions of even respectable credit, that while we can feel no surprise when modern historians reject the whole as unworthy of their serious consideration, we can also share the admiration of those who view these poetical fables and graceful stories as traditions of an age before history became a science or fiction a substitute for fact, invented in order to supply a growing craving for novelty; and we have no desire to be excluded from the list of those who are content to receive these traditions of our ancestors, with all their defects and romantic embellishments, in preference to the alternative of believing that our ancestors

themselves only came into existence at the time when written records were ready to take the place of uttered memories.

Sources and authorities used by Wavrin. The Chronicle called the Brut of England.

Without accepting the Gesta Britonum as genuine history, and without feeling ourselves compelled to take for facts all the improbable tales and inconsistencies which disfigure that still interesting work, we may exempt the author from the charge which, though none of his actual contemporaries have made it against him, William of Newburgh first ventured to bring forward, reiterated in later times with strengthened argument, that he was a mere inventor and fabricator of the stories he has put forward, forgeries and impostures without foundation and composed without judgment. It is not now disputed that much of Geoffrey's history of the Britons contains internal evidence of a far earlier origin than the beginning of the twelfth century; and, moreover, that materials even existed in his day, either written or traditionary, other than those of which he has availed himself. Many additional incidents were, after the publication of his *Gesta*, inserted in the several versions, founded upon or translated from his work, varying as they all do from one another in many particulars, amplifications, and additional tales, yet all resembling in their general construction, and bearing almost universally the name of "The Brut of England." Wace,[1] Laȝamon,[2] the Welsh version of Tysilio,[3] the Gesta Regum Britanniæ (a metrical Latin composition of the thirteenth century, inscribed to Cadiac, bishop of Vennes[4]), the anonymous metrical version in Anglo-Norman,[5]

[1] MS. Cotton. Vitellius A. x., edited by Le Roux de Lincy, 2 vols. 8vo., Rouen, 1836.

[2] Laȝamon's Brut, or Chronicle of Britain (ed. Sir F. Madden), 3 vols. roy. 8vo., 1847.

[3] Chronicle of the Kings of Britain, translated by D. Roberts, 4to., London, 1811.

[4] MS. Cotton. Julius D. xi., edited by Francisque Michel for the Cambrian Archæological Association, 8vo., 1862.

[5] Royal MS. 13 A. xxi., inedited.

Sources and authorities used by Wavrin. The Chronicle called the Brut of England.

the metrical French version of Peter of Langtoft,[1] and the English Chronicles of Robert of Brunne and Robert of Gloucester, all contain stories and differences in narrative peculiar to themselves, and not traceable to any source known at the present day. Besides these there were anonymous prose versions in Anglo-Norman, apparently of English origin, each differing in some respects from the other, but reducible, as it would seem, to two distinct classes or types;[2] and other versions again, the production probably of France and Britany, some one of which I believe furnished the type represented by the chronicle adopted by Wavrin. The composition known as "*Le Petit Brut*" is altogether a distinct work, although it purports to have been abridged from "*Le Grand Brut.*" A copy preserved in the Harl. MS. 902 gives the author's name as Rauf de Bohun, and

[1] Cotton. MS. Julius A. v., inedited.

[2] The first type is represented by the Cotton. MS. Domitian A. x.; written shortly after the period at which it terminates, viz; A.D. 1333, Addit. MS. 18,462, Art. 2; Harl. MS. Num. 200, and others. The second type is represented by the Royal MS. 20 A. iii., written about the middle of the fourteenth century, Addit. MS. 18,462, Art. 1; MS. Reg. 20 D. iii.; Cotton. Cleopatra D. iii.; MS. Lincoln's Inn Library, lxxxiii. (lxxxviii.), and others. The English version, known as Caxton's Chronicle, was translated from the latter of the two classes above referred to; the earliest copy I have seen of this translation is the MS. in C.C. Coll. Cambridge D. vi., "The History of Brutus and of "Brittain (in old English), to the "seventh year of King Henry V." See also MS. Cotton. Galba E. viii., and others. The first English translation was probably made soon after the period at which all the French copies alike terminate, and was continued afterwards from time to time. The translation follows the original very closely. The French copies all terminate alike with the defeat of the Scots at the battle of Halidon Hill and the surrender of Berwick in 1333, and conclude in these words, "et durant "celle prisur les Engleis garcons "pristrent la pilfre de les Escotz "morts, chescun apres ceo que il "poiait conquere saunz chalange "de ascuns. Amen. Deo gracias." MS. Cotton. Cleopatra D. iii. The English version continues the narrative from the above sentence in this way:—"And while this chase lasted "the English knafes toke the pilfre "of the Scottis that were quelde, "every man, that he might take "withoute eny chalange of eny man. "Deo gratias. And so after this "graciouse victory," &c.

states that it was composed at the request of Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln. It begins, "Devant la nativite " nostre Seigneur Jesu Christ, mil et cc. aunz, vint " Brutus le filz Silvius en Engleterre."[1]

Sources and authorities used by Wavrin. The Chronicle called the Brut of England.

No one of the versions above referred to can be said to be the prototype of the Chronicle now printed. Our author, however, has not here constructed for the purpose of his collection of chronicles an autogenial version of the Brut d'Engleterre; but he has adopted and inserted in entirety, with possibly only a slight revision, an already existing copy of a work which is apparently of later composition than that which furnished the groundwork for the different Norman-French versions called the *Brut*,[2] and the English translation well known to our countrymen under the name of Caxton's Chronicle. A type of this copy still exists in two MSS. in the Imperial Library at Paris;[3] and the great and distinguishing peculiarity of this type is the introduction of the account of the invasion of Britain by Offrin, king of Ireland, and the fealty and homage which King Camber did for the kingdom of Cambria to Queen Guendoline of Loegria, the frequent reference made to the authority of "Le " Maistre des Histoires," and the commentaries on the prophecies of Merlin.

[1] "Cy commence li Bruit d'Engle- " terre, qui vous dirra de roy en " autre Payne et Chrestien jekes roy " Edward de Carnarvan, qe ore est, " solome la ordinance Meistre Rauf " de Boun qe, a la requeste Mons. " Henry de Lacy, conte de Nichole " ceste chose ad novellement abbrege " hors du grant Bruit, en lan du " regne notre seigneur le roy Edward " de Carnarvan le tiers an entrant. " Kar vous entendrez que ceste " chose fuist faictes par encheson " du darrain Edward piere cely roy " q ore est, de quy vous troverez " playne proces de tout sa vie jekes " a jour qil morust." (MS. Harl. Num. 902.)

[2] It has been said, but I have never seen a copy of such a work, that Rusticien de Pise translated the *Brut* into French prose. (Archæologia, xii. 57.)

[3] F. fr. No. 2806 (olim anc. f. f. 8387), and No. 5621 (olim anc. f. fr. 10,210. 3. 3.

Sources and authorities used by Wavrin. The Chronicle called the Brut of England.

The two manuscripts in the Imperial Library were written not later than the first quarter of the fifteenth century; and they present, with occasional slight variations of language, and in some few instances even a more distinct disagreement in the location of the phrases and other unimportant variations, the entire matter of the second and third books of the text of the volume now printed. The commencement of the MSS. is precisely in the words of our Chronicle, "Tout aussi comme se "en moy estimoit science avoir et faconde de pouvoir "suffire descripre et revoquer en lumiere tous les fais "vertueux,"[1] &c.; and the termination of the last chapter of the third book[2] accords in every particular with the conclusion of the manuscripts cited. The colophon is "Cy finent les croniques des Bretons contenans les "gestes diceulx depuis la venue de Brutus, nepveu "de Eneas, jusques au temps du roy Caduuala-"dreth, qui regna lan 588[3] ans apres lincarnation "nostre Seigneur, selon la sentence de Galfroy Mo-"nemutensis, qui ce livre composa en Latin par le "commandement de tres noble et puissant prince "Henry, roy d'Engleterre."[4]

Conjectures are poor substitutes for proven facts; but we can only conjecture, in the absence of direct testimony, from what source many of the stories here related may have been derived. There may have been extant in the fourteenth century a copy of the lost portion of Geoffrey Gaimar's metrical Chronicle. The "*Estorie des Engles*" begins with the arrival of Cerdic in 495 and ends with the death of William Rufus; the preceding portion, which Gaimar tells us began with

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[1] See lib. ii. cap. 1, p. 36, of the text.

[2] See lib. iii. c. 53, p. 501, of the text.

[3] The same inaccuracy of date is also reproduced in the text, which reads 588 instead of 688.

[4] King Henry the First. The first edition of Geoffrey was published before Henry's death.

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Jason and the Golden Fleece,[1] is not known at this day. It is singular that our Chronicle, unlike that of Geoffrey of Monmouth's or any of the versions of the *Brut d'Angleterre*, begins in like manner with the account of the first destruction of Troy and the voyage of Jason and his companions to Colchis to obtain the Golden Fleece. What if Gaimar's first portion contained the history of the Bretons down to the arrival of Cerdic? Upon that history may have been partly founded the actual prototype of our Chronicle. It is called "The "Book of Brut of England," and the author, whoever he may be, not improbably composed a prose version of the *Gesta Britonum* from the two metrical histories of Wace and Gaimar. He compares[2] in several instances the conflicting statements of Wace and "The "Master of Histories," the latter of whom was probably the author of the "Estorie des Engles." A wide field is here open for conjecture. Can the stories met with in our Chronicle, and similar novel incidents found in other declared versions of the Historia Britonum, and yet not found in Geoffrey of Monmouth's Chronicle, be referred to Gaimar? And dare we advance a theory that the two Geoffries may each have had a distinct written memorial of the traditions of a former age relative to the annals of the princes of Britain, upon which their respective productions, independently of each other, were equally derived and based. Could this theory be maintained, albeit the tales related may not thereby acquire the smallest shadow of corroboration as to their veracity, yet the circumstance that a coeval writer (for Gaimar's work was composed before

Sources and authorities used by Wavrin. The Chronicle called the Brut of England.

[1] "Il comencat la u Jasun
"Ala conquere la tuisun."
(L'estorie des Engles solum Geffrei Gaimar, edit. Petrie, p. 829, col. 2.) Consult also a dissertation by the Abbé de la Rue on the lives and writings of various Anglo-Norman poets of the twelfth century, read before the Society of Antiquaries, Feb 4, 1796. (Archæologia, xii. 307.)

[2] See pp. 92, 93, and 95.

Sources and authorities used by Wavrin. The Chronicle called the Brut of England.

the middle of the twelfth century[1]) has in a distinct work, not professing to be translated or derived from his contemporary's labours, preserved a narrative of events of the same general character, cannot fail to deprive the contemners of Geoffrey of Monmouth of many of the arguments used against him as an impostor. The Chronicle now printed will be very useful in examining this question, and in the absence of any more substantial evidence of the contents of the lost portion of Gaimar's history, will doubtless furnish some clue to the discovery of another source than Geoffrey of Monmouth for the many stories omitted by him and found in Laȝamon, Wace, and other writers of that class.

One of the peculiarities of the Chronicle now printed, which distinguish it from the other types of the *Brut of England*, is that not only are the prophecies of Merlin, delivered to King Vortigern, professedly translated from the Latin of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Britonum, but there is an attempt to explain them and apply them to the events accomplished at the time in which the writer of the Chronicle was living. By these commentaries we are enabled to approximate the time when the Chronicle was composed, or at least that part of it which contains the translation of Merlin's prophecies. There seems some reason to believe that this portion may have been a distinct composition, and of later date than the rest of the Chronicle, added in the exemplars made about the beginning of the fifteenth century. In none of the numerous manuscripts of the Anglo-Norman versions of the Brut d'Angleterre, extant in the British Museum, and in other libraries in this country, so far as they have been examined, do the prophecies of Merlin occur; and this circumstance induces me to believe that earlier copies existed without this translation, and that such copies were made from

[1] Monum enta Historica Britannica, p. 764, note a.

the prototype of the "book of the Brut," and were extended and continued from time to time. The original exemplar may have been composed as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, nay, perhaps, even not very long after Geoffrey's own work, and that of "the Master of Histories," whoever he may have been, were published. We know that the Historia Britonum had acquired great popularity in France, and particularly in Britany, very soon after its first publication, and perhaps before it had become even so well known in this country. Henry of Huntingdon tells us himself[1] that, in the year 1139, on his way to Rome with Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury he was shown a copy of this work by Robert de Torigny, a monk of Bec, of which monastery Theobald had been abbot. Henry in the same year made an abridgment of it and transmitted it to Warinus. It seems, then, not very difficult to believe that a French or a Breton prose version of this popular history may have been made at a very early period, and that into such version were introduced—perhaps derived from the metrical history of Gaimar, then, though not at this day, extant, perhaps from the songs and romances actually rehearsed by troubadours of the period — some of the popular traditions doubtless at that time well remembered in Britany, relative to the kings of Britain, from whom the Bretons acknowledged the descent of their own rulers. There is evidence afforded by a comparison of the various French versions now extant, more or less abridged, that these must have had some common origin,[2] and in neither the Brut of

Sources and authorities used by Wavrin. The Chronicle called the Brut of England.

[1] Harl. MS. 651, p. 145 v°., and MS. Reg. 13 C. xi., fol. 3 r°.

[2] We have before observed that a copy of the type of the version adopted by Wavrin is to be found in the two MSS. in the Imperial Library at Paris. These MSS. are referred to in the Notes and Emendations under the name of the Paris MSS. It is conjectured that probably not very long antecedently to the transcription of the Paris MS.

Sources and authorities used by Wavrin. The Chronicle called the Brut of Engand.

Wace, nor in that of Lazamon, can be traced the foundation of some of the stories narrated, and the details supplied by the Chronicle now under consideration.

No copy has been met with of the translation of the prophecies with the commentary as they appear in the text in a separate form; but the period of their compilation is clearly limited by the reference made to certain well known events; and it should be observed that there are also indications in the history itself, apart from the commentary upon the prophecies, of interpolated remarks which point to a period much more recent than that of the supposed original version. The passages wherein is described the faithless character of the English [1] may be instanced.[2]

With respect to the age and country of the translator of the prophecies and author of the commentaries in the text, we find here and there some phrases which reveal the name of his country and the period at which he wrote. In his prologue to the prophecies he informs us

a distinct work was composed, being a translation of the seventh book only of Geoffrey's history containing the prophecies of Merlin, to which were added comments or interpretations, pointing out their application severally to events then accomplished. This work was apparently imported into some of the copies subsequently made of the original version, or perhaps a new and independent version may have been made at the same time, adopting the translation of the prophecies with their interpretations, and the work in such state is that represented by the Paris MSS. The text adopted by Wavrin, though taken from an exemplar of the same class, was clearly not made from either of these manuscripts.

[1] See pp. 219 and 220, and again at pp. 233 and 496.

[2] It is singular that this impression of the faithlessness of the English as a nation in the observance of treaties should be so often insisted upon by the French chroniclers; if it were not for the admitted age of the MS. in which these aspersions first occur, they might be supposed to have been due to Wavrin's estimate of the English. Robert Blondel has expressed a similar notion:—"Si priscarum Anglorum cum Gallis conventionum recorderis, Anglorum promissis genus infidum, et eorum treugarum exitum novas prædas raptum iri compertum habebis." (Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normanniæ, cap. ii. s. 7, edit. Stevenson, 1863.)

that he was a native of Le Bourbonnois;[1] and as to the period when he lived, the reflections suggested to him by the interpretations he gives of some of the prophecies determine the age conclusively.[2] In speaking of the gallant acts of the prince of Wales at the battle of Poitiers (19th September 1356), he uses this expression, "Sy "comme je lay aultrefoiz oy recorder," or as the Paris MS. reads, "Si comme jay oy maintes fois dire;" and again,[3] in describing the state and condition of France, the time of the writer is indicated. This may perhaps have reference to the corrupt administration existing in Languedoc and other parts of southern France in 1389, while the Duke de Berri was governor; a rising of the people was the consequence of those grievances, and complaints were carried to the foot of the throne, and in April 1390 the king removed his uncle from the government of Languedoc by reason of his malversations.

Sources and authorities used by Wavrin. The Chronicle called the Brut of England.

During the administration of Louis of Orleans the people were ground down with taxes and imposts, and it is notorious that the reckless extravagance and disgraceful conduct of the queen's paramour caused the enormous revenue, drained from the pockets of the subjects of the unfortunate Charles, to be applied rather to administer to the selfish pleasure and disgusting avarice of his sensual consort than to the purposes for which it was collected. We cannot fail to see in the condition of France just before the duke's assassination the pertinence of the author's lamentation:[4]—"Alas! when I see in this

[1] See p. 228.

[2] See p. 236.

[3] See p. 237.

[4] Compare this reproof with the second point in the petition presented in the year 1405 by the duke of Burgundy and his two brothers to the king in council. "Le second "poinct est de la justice de ce roy- "aume qui devant toutes autres roy "aumes souloient tenir la souveraine "execution de droicte justice: la- "quelle chose est de votre royaume "le principal fondement. Et du "temps passé vos officiers s'estoient "faits par vraye et meure delibera- "tions et election, des plus notables, "qui voz droits grandement gar-

Sources and authorities used by Wavrin. The Chronicle called the Brut of England.

" noble Christian kingdom of France the hearts of the " noble barons and knights shrouded in darkness " through their vices, and those who were appointed to " guard the fountain of justice, to open and impart it " generally to all, as well the small as the great; when " I see them blind and deaf, as we may now see them, " for it appears plainly to all the world that they do not " wish to open the path of justice to those who ask and " earnestly implore it; wherefore so much evil comes to " pass every day, and I fear yet more will happen. " Certainly, when I think of it my heart trembles, and I " sigh with painful groanings."

" Alas! and this kingdom used to enjoy justice on its " shining throne, and there flowed to it and adorned it " all foreign and barbarous nations to obtain right and " reason against evil-doers; but now they say that the " fountain of justice is dried up and lost in France, and " she is scorned by foreign nations. Verily do I believe " that the souls of the councillors of France who now " reign, seculars as well as clergy, who hold their peace " and are silent, notwithstanding the great improprieties " which happen every day before their eyes, shall be " damned for it eternally in the deep pit of hell with " the infernal devils, who shall torment them for ever."[1]

The pernicious sedition and civil division which induced the author's exclamation[2]—" We are now all " Guelphs and Ghibellines as the Lombards "—must have been those unhappy differences which then prevailed between the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans. The feud had its origin in 1392, and was owing to the preference

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" doient, et à tous grans et moyens " egallement justice se faisoit; maintenant il est le contraire; car voz " officiers par dons et par prieres ils " sont faits; pourquoy voz droits " sont grandement diminuez et de " jour en jour diminuent, par quoy " le peuple est tresfort greué." (Monstrelet, vol. i., c. 25, edit. 1595, fol. 22 r°.

[1] P 283.

[2] P. 284.

shown in the selection of regent when the king's sad affliction overtook him and deprived him of the power of governing the kingdom. The enmity between the two houses of Orleans and Burgundy which thus began with Philip le Hardi, and on his death was transmitted to his son, seemed for a short time to be appeased, and a reconciliation was effected, perhaps partly through the influence of Christina de Pisa's letter to the Queen Isabella of Bavaria, 5th October 1405.[1] The dissensions again broke out in 1407, and on the 23rd November in that year the duke of Orleans was assassinated by the duke of Burgundy. Monstrelet, writing of the murder of Louis of Orleans, says:[2]—"à l'occasion de "laquelle, le roy, tous les princes de son sang, et gene- "rallement tout son royaume eurent moult à souffrir, "et furent en trèsgrand division l'un contre l'autre par "très longue espace et tant qu'iceluy royaume en fut "moult desolé et appauvry, comme cy après pourra plus "plainement estre veu par la declaration, qui mise en "sera en ce present livre: c'est à sçavoir, pour la mort "du duc d'Orleans."

Sources and authorities used by Wavrin The Chronicle called the Brut of England.

After this, the hostility of the two factions divided the whole kingdom, and the mischiefs thereby occasioned reached their height about the year 1411. The party of the duke of Orleans, favoured by the dukes of Berri and Bourbon, the counts of Alençon, Clermont, and Armagnac, was distinguished by the name of Armagnacs, and the partisans of John, duke of Burgundy, were called Burgundians. The author doubtless refers to the condition of the kingdom of France at this period, and that would fix the time of the composition of the work to the beginning of the fifteenth century. The age of the two MSS. in the Imperial Library has been pronounced

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[1] Bibl. Imp. de Paris, No. 7073, fol. 53.

[2] Vol. i. c. 36 (edit. 1595), p. 29 r°.

by competent judges [1] to be anterior to the commencement of the second quarter of the fifteenth century, and it is very probable that the more ancient of the two was written close upon the events above referred to.[2]

Sources from which Wavrin compiled his chronicle for the period subsequent to the expulsion of the Britons.

It would not be convenient in these observations, which must necessarily, as it is, extend beyond the usual limits of prefatory remarks, to enter upon a complete collation of the sources of the Chronicles used by Wavrin with the copies which are preserved in the various versions of the *Brut*. A few instances may be selected to show that the Chronicles are not identical, and although the general arrangement of the work, more particularly in the portion which embraces the reigns of Edward the First and Edward the Second, presents a close resemblance, — and there are many chapters so similar, with even a reproduction of peculiar errors,[3] that they cannot fail to disclose a common origin,—yet the narratives in many respects differ so much from each other, being greatly condensed and abridged in the versions known as the *Brut*, that it

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[1] M. Natalis de Wailly, Membre de l'Institut (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres), Conservateur sous Directeur du Département des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale, and M. Léopold Delisle, Membre de l'Institut (même Académie), employé au Département des Manuscrits de la même Bibliothèque. The editor is indebted to the opinion of these two skilled archæologists for the conclusive judgment he is enabled to give of the time when these manuscripts were written.

[2] From the tenor of the reflections indulged in by the *Bourbonnois* translator, we may assume that he was an *Armagnac*, and we may venture to apply to him the words of the learned academician M. Paulin Paris, in speaking of another historian, "L'auteur de ce morceau "historique se montre bon François, "ennemi naturel des Bourguignons "et des Anglois." (Les Manuscrits François de la Bibliothèque du Roi, vol. v. 368.)

[3] There are some copies of the French Brut which give fifty-five years as the duration of the reign of Edward the First. The English version (MS. C.C. Coll. Camb.) has the same error, but it is corrected in MS. Cott. Galba E. viii. The MS. used by Wavrin must have exhibited the same faulty computation, since we find the same error reproduced by him. (Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. i. lib. 5, c. 84.)

is not possible to maintain anything more in respect of the Chronicle adopted by Wavrin and the Chronicle of the Brut, than that an identity of source furnished the materials for all. That this source now no longer exists may be assumed; and therefore the Chronicle preserved by Wavrin will be of great utility in enabling us to arrive at some theory respecting the sources of that narrative which these particular classes of Chronicle present, so distinct in every character from our purely English Chronicles, such as Malmesbury, Huntingdon, Hoveden, Wendover, or Matthew Paris, and others of the same rank.

Sources from which Wavrin compiled his chronicles.

It is just possible that the entire contents of the fourth, fifth, and sixth books of volume the first of Wavrin's collection may, like the former portion, have existed in a separate form and as a distinct Chronicle. The prototype has not, however, been discovered. The type that comes nearest to the copy which Wavrin has adopted for his Chronicle is that represented by the MS. Reg. 20 A. iii. There is nearly the same arrangement of subject. The chapters and rubrics are for the most part alike, and the narrative in many cases is so similar that it may be assumed that they have been copied, adapted, or abridged from the same French original; or they may be independent translations from the same Latin original common to all the exemplars or types of the several Anglo-Norman versions of the Brut d'Angleterre.[1] The narrative which begins in the fourth book, and which will be continued in the next

[1] For the period preceding the death of Alfred the narrative in Wavrin is very much fuller than in any known version of the *Brut*. As it is improbable that Wavrin should so materially have dilated the relation of the incidents of that period, we must believe that the Chronicle adopted had been greatly condensed and abridged by the author of the Anglo-Norman version of the *Brut d'Angleterre*, or that Wavrin had access to various Chronicles not now extant, and compiled from several manuscripts a new and independent history.

Sources from which Wavrin compiled his chronicles.

volume of this publication, commences with the relation of the arrival from Armorica of Ivor and Ini, the children of Cadwalader.[1]

The story of Buerne Bocart, called by Gaimar Buern le Buzecarle, is told in this Chronicle with a simplicity that denotes the antiquity of the legend. A translation is here given to afford an example of what has been elsewhere remarked in these observations, that the romantic legends and traditions of the different nations of Europe, current in the twelfth century, were frequently adopted as historical records, and having been supplied with new names and localities, were inserted into the Chronicles of the time with all the pretensions of genuine history. The earliest form of the story of Buerne now known is that given very briefly by Gaimar in his "Estorie des Engles."[2] There the king is called, as in the text, Osbright of Northumberland; but in the Latin prose version printed by Mr. Petrie from a MS. in C. C. Coll. Cambridge, (numb. cxxxix., written about the close of the twelfth century,) the king is called Ella of Deira, and the husband bears the name of Ernulfus.[3]

[1] Ivor and Ini are in the former portion called the son and nephew of Cadwalader, and so are they named by Geoffrey of Monmouth (lib. xii. c. 18). In the subsequent narrative, where the same peculiarity of orthography (Morth and Mith) is repeated, they are called the children of Cadwalader, who is again spoken of as their father. (Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. i. lib. 4, c. 1.) It is remarkable that in the Brut y Tywysogion, Ivor is called son of Alan, king of Armorica. (Edit. Williams ab Ithel, p. 1.)

[2] Monumenta Historica Britannica, edit. Petrie, pp. 795, *et seq.*

[3] Ibid, note a. Other similar romances, fabliaux, and tales of love no doubt existed extensively in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The same tale under another adaptation, the names and circumstances being changed to suit the fancy of the relater, was probably often made in later times to rest upon a foundation of historical verity; and the poetic fabrications of a previous age were sometimes used to impose upon the chronicler the semblance of history by being dressed up in the guise and embellished with the names of real personages. Such a tale, I believe, furnished the materials for the romantic story of the passion of

[1] "Thus there passed a great space of time since the coming "of the children of King Cadwalader, until King Osbright, "who reigned in Northumberland, violated the wife of a great "baron of the country who was named Buerne Bocart, "through whom, and at his instigation, the Danes first came "into England, where they did much mischief and exercised "many oppressions, as hereafter you may see in pursuing the "history of this true Chronicle, as follows:— Story of Buerne Bocart.

"*How King Osbright, of Northumberland, took by force the "wife of a great baron named Buerne Bocart, and what "came of it.*

"At this time, when the island of Great Britain was in so "much perplexity, and the Briton people thus overthrown "and subdued by the Saxons, there was in Northumberland "a king named Osbright, who at that time held his residence "in York, where he was sovereign over all. It happened one "day that the king was minded to go for sport into a neigh-"bouring forest, there to chase the stags, hinds, boars, and "other wild beasts. After he had finished his sport, and the "chase was over, he took leave of the most part of his "attendants, and only retained with him a few of his most "trusty companions, then he issued from the forest and took "his road to the right; he then came to the house of a very "worthy man and great baron, valiant and wise, whose "name was Buerne Bocart, who at the time had put to sea "with a powerful fleet well furnished with provisions, men, "and artillery, because of certain news which had reached "him from his friends that some pirates or sea robbers had "borne down in great numbers to pillage and rob merchants "and others; but by the great valour, prowess, and bravery "of the said Buerne all were destroyed, slain by the sword, "or driven into the sea, While the said Buerne was on this "journey, King Osbright arrived at his house, where he found "the lady within, who received him most courteously, as she "knew well how to do, expressing sorrow that her husband

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King Edward for the beautiful countess of Salisbury, which so signally imposed upon the unsuspecting belief of the old canon of Liége, whose Chronicle, recently published, contains this fable, with some additional features forcibly betraying its origin.

[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. i. lib. 4, cc. 1 and 2. See also Cotton. MS. Domitian A. x. f. 45 a, and Additional MS. 18,462, part i. c. cviii.

" was not at his house in order to entertain and feast the king
" better; but, nevertheless, she was very wise, courteous, and
" well brought up, and knowing as much of the duties and
" courtesies of the world as any lady of her time, and she re-
" ceived the king well and politely, according to her means,
" and had him attended most sumptuously in everything she
" could procure, so that he ought in reason to have been satis-
" fied. After he had dined, and the tables were removed, the
" king took the lady by the hand and led her to her apart-
" ments, and she, not giving a thought to the disloyalty of
" the ungrateful king, went with him, cheerfully discoursing.
" But the felon king, filled with wine and spices, ordered
" his people, and all those who were within, to withdraw,
" then he seized the lady against her will, and with vio-
" lent force accomplished on her his disloyal purposes and
" desires. This done, he departed thence with his followers
" and turned towards York, leaving the good lady weeping
" and grieving, struck with an insupportable sorrow. And
" there was neither man nor woman in her house, however
" intimate with her, who could by any entreaties moderate
" her grief, so that all within the house were constrained to
" give way to their tears. During this perplexity and sorrow
" it happened that Buerne entered the house in great joy at
" the good fortune he had met with in his expedition, as you
" have heard above, but this joy did not last long when he
" saw his wife, whom he tenderly loved, in sorrow and tears,
" and recommencing her dolorous lamentations; wherefore the
" good knight, her husband, asked her the cause of her un-
" bounded grief, and then the lady in a low voice and full
" of anguish replied, saying, 'O Buerne, how can it be well
" ' for a woman who has lost her chastity through a strange
" ' man staining or destroying her lawful marriage bed?
" ' Buerne, thy wife's body has been violated, but her heart
" ' had no fault therein, of which death shall be my witness
" ' if thou dost not swear faith to me to take all the vengeance
" ' in thy power to punish the disloyal perpetrator of so
" ' enormous a crime.'

" Then Buerne, like a virtuous man, asked her calmly who
" had done this wickedness. ' Sir, ' said the lady,' it was
" ' the king, whom I had honourably received in thy house,
" ' who violently, and spite of myself, committed this outrage
" ' upon me.' Then the good lady at these words began her
" grief afresh so bitterly, that pity it was to behold her. But
" Buerne, her husband, who loved her tenderly, comforted her
" as much as he could, saying, ' Lady, against force, weakness
" ' availeth nothing; you shall not be the less loved by me; rise,

" ' I promise you faithfully that, if it please God to let me live
" ' yet a short time, I will, to my utmost power, see that this
" ' injury on you and me shall be avenged.' So by these and
" other consolations the good knight Buerne appeased his wife
" as well as he could, and caused her to cease her lamentations.
" Then Buerne, who was wise, and a great lord of good lineage,
" and powerful in resources, sent one day to all his relations
" as well on his side as on his wife's, who were connexions of
" the highest personages in the country, who, when they had
" come to his house, were received and entertained honourably
" by him. He then took his wife by the hand, and they all with-
" drew into a room apart, and there, in way of complaint, he
" caused his wife to relate, in the presence of all, the great
" villainy and disloyalty which King Osbright had done her.
" The barons having heard the plaint of the lady and of Buerne,
" whom they loved very much, there promised that this offence
" done to them by the king should be dearly paid for; then,
" after several plans had been formed by them, they all with
" one accord arranged the matter. Then Buerne, overjoyed with
" their answer, took leave of them and straightway went to York,
" which was not far off; and when he came to the palace gate,
" he dismounted from his horse, and walked up the stairs, his
" sword girded on, and found the king in the hall, who was
" discoursing with his barons. When the king perceived Buerne,
" he gave him no time for salutation, but moved forward and
" with hearty cheer told Buerne that he was welcome, and called
" to him most courteously in asking for news. But Buerne,
" grasping the pommel of his sword, answered him, saying that
" he counted not at all on his friendship; then raising his voice
" aloud, he said, ' Disloyal king, I defy you and give back into
" ' your hands your homages and fealties; of you I will never
" ' hold anything more.' This said, he took leave of the barons
" and knights who were there, of whom the greater part were
" his relatives, then returned to his men, who awaited him at
" the foot of the steps, mounted his horse, and rode on until
" he reached his house, where he found his wife, to whom
" he related all he had done at the court; then, as hastily as
" he could, he prepared matters to accomplish his enterprise.
" When he saw his plans matured and he was furnished with
" all that was requisite, he took leave of his wife with much
" weeping and many tears, and journeyed until he came to the
" port where his ships and men awaited him, who were very
" joyful at his coming. Then he put to sea, and sailed with a
" good wind, so that in a short time he arrived in Denmark,
" where he was joyfully received by the lords, his relations and
" friends, even by the king, to whom he was nearly related.

"After salutations had been made, the Danish king inquired " in a friendly way after the affairs of his cousin Buerne, and " how the Saxon kings governed the kingdom. Then Buerne, " who was longing eagerly to make his complaint, seeing his " opportunity, began to speak aloud, and related to the Danish " king at length the manner in which Osbright of Northumber- " land had dishonoured him through his wife, wherefore he had " come there to lay his complaint before him, and seek aid to " avenge himself on the said king of Northumberland, by whom " he had been so grievously injured and his wife dishonoured " by violence, so that for this reason he who was her husband " besought the king and all his barons that in this matter " they would aid him.

"King Godrin of Denmark, hearing the complaint of Buern, " his relative, turned to his barons and asked their advice on " this occurrence; whereunto the barons, overjoyed at the op- " portunity they would have of entering England, answered the " king all with one accord:—'Sire, we pray you at once to " ' give assistance unto Buerne your relative, in order that he, " ' his wife, and all his lineage may be avenged of the great " ' injury perpetrated by King Osbright.' The king of Den- " mark, hearing the good will that his barons had to avenge " Buerne, was much pleased, and told him he would give him " a large army, so he forthwith sent for his two brothers, very " valiant knights, to whom he delivered the charge of the whole " army. Their names were Humgar and Hubba. Then he had " letters of command written, and had published by sound of " trumpet, that under pain of death all his soldiers should " prepare themselves to go with his two brothers. The com- " mands and proclamations having been performed on the " king's behalf, all used their endeavours to get ready for de- " parture; then when all was prepared, they put to sea and " sailed until in a few days they reached a port of safety."[1]

The romantic story of King Edgar and Estrild, called by Malmesbury Elfthrida, the daughter of Ord-

[1] The reader will not fail, on comparing this tale with the story of the violation of the countess of Salisbury by Edward of Windsor, to note how closely many of the incidents and details of the two romances correspond; there will be no difficulty, moreover, in conjecturing from what country the fable derived its origin. The character of the monarch, with whose name a similar scandal has been associated, must upon reflection be cleared from the imputation under which the chronicle of John le Bel has placed it.

gar, and of her subsequent advancement to the throne, is narrated at length by Wavrin.[1]

Sources of Wavrin's chronicles.

The rubric of the chapter[2]—"How King Canute "sent the two sons of King Edmund into Denmark "in order to have them slain; and how they were "saved"—is represented in the Royal MS. 20 A. iii. c. 127, by "How King Canute sent the two sons of "Edmund Ironside into Denmark to have them de-"stroyed, and how they were saved." In the narrative there is a remarkable difference in language, which precludes the presumption of one being a copy from the other, and yet there is sufficient resemblance to mark an identity of source.[3]

After the coronation of Harold, the son of Earl Godwin, there occur several chapters, in which there is little in common between the Wavrin chronicle and the Brut. An entirely different source has supplied the full and interesting history of Duke William's preparations for the invasion, his departure from St. Valery, and arrival in England. We have also in this chronicle an amusing account of the proceedings of Harold and his younger brother Gyrth just before the battle of Hastings. The original source of this narrative has not been traced, but the whole account will be found in very nearly the same form in a manuscript chronicle of Normandy, of which a copy is preserved in the British Museum, MS. Reg. 15 E. vi., fol. 430 et seq. The novel character of the details will justify the insertion here of some extracts, particularly as they may aid in ascertaining the sources of the chronicle used by Wavrin for this part of his collection.[4]

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[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. i. lib. 4, c. 17. This may be compared with MS. Cotton. Domitian A. x.

[2] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. i. lib. 4, c. 23.

[3] Cf. the chapter relating to King Hardecnut (Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. i. lib. 4. c. 26) with MS. Reg. 20 A. iii. c. 130, and that relating to King Stephen (ibid. vol. i. lib. 5, c. 21) with MS. Reg. 20 A. iii. c. 14.

[4] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. i. lib. 4, c. 47. Cf. Malmesbury, Gesta Regum (ed. Hardy), vol. i., p. 411 et seq.

The arrival of Duke William and battle of Hastings.

"When King Harold saw his men come in such great "numbers, he set out from London and took to the open "country with his whole force. Then Gyrth, brother of "Harold, began to reason with him, saying, 'My lord, I "'counsel you to stay in London, and let me, who have never "'made faith, oath, nor intimacy with Duke William, go and "'fight against him, for if you perjure yourself, I am quite "'sure that harm will come to you, while if I am either taken "'prisoner or slain, you will soon get over that. Cause all "'the wealth of the country to be placed in safety, so that the "'Normans may not be able to find any provisions, and in "'this manner you may be able, perhaps, to come to some "'agreement with Duke William.' 'By my faith, Gyrth,' "said King Harold to his brother, 'that will I not do at all. "'Please God, the country which I have to protect I will not "'suffer to be destroyed. I will fight along with my men, "'for with them I wish to live and, if need be, to die.' Then "the English marched on to a place which the king had told "them of, where he ordered a halt, and said that he would "await the Normans there. So he commanded every one to "encamp; then he had great ditches dug round the army, "only leaving three narrow openings; this spot is now called "Battle Abbey, as hereafter will be told. Here King Harold "had his banner hoisted and his chief standard, and he made "and appointed as captains men thereunto fitted, according to "his judgment, to be leaders of his army, which was very "large. When this was done, he called his brother Gyrth to "him and said, 'Good brother, I should much like to see "'the conduct and behaviour of these Normans;' and Gyrth "answered, 'Sire, let us to-morrow morning mount two good "'steeds and ride towards their camp.' This they did, and "rode until they came to a place whence they could clearly "perceive the whole array of the Normans; for they saw "tents and pavilions, camps and coverts in abundance; they "heard trumpets, drums, and instruments, and horses in large "numbers neighing; they saw helmets and shields glittering "in the sun, which shone out above; and they saw an innu-"merable force of people, all fully armed, coming and going "by the tents and camps. Then Harold said to Gyrth, 'Good "'brother, we see in faith a great number of men in goodly "'array and order; it will be dangerous to wait for their "'attacking us; in my opinion it would be better to withdraw "'to London until we get more men, or if it seem better to "'you, I will return to London and assemble as many men "'as I can, and you shall remain with our army in the place "'where we are now encamped; it is a strong spot, and I

" 'will come back here to you as soon as possible.' 'Ha!' " cried Gyrth, 'false traitor, coward, and poltroon, it is too " 'late to do this; your heart fails you ere you have dealt blow " 'of lance or sword, and ere you have been hurt or wounded. " 'When I counselled this very thing to you, you would not " 'do it, but answered me, presumptuous as you are, most " 'proudly; your pride is beaten down in a very short space; " 'when only seeing your enemies you are already discomfited " 'and stand in such awe. If now you go back, it will only " 'be said that you have fled, and if you do fly, who is to " 'keep together your army? and if they were to become dis- " 'persed, who is to re-assemble them? You are a worthless " 'man, and unfit to bear the name of king, for you are per- " 'jured and wicked above all other men.' Finally, such " hard words passed between the two brothers, that suddenly " Gyrth drew his sword to strike his brother a death-blow, " but Harold avoided it and flew upon him in turn. While " this strife was continuing, some of their men arrived there, " who had been seeking them, for none knew what had be- " come of them, and they separated the two brothers; then " they returned to the camp."

Harold after this sends two spies into the Norman camp to ascertain their strength; but these are taken prisoners and brought before Duke William, who, instead of punishing them, gave them to eat and drink and freedom to go through the Norman camp and wheresoever they willed. On returning to their own camp, they relate how that Duke William's army was composed more of monks and priests than of soldiers. The English are on this account in great consternation.

[1] After the departure of the spies, Duke William sends another message to Harold through a monk of great prudence and wisdom. The English assemble together to hear the monk deliver his message, which was as follows:—" Sire, the duke of Nor- " mandy sends you word through me, that you must do one of " three things, whichever pleases you best, namely, either that " you give up to him the kingdom of England and take his " daughter in marriage, as indeed you promised, and agreed " and swore on the holy relics and evangelists to do, or that " you place this disagreement between you at the arbitrament of " the pope, or that you and the duke shall fight body to body, " and not cause the bloodshed of your men on one side or the " other, on such condition that whichever gains the victory and " shall slay his antagonist shall take the kingdom peaceably " without gainsay." Then Harold, without any counsel or advice, answered, " I will bind myself by no agreement or

[1] Chap. 48.

" promise made to your lord; I will not submit myself to the " pope, nor will I fight with the duke body to body."

[1] The monk returned to Duke William with Harold's answer, and the barons having heard it, persuade the duke to hasten his preparations, inasmuch as Harold was daily being reinforced. William then despatches another monk with an invitation to Harold to meet half way between the two armies to discuss the question, but the monk is this time received and answered by Gyrth, who says, " Go, tell your master that the " king will not come to him, but that any offers he has to " make, let him make them known to the king, and he shall " receive instant answer." Duke William, on the delivery of Gyrth's message, orders the monk back with this answer:— " Return to Harold and tell him that if he will hold to what " he promised me, I will leave him Northumberland and all " the country which lies beyond the Humber entirely, with the " profits appertaining thereunto, and to Gyrth his brother I will " leave all the land which Godwin his father held; and if they " will not accept what I offer them, say to Harold, that I " defy him for a false and perjured traitor as he is; and tell " him before his whole baronage, that if they uphold him they " are all excommunicated by the mouth of the pope, by whose " authority I have this bull sealed."

The English are much concerned on hearing the mention of excommunication, but Gyrth, as soon as the monk had retired, addressed Harold and his barons thus:—

" My lords, I believe that you fear a battle, and not without " cause. We do not well know William the Bastard; you see " that while he yet has acquired no part of our country, he " disposes of it at his pleasure. Now no sooner shall we have " gone beyond the Humber, and he shall have subjected to his " obedience the country which he wants, he will drive us out " altogether if he choose. And still worse remains, for he has " given your lands to his barons, knights, and other persons, " of whom the most part have already done him homage, and " who are most wishful to have their gifts if so it turns out " that he obtains the kingdom, and he will be holden to give " these up to them in order to quit himself towards them. " Thus we shall be driven from our lands and the Normans " will hold us in subjection, and take our wives, daughters, " and wealth in spite of us, and all that seems good to them " of ours, and we shall not dare to grumble nor say one word " thereat. They come not alone to destroy our persons, but " to oust us and our heirs entirely of the inheritance of our " ancestors; and even if we were permitted by him to dwell

[1] Chap. 49.

" in our inheritances which have come to us from our an-
" cestors, *that* we might tolerate, for the honour of the king
" and the sovereignty of the realm, as in a case where our
" lord were dead, or we had suffered a change of master, but
" to drive us from our country and seize our inheritance, that
" is too hard a thing to bear. Therefore take counsel as to
" what you will do, and whither you will go if you are thus
" driven out of your country." Then spoke Harold to his men, saying, " My lords, you have heard what my brother
" Gyrth has said; I love you, as I am bound to do, and do
" you show me in return how much and dearly you love me.
" I pray you, let us defend our lives and those of our chil-
" dren and successors, in exerting ourselves to destroy our
" enemies who have come to assail us, and if we can conquer,
" them we shall win everlasting honour. I will increase to you
" your fiefs, and will shower still greater favours among you."

[1] The English determine upon this to resist the Normans. They pass the night in drinking and carousing. On the other hand, the Normans attend to their devotions. Otho, bishop of Bayeux, brother of Duke William on the mother's side, being the son of a burgess of Falaise named Heluin, addresses the army, inviting them to propitiate Heaven in their favour, and the Normans make a vow never after to touch flesh on a Saturday, which was the day present, viz., the 14th of October, the feast of St. Calixtus the pope. William having fully armed himself, ordered his men to be drawn up in battle array, and thus addressed them:—

" My true and loyal friends, you have crossed the sea for
" my sake, placing yourselves in danger of death, wherefore
" I am greatly beholden to you; thus I hope you will this
" day put forth your strength, and exert yourselves to fight
" your enemies, for our quarrel is a just one; in the trust I
" put in our Lord I have not crossed the sea only to conquer
" this kingdom, but also to avenge myself for the false dis-
" loyalty and treason which this traitor King Harold exhibited
" against me but a little while since, contrary to his oath;
" and to check, moreover, the accustomed disloyalty of the
" English. You know well how that one day after the night
" of Saint Buton they put to death all the Danes whom they
" could find,—men, women, and little children,—in this country
" without giving any reason for it. Afterwards, you know
" how Godwin, father of Harold my enemy, betrayed Alfred,
" brother of Edward, who gave me this kingdom of England,
" and how this Earl Godwin seemingly received the said Alfred

[1] Chap. 50.

" in great joy, and afterwards had him traitorously seized and " brought to an island, where he had his eyes put out, and " his head piteously struck off, having sent to bring him from " Normandy, as you know. To this too the English have " added many and unbounded treasons, cruelties, and damages " against the Normans, for which, by the grace of our Lord, " it only remains with you this day to be avenged. For " God's sake beware that covetousness does not break loose " among you; think how you may best fight, and not spare " any; do with them what they would do unto you if they " could get the better of you. I certainly hope that, with " our Lord's aid, we shall conquer them, when you will ac- " quire great riches and unbounded wealth, together with " honour and great renown, which will remain to you and to " your posterity, and also to your successors unto the end of " time. Think now, all my good friends, how that, if it turn " out to the contrary, which God forbid, you will be slain " without fail, the greatest as well as the least without pity, " unless God, who knoweth our just quarrel, help us. You " have no place, city, town, or castle to fly to for security; " our vessels and ships are burnt and sunk in the sea.[1] In " fine, he who flies will be slain, but he who fights will be " saved. For God's sake, let every one do his duty well, and " let us put true faith in God, for if we do so, he will grant " us the victory, and the day will be ours."

[2] A slight occurrence now happening to Duke William gives rise to forebodings among his men. While hastily putting on his hauberk, he placed the back part of it in front, and this was looked upon as a bad omen. The duke allays the fears of his soldiers by interpreting this to mean that " his cause will be " so turned as to lose him the name of duke while gaining " for him that of king." He then marshals his army, and appoints the different commanders. Harold, on the other side, prepares his forces. He addresses his soldiers and admonishes them to fight well, but not to quit their places nor be separated in their ranks by means of the Norman cavalry. At the approach of the Norman army, Harold addresses his brother Gyrth, saying, " Gyrth, dost thou see William " coming? he hath scant allowance of followers to think of con- " quering the 400,000 men that we have in our army." " By " my faith," said Gyrth, " I would sooner have 100 good " knights, well armed and trained, than 1,000 churls who " have never been in battle. William hath well armed " soldiers and experienced horsemen; they have swords and

[1] See before, vol. i. lib. 4, c. 44. | [2] See chap. 51.

"lances in plenty, and good archers in great numbers, who "will send their arrows so straight and unerringly that we "shall be unable to guard ourselves from them." Thus, while the two brothers were discoursing in this way, they saw the second division of the duke's army march down in very fine array through the end of a valley, and there were many more lances and shields than in the first one. Then said Harold to Gyrth, "Good brother, behold this large force of "men, who are of very noble bearing." "In the name of God," said Gyrth, "these are knights of high valour, and men who "will not fly for four times the number of such men as "ours." Then Harold began to turn pale and tremble, and to wish himself back in London. "Certes, thou wicked man," said Gyrth, "it is too late now, you would not remain there "when you were told. Here you must defend yourself or be "dishonoured, and lose all and die here; you were too hasty "in taking your march on this Saturday; if you were now "in London, you might go about from town to town and "rally your men, or find some manner of making a treaty." "Certainly," said Harold, "I took my march on Saturday, "because my mother hath many a time told me that every "good would come to me on a Saturday, for that on a Satur-"day I was born." "You will see," said Gyrth, "how it will "come to you; but I can tell you that no man of wisdom "ever believed in fate. On a Saturday you were born, and "on a Saturday possibly you may die."

[1] The battle is commenced by the Norman men-at-arms, who make a futile attack on the Saxons in their entrenchments, and are obliged to retreat. After a short consultation between the leaders of the Norman army, William issues orders to the archers to shoot their arrows high into the air, so that they might fall on the faces of the English as they looked up. In one of these flights of arrows Harold is struck in the eye and mortally wounded. The English continue nevertheless to fight on and keep their ranks, until one wing of the Norman army is totally defeated and put to flight.

[2] When Duke William perceived that the English would not leave their entrenchments, he ordered his men to feign a retreat, and, if the English sallied out in pursuit, to turn back sharply on them. This was done, and, according to the duke's expectation, the English quitted their entrenched position and eagerly pursued the retreating Normans, who, on a sound of trumpet, turned vigorously upon their pursuers, and by means of frequent charges of horse and their heavy armed men, made great slaughter among the Saxons. The latter, who fought on foot for

[1] Chap. 53. | [2] Chap. 54.

the most part, were pressed one on to the other without space for fighting, while they are cut down by the long swords or pierced by the lances of the Norman chivalry, and they are finally driven from their entrenchments and put to flight, the greater number being cut to pieces. Gyrth, the brother of Harold, was slain by a Norman knight, named Robert Fitz Herneys, who pierced him with a lance. And, finally, the English give way on all sides. "Be that as it may, I do not know whether it was "in fleeing or in fighting, but after the battle was over the dead "body of King Harold was found among others far away from "his standard."

[1]The pursuit of the flying Saxons is kept up until sunset. Duke William remained on the battle field all the night, and on the morrow mass was sung by Odo, bishop of Bayeaux. The duke then, desiring to know the exact loss of his men, called to him an ecclesiastic, who had taken the roll of the army when it set sail from St. Valery, and gave him orders to call over all the names. The clerk did so, and it was found that since setting sail the Norman loss was 6,013 men, while on the side of the English were counted 67,654 dead on the battle-field, without reckoning the wounded and prisoners, "as is found in the true "chronicle, which is at St. Peter's at Westminster, not counting "those who were drowned in the river Thames."[2]

"When the said clerk had called over all the nobles and others "of Duke William's army, and they had appeared, some indeed, "others not, for many were there dead, and others so wounded "that they could not appear, the duke gave orders that the dead "should be buried and the sick visited, comforted, and properly "aided. Afterwards the duke issued his commands that every "one should come into the field of battle to seek out and recog- "nize the bodies of their friends, and carry them whither soever "they wished. Then might have been seen wives seeking their "husbands, children, and friends, and men too were there in "great numbers; and the duke caused all those who came "there to be protected and defended from any interference. "King Harold and his brother Gyrth were taken away by monks "and interred at Waltham."

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[1] Chap. 56.

[2] The meaning of this last sentence is not obvious. Probably the loss by drowning off the Norman coast near St. Valery is referred to. (Gul. Pictav. ap. Duchesne, fol. 1619 p. 198.) The passage occurs in the same way in the *Chroniques de Normandie*, fol. 435. The total loss of English and Normans is there set down at 73,087; this perhaps should be 73,987, being 6,013 Normans, as in both chronicles, and 67,974 English, as in the chronicles of Normandy. The figures 67,654 in the Wavrin chronicle are probably corrupt.

Sources of Wavrin's chronicle.

The period extending from the coronation of William the Norman to the death of King Henry the Second is comprised in the first twenty-five chapters of the fifth book of Wavrin's first volume. The accounts severally related by him of the rebellion of King Henry's sons against their father; of the interview between the kings of France and England, at la Ferté-Bernard in 1189; Philip of France's celebrated reply when the Cardinal Adagni threatened to lay his kingdom under an interdict, that it was no business of the Roman pontiff to intermeddle between a sovereign of France and his vassal; the death of King Henry at Chinon, and the anecdote of Prince Richard's meeting his father's corpse on its way to sepulture in the church of Fontevrault, are all given in nearly the same manner as related by Matthew Paris. The narrative was probably derived from a chronicle of the Brut d'Engleterre, of which the MS. Reg. 20 A. iii. appears to be an abridgment.

The events of the reign of King Richard the First occupy in Wavrin twenty chapters. The actual source of the narrative contained in these chapters has not been ascertained, but the description of the ceremony of Richard's coronation, the massacre of the Jews, and all the principal facts and the details are related by Matthew Paris. The MS. 20 A. iii. contains only two chapters relative to Richard the First, and the events of his reign. Domitian A. x. and Harl. 200, in addition, relate the quarrel between Richard and the king of France before Acre. The long and detailed description of Blondel the minstrel's visit to King Richard in prison is peculiar to the Wavrin chronicle.[1]

[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. i. lib. 5, cc. 27–46. See Van Praet's remarks on cap. 39, "Du menestrel qui trouva le roy Richard." (Recherches sur Louis de Bruges. Paris. 8vo. 1831.) The same story, but not so much in detail, will be found in a French chronicle of the acts done "*apres la mort du gentil cevalier Gaudefroi de Bouillon*," written early in the 13th century. MSS. Addit. Num. 7103. A copy of the same chronicle is among the MSS. du fonds Sorbonne, 454, and was

Sources of Wavrin's chronicle.

A translation of the letter of obligation[1] made by King John to Pope Innocent III., to hold of him the crown by the annual payment of 1,000 marks, occurs in the Chroniques d'Engleterre, vol. i. lib. 5, c. 54, and in the MS. Reg. 20 A. iii. c. 160., Domitian A. x., and Harl. 200, &c. There is a peculiarity in this chronicle (which the translation of the letter also exhibits), and one which is perceptible throughout the MS., namely, that wherever the name of God or our Lord occurs, it is invariably accompanied in Wavrin by additional words, such as, Dieu, *nostre benoit Createur*, and nostre Seigneur, *Jesus Christ*.

The story relative to the death of King John by poison at the convent of Swineshead is peculiar to the chronicle[2] and to the class of the *Brut* represented by MS. Reg. 20. A. iii., and there is a remarkable coincidence also in the spelling of the legate's name, who is called throughout *Swalo*. The MSS. Cott. Domitian A. x., Harl. 200, and the others of that class have not this story.

The account[3] of the grant of a fifteenth for the renewal of the charters, the common agreement in 43 Hen. III., the escape of Prince Edward, and the battle of Evesham, accord very nearly with MS. Reg. 20. A. iii. c. 167.

The narrative of the siege of Kenilworth,[4] and how those who had been disinherited by the common agreement of the kingdom, were restored to the possession of their lands, accords for the most part with the chapter 178 of MS. Reg. 20. A. iii.

The prophecy of Merlin relative to King Henry, son of King John, and the commentary or application of it to the events of the reign, accord with the chronicle of the Brut.[5]

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[1] MS. Cott. Nero C. ii. n. 47.

[2] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. i. lib. 5, c. 58.

[3] Ibid. c. 61.

[4] Ibid. c. 62.

[5] Ibid. c. 63. MS. Reg. 20 A. iii. chap. 179, fol. 198.

Sources of Wavrin's chronicle.

All the chapters from this time to the end of the fifth book, which closes with the death of Edward the First, and throughout the whole of the sixth book, to the end of the reign of Edward the Second, agree so far with the version of the Brut, MS. Reg. 20 A. iii., as to show they must have been copied from some common source, but the agreement is not so close as to indicate an identical chronicle.

The narrative which refers to the portion of history contemporary with that treated of by Froissart commences with chapter 16 of the sixth book, "How Queen "Isabella and the Lord Edward her son crossed the "sea and went to take refuge at the court of the king "of France, brother to the said Queen Isabella." From this period until the coming of Robert of Artois, after he had been banished from France, to seek a shelter with King Edward the Third, as related in chapter 59, and Edward's entry into Scotland narrated in the following chapter, which closes the sixth book, there is a considerable portion of valuable inedited history. Great part of the matter embraced during this period by the Wavrin chronicle is also the subject of Froissart's history, but it should be observed that many of the chapters, in respect of which the reader is referred in the *Choix de chapitres inédits* of the French edition to Froissart's chronicle, for the period from the queen's retirement with Prince Edward to the court of Charles le Bel until the commencement of the wars between Edward the Third and France, agree more closely with the *Brut* than they do with Froissart. Where the narratives of Froissart and John le Bel, from whom Froissart avowedly derived much of his information, agree with the chronicles of Wavrin and of the *Brut*, the age of the MSS. alone would destroy an inference that either of those writers supplied the source of the information contained in the *Brut;* this has all the appearance of being a contemporaneous authority for the period of which we are now speaking, but I think

Sources of Wavrin's chronicle.

there must have been some chronicle, memoir, or compilation fuller than any copy I have met with of the *Brut*, from which all the existing narratives, so similar in style and character, were borrowed respectively. It is unknown from what source John le Bel derived this portion of his narrative. Froissart in general amplifies Le Bel's statements, and Wavrin in many instances, as respects even this part of the history, follows Froissart so nearly in language that it would be impossible to deny that he adopted his account. Several chapters, however, as given in Wavrin, bear evidence that other sources must have been consulted by him. It would be an interesting enquiry to ascertain what was the precise mode adopted by Wavrin in the compilation of this part of his chronicle. Has he derived his materials from various chronicles, or copied (as in the first portion) one entire chronicle? Does such a chronicle exist at the present day in any of the public libraries of France or England? Our researches have not been sufficiently extensive to justify a negative; and, from the general agreement of Wavrin's text with the version of the Brut d'Engleterre (though considerable variations are likewise found), it would be a reasonable conjecture that a French version of the *Brut*, composed towards the end of the twelfth century, may have been the source common to all the existing versions, which have been continued on from reign to reign successively. The chronicle preserved by our author, whether compiled or adopted, contains many inedited and curious details, particularly during the period of the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II. They present many of the characteristics of real and genuine history, but nevertheless they exhibit a tincture of romance that distinguishes this class of chronicle from the ordinary dry but, perhaps, more valuable chronicle of events and occurrences of the time, exhibited in the purer memorials of our old English chroniclers. Much of the narrative and many of the

details are, as we have said, likewise found in John le Bel and in Froissart; but there is also very much that does not occur in either of these writers. The rubrics of the chapters agree for the most part with the *Brut*, nevertheless, the relation is sometimes abridged, and at other times more copious in Wavrin than in that chronicle. Sources of Wavrin's chronicle.

The chapter which relates how Sir Hugh le Despenser, the son, was made chamberlain of the king of England, and the result of the battle of Mitton on Swale[1] agrees very closely with the MS. Reg. 20 A. iii. It should be remarked that the orthography of English names throughout the Wavrin chronicle is extremely corrupted, and this marks very distinctly its foreign origin, though it may be said that this only indicates that the transcriber of our copy of Wavrin blundered over English names. In some cases so distorted is the word, that it is impossible to recognize the name it was intended to express; while, on the contrary, in the copies of the French versions of the Brut, the general accuracy with which the names of English places and of Anglo-Norman families are written indicates an English translator, and probably an English scribe. This chapter, for instance, begins with the statement that Edward called his parliament in this year at *Werewic;* this name we could only recognize for York by the assistance of the MS. 20 A. iii., where the place is correctly written Euerwyk. The parliament was, in fact, held at York at the end of October in the year 1318, and the relation here given of the king having made Hugh le Despenser the younger his chamberlain,[2] and the

[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. i. lib. 6, c. 6.

[2] The appointment of Hugh le Despenser to the chamberlainship is placed by Geoffrey le Baker in 1313, the year following the birth of Edward of Windsor, which took place on 13th November 1312. "Anno sequenti ex consilio et ordinatione prælatorum et aliorum nobilium Hugo Despenser filius fuit ordinatus camerarius regis,

Sources of Wavrin's chronicle.

subsequent expedition of Edward against Scotland is confirmed by a contemporary copy of a letter written in the November following by the bishop of Norwich, John Salmon, to the dean and chapter of Norwich.[1]

An interesting account of the traitorous conduct of Sir Andrew de Harcla, earl of Carlisle, with a detailed and most curious description of his degradation and subsequent execution, will be found in Wavrin and in the Brut.[2]

Wavrin,[3] following Froissart, who adopts the statement of John le Bel relative to the execution of Hugh le Despenser the younger, relates a circumstance of very questionable authority, and which the present editor can trace to no other source. The brutality of the execution

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" loco Petri, prius de medio sub-
" tracti." (Chron. Galf. le Baker de Swinbroke, ed. Giles, Lond., 8vo., 1847, p. 54.)

[1] This letter is hitherto inedited: — " Frater Johannes, permissione
" divina Norwicensis episcopus, di-
" lecto sibi in Christo priori Nor-
" wicensi, salutem in Omnium Sal-
" vatore. Vos rogamus quatinus
" 300 libras de decima per vos col-
" lecta, etc. Nova parliamenti sunt
" pauca. Rex præfecit iterato The-
" saurarium suum episcopum Win-
" toniensem et senescallum suum
" dominum Bartholomæum de
" Baldesmere et camerarium suum
" dominum Hugonem de Dispen-
" sariis filium. Et alii inferiores
" ministri de novo in parliamento
" sunt creati, de quibus non est
" necesse vobis scribere. Duo scu-
" tagia sunt concessa, quorum unum
" levabitur hoc anno et alterum
" anno futuro, et quodlibet ponitur
" ad duas marcas. Ordinatum est
" quod rex ibit in Scotiam in Oc-
" tabis Trinitatis proximo futuris
" (10th June 1319). Petitum est
" auxilium tam a laicis quam a
" cleris pro itinere regis in Sco-
" tiam. A neutris tamen fuit con-
" cessum tempore datorum præ-
" sentium. Ultimo vobis significa-
" mus, de quo magis dolemus, quod
" oportebit nos regi assistere prout
" adhuc credimus, ad minus usque
" ad principium Quadragesimæ non
" sine expensis gravibus et labori-
" bus quasi intollerabilibus. Et
" ideo rogamus obnixius vestris fra-
" trumque vestrorum adjuvari pre-
" cibus. Valeatis. Scriptum apud
" Eborum die Sabbati in festo
" Sanctæ Katerinæ Virginis." (Saturday, 25th November 1318, e registro nono, No. 123, penes Dec. et Capit. Norwich. Conf. Walsingham (ed. Riley), i. 156.)

[2] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. i. lib. 6, c. 14, and MS. Reg. 20 A. iii. cap. 200.

[3] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. i. lib. 6, c. 35 ; Froissart, lib. 1, part 1, cap. 24.

of political offenders charged with the guilt of treason was severe enough in olden times, and sufficiently disgusting, without the addition of the unusual degradation related by John le Bel as having been perpetrated at the death of the younger Despenser; this relation, not being supported by other evidence, we should not accept too readily. The aspersion upon the character, as well of the monarch as of his minister, already overwhelmed with obloquy by historians, is too grave to be repeated were it not for the conviction that such a statement is almost too absurd to secure credence for a moment, particularly in the silence of all the contemporary English chroniclers. Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

A.D. 1326.—[1] "When the feast [of All Saints] was "passed, the said Sir Hugh, who was not loved,[2] and for "good reason, was led before the queen and all the barons "and knights who were there assembled; and there all "his deeds were recorded, so that he had no word to say "to the contrary. Then he was adjudged, in the full "opinion of all the barons and knights, to death, and "by their sentence which you shall hear. [Thus low "fell the said Sir Hugh from so high a position, and all "his lineage also.][3] First, he was dragged on a tumbrel

[1] Chron. Jehan le Bel (ed. M. Polain), 2 vols. 8vo., Bruxelles, 1863, vol. i. c. 4, p. 25.

[2] For the account of the execution of the Dispensers, father and son, cf. MS. Reg. 20 A. iii. c. 217. The elder Despenser was at that time nearly ninety years of age. Chron. de Jehan le Bel, vol. i. c. 2, p. 17, ed. M. Polain, 1863. The younger Despenser was brought up from a child with the king:—"Cil roy d'Angleterre, père à ce gentil roy "Edowart qui ores règne, gouverna "moult sauvagement le royaume "et fist moult de merveilles en son "pays par le conseil et enhortement "messire Huon le Despensier, *qui "avoit este nourry avecq luy des son "enfance.*" (Ibid. vol. i. p. 8.) Geoffrey le Bakere says that he had been made chamberlain in the room of Piers de Gavaston, deceased, but was not much loved by the king—"Quem, nisi valentes dicere vulgo "mentiantur, rex antea nedum "minime dilexit, immo odivit, et eo "libentius ad idem officium ipsum "elegerunt [barones], qui postmodum, regis animo erga ipsum in "benignius commutato, eundem "exosum habuerunt." (Chron. Galf. le Baker de Swinbroke, ed. Giles, p. 54.)

[3] The passage in brackets does not occur in Wavrin nor in Froissart.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

" through the city of Hereford with sound of trumpets, " and then brought into a large place within the town, " whither all the people had come and assembled. " There he was tied to a high ladder, so that every " one might see him, and a large fire had been made " in the same place. When he was thus bound, *on luy* " *couppa tout premièrement le vit et les coulles, pour-* " *tant qu'il estoit herites et sodomites, ainsy comme* " *on disoit, et mesmement du roy mesmes,* and that " for this the king had driven away the queen at his " instigation. When the parts had been cut off they " were thrown into the fire and burnt; [then his belly " was opened and his heart torn out and thrown in " the fire to burn][1] for that he was both false and " treacherous at heart, and that by treasonable counsel " and advice the king had disgraced and wasted his " realm, and beheaded and put to harm the highest " barons of England, by whom the kingdom ought to " be maintained and defended. And besides this, he " had so practised upon the king, that he could not " and would not see the queen or his eldest son, who " was to be their lord, [but had driven them away " from the kingdom in fear of their lives.][1] Afterwards, " when the said Sir Hugh had been dealt with, as is " said, his head was cut off and sent to London,[2] and " his body was then cut into four quarters, which were " sent to the four principal cities of England after " London."

A comparison of the narratives respectively of John le Bel, Froissart, and Wavrin[3] will support the con-

[1] The passages in brackets do not occur in Wavrin.

[2] There is an addition here in Wavrin of these words, "to be placed " there on a lance on the summit of " one of the city gates," which do not occur in John le Bel or Froissart. Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. i. lib. 6, c. 35.

[3] Compare chapters 36, 37, 38, 52, 53, 54, and seq. with the Brut d'Engleterre, MS. Reg. 20 A. iii.; must not the existence be presumed of some chronicle, from which both authors equally derived their narrative? Many of the incidents mentioned are not spoken of by Froissart or John le Bel.

jecture that some other chronicle, now unknown, supplied the history of this time. Great part of chapter 37 is so entirely different in Wavrin from either Froissart or Le Bel as to preclude any opinion that his narrative so far is drawn from that source. Chapter 38 exhibits the application of a pretended prophecy of Merlin to the events of the reign of Edward II. in exact agreement with the Royal MS. Chapter 49 contains a relation of the murder of Edward of Caernarvon. The account given by Wavrin, in chapter 52, of the establishment of peace between the English and the Scots in the second year of the reign of Edward the Third, and the reference made to the "Cronicques d'Escoche," is interesting. In chapter 54 he describes Roger de Mortimer's haughty bearing after his creation as earl of March, and his celebration of the holding a "Round Table" after the manner of the good King Arthur. It is remarkable that our author here alludes to his previous history, in which he had set forth the exploits of Arthur—"comme plus ad "plain je declaray, quant il combaty et conquist Frolles "le Romain, et tout le royaulme de France, et sy occyst "Dinabus le Geant,[2] qui ravist Helaine, niepce a Hoël, "roy de la petite Bretaigne, puis desconfist et occyst "lempereur Lucille en la bataille quil avoit assamblee "contre lui, en laquelle avoit sy grant nombre de gens, "tant Crestiens comme paiens, quil nen scavoit le "compte : lesquels il desconfist trestons ; *comme il est "plus amplement raconte cy dessus, en ceste vraye "cronicque.*"

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

In chapter 55, Wavrin gives a long narrative of

[1] Chron. Jehan le Bel, c. 20 (edit. M. Polain, Bruxelles, 1863), vol. i. p. 97 ; Froissart, vol. i. lib. 1, part 1, c. 50, p. 40. col. 2, edit. Buchon ; Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. i. lib. 6, c. 56.

[2] It is not a little singular that in the account given in the chronicle of the fight between Arthur and the giant (c. xxviii. pp. 394–400), the name of the giant is not mentioned. Dinabus, however, is named in the *Brut.* (MSS. Reg. 20 A. iii. c. 92, and Cott. Domitian A. x.) See Notes and Emendations, p. 593 (p. 394.)

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

the charge and accusation against Edmund of Woodstock, and how he was beheaded at Winchester. This narrative agrees for the most part with the *Brut* (chap. 229). The chapter following, c. 56, also agrees with the *Brut* (chap. 230), and relates the capture of Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, and the particulars of his execution. The accusations against him are fully detailed, and among them, that of having got the queen with child; "and upon these accusations the king asked "the council what should be done in the way of judg- "ment. Sentence against him was soon passed, for "the council had all made up their minds upon the "information, and so they answered the king incon- "tinently that he should die without appeal in the "same manner as Sir Hugh le Despenser."

Le Bel and Froissart both give a narrative of the accusations, but much condensed. Le Bel states that great ill will was raised against Mortimer on various accounts, one being that at the queen's instigation he had represented to the king that the earl of Kent desired to imprison him, and that if he did not take care he would cause his death in order to obtain his kingdom, for he was next after him in succession, "car "le jeune frere du roy, qui eut nom Jehan d'Altem, "estoit mort nouvellement." Froissart has reproduced the same anachronism. Then follows the statement that it was reported the queen was with child, and that the blame was laid to the lord Mortimer. The king, greatly displeased, sent Mortimer to London, and the accusation being laid before the barons, they were asked to give judgment as to what death a man who had so acted should die. The manner of the execution is then described in language, in which all three accounts nearly agree, and particularly as to the extraordinary mutilation mentioned; similar to that which had taken place at the execution of Despenser.

"It was clear enough what the judgment would be, "and it was soon given; for everyone had been in-

" formed by report before the king knew anything of Sources of
" it. However, judgment was ordered in this wise, Wavrin's Chronicle.
" that he should die in the same manner as Sir Hugh
" le Despenser. And so it was done; and he was
" forthwith dragged through the city of London on a
" tumbrel and bound to a ladder in the open place;
" 'et puis luy fut le vit couppé et les coulles;' and
" after that his belly was opened and all his entrails
" were taken out and burnt. Then his head was cut
" off and he was hung up by the haunches.[1] And im-
" mediately the young king caused his mother to be shut
" up in a fine castle, giving her ladies and attendants
" enough to look after her and wait upon her, and keep
" her company, as well as squires and followers; and
" he assigned to her large lands sufficient to keep her
" all the course of her life, but he would not suffer nor
" consent that she should go openly from this castle
" in any manner, as I then heard related. I believe
" that she is still kept there at the present time."[2]

After relating the details of King Edward the Third's expedition into Scotland and the surrender to him of Berwick in 1333, there occurs a passage in Wavrin which seems to show that for this period his chronicle was a compilation from older sources selected and arranged by his own hand, and adapted to his work in progress, and not merely an importation of an existing chronicle entire and in the strict arrangement and identical language of the original, such as undoubtedly was the

[1] After this passage Froissart and Wavrin both read, " His body was " then quartered and his limbs " sent to four principal cities of " England, while his head remained " in London; and thus died Sir " Roger de Mortimer. God par- " don him his faults!" Fr. (ed. Buchon), vol. i. part 1, c. 50, p. 41, and Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. i. lib. 6, c. 56.

[2] Chron. Jehan le Bel (ed. M. Polain), vol. i. c. 20, p. 99. The editor has this pertinent note:—" It " follows from this passage that " John le Bel wrote this portion of " his chronicles before the year " 1357, the period at which the " queen-mother died at the castle of " Rising, after about twenty-eight " years of captivity." Froissart and Wavrin have not this passage.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

first part of his collection comprised in the first three books of volume the first. Wavrin here follows Froissart in relating the valiant acts of Sir William de Montagu, whom "King Edward made earl of Salisbury and mar- "ried to a high connexion," and the prowess likewise of Sir Walter de Manny, who was greatly advanced at court, and was engaged in many enterprises and dexterous feats of arms,[1] "*as it will appear in the* "*continuation of this our present matter in our second* "*volume, which so soon as this chapter shall be finished* "*will exhibit his brilliant prowess and great bravery.*" The proof, however, that at this time Froissart is the actual source of Wavrin's narrative is clear from the above passage, substituted for Froissart's—"*as you shall* "*hear further on in this history and in the book* "*wherein his prowess will shine very brightly.*" The continuation of the chapter marks still more distinctly the source of Wavrin's relation. It is a retrospective view of the Scottish wars under Robert Bruce and Edward the First, and of Edward's death. Froissart hitherto in this chapter had apparently adopted the narrative of John le Bel, except as to one passage which

[1] John le Bel mentions a circumstance in connexion with these feats of arms by Sir Walter de Manny and Sir William de Montagu which I have not seen elsewhere noticed, namely, that the latter lost an eye in one of these encounters, "et "toudis Messire Watiers de Manny "y estoit le plus renommé, avec- "ques Messire Guillaume de Mon- "tagu, qui estoit fort chevalier et "dur; et perdit ung oeul à l'un "de ces tournoys, et acquist si grand "grâce envers le roy qu'il le fist "conte de Salebri." Chron. Jehan le Bel, c. 22 (ed. M. Polain), vol. i. p. 106. With reference to this statement of the chronicler it is remarkable that, although the accident to the earl of Salisbury is not elsewhere noticed, Sir Walter de Manny's father, from a casualty of a similar kind, had the appellation of "Le Borgne de Manny." See Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. ii. lib. 2, c. 10. Can Le Bel in this passage have unintentionally confounded Montacute with Manny, and applied to the son of the knight of Valenciennes a misfortune which acquired for the father the designation of "Le Borgne?" This conjecture does not, however, preclude our acceptance of Le Bel's anecdote with reference to the earl of Salisbury's casualty.

will presently be noticed; the subsequent retrospect, derived from a source altogether distinct, and the origin of which is not manifest, is adopted by Wavrin in almost the same language; and so singular a coincidence would seem to be wholly inexplicable on any other assumption than that Wavrin has copied Froissart. There is no reason to presume that Wavrin was acquainted with Le Bel's chronicle. The appropriation of Froissart's history now continues more or less to the end of the period during which that writer's chronicle extends; but it is not a merely servile copy that Wavrin presents; the matter is often abridged and altered, the language varied and sometimes made clearer, and the arrangement of the history is materially departed from: much of the matter, not coming within Wavrin's design of collecting the chronicles relating to England, is entirely omitted, and omissions are in some cases supplied. The chronicle of the betrayal and death of King Richard is used alternately with Froissart, and the chronicles of Flanders have also been consulted by our author. A few instances selected from the work showing the effect of this partial adoption, condensation, and alteration of Froissart's history will be useful to illustrate the enquiry as to the sources of our author's chronicle.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

When the *Brut* ceases he derives his facts and narrative chiefly from Froissart.

In the following narrative Froissart follows John le Bel, and Wavrin adopts the same version in almost the same language; the words between brackets, however, do not occur either in Froissart or Wavrin.

A.D. 1333.—" In these forests and wild places where " those Scottish lords kept themselves, had King Robert " many a time before retreated when King Edward, " grandfather of this young king, defeated and put " him to flight; and many times he was so driven and " chased about that he could scarcely find any in his " kingdom who would or dared to shelter him in castle " or fortress for dread of King Edward, who had so

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Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

"conquered Scotland that there was not a town, "castle, or fortress but obeyed him. [And sometimes, "it is said, and it is found in a history by the said "King Robert ('et le treuve on en hystoire faitte "'par le dit roy Robert'), the good King Edward "caused him to be driven through these great forests, "for the space of three or four days, by dogs and "blood hounds trained to this; but he never could be "discovered, nor would he for all the damage he sus-"tained, obey this good King Edward;][1] but no sooner "had King Edward conquered Scotland and placed "guards and garrisons in the towns and returned to "England, than this King Robert assembled men-at-"arms from all parts where he could find them, and "reconquered everything as far as Berwick, some by "force, and others by goodwill. When the good King "Edward knew of this, he was much enraged and re-"assembled his army immediately, and ceased not until "he had again conquered all before him and defeated "this brave King Robert. Thus it happened with "these two kings that King Robert lost and re-"conquered his kingdom five times; and in this "manner did the two kings demean themselves that "they were held to be the two bravest in the world "until at last the good King Edward died at Berwick, "and his body was carried to London."[2]

Then follows an addition in Froissart of the account of Edward's injunction to his son relative to the carrying with him, in his wars against the Scots, his father's bones in order to secure a victory. The source of Froissart's narrative of these particulars has not been discovered, but the foundation of the story occurs

[1] The passage between brackets occurs neither in Froissart nor in Wavrin.

[2] Les vrayes chroniques de Messire Jehan le Bel (ed. M. Polain, Bruxelles, 1863), vol. i. c. 22, p. 106. Cf. Froissart, lib. 1, part 1, ch. 59 (ed. Buchon, vol. i. p. 53), and Wavrin, vol. i. lib. 6, c. 60.

in the St. Alban's chronicle, MS. Reg. 13 A. ix.,[1] and so closely does Wavrin adopt the narrative of Froissart, that it would be impossible to say that it is not a copy; and the presumption that they derived their account from some source common to both (which has been in fact established in the earlier part of the chronicle where the narratives of Wavrin and Froissart agree to some extent) cannot be applied in this case. The most probable explanation will be that Wavrin compiled his chronicle from various sources, adopting or changing at pleasure the language of his original, and that Froissart's has been the authority and narrative for the most part followed. The addition to Le Bel's narrative, referring to Edward the first, and which is found equally in Froissart, and in Wavrin, is this:— Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

"And he died in the good city of Berwick, but before "his death he called to him his eldest son, who was "king after him, and before all his men made him "swear by the saints that so soon as he was dead he "would have him boiled in a cauldron until the flesh "came off the bones, and that he would have the flesh "interred, but keep the bones; and that every time "the Scots rebelled against him, he should summon and "assemble his army and carry with him the bones of "his father; for he firmly believed that so long as "he had his bones with him, the Scots would never "gain the victory over him. But he did not fulfil "what he had sworn; contrary to his oath, he had his "father taken back to London and buried, whereby "hurt afterwards came to him [in many ways as you "have heard, and first at the battle of Stirling, where "the Scots gained the victory over him."][2]

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[1] See Walsingham, Hist. Anglicana (edit. Riley), vol i. p. 114. Conf. Egerton MS. No. 672.

[2] For the words between brackets Wavrin substitutes—"as has been "said before in this 6th book of our "first volume."

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

A singular illustration is now to be given of the manner in which the chroniclers sometimes adopted the statements of their predecessors, and occasionally supported their account by supplying the authority as of their own personal observation or otherwise.

In the year 1341, upon the death of John the Good, duke of Britany, without legitimate issue, the succession was disputed by Charles of Blois and John de Montfort. The latter was half brother to the late duke. The relation of the earl of Montfort's pretension to the dukedom after his brother's death is given by John le Bel, and this he says was the cause of the great wars and destruction of men, towns, and castles which happened thereupon. " Et pour chascun mielx " infourmer comment tous ces maulx avindrent, j'en " conteray un partie ainsy que je le scay et que j'en ay " enquis et ouy dire à ceulx qui ont esté où je n'ay " mie esté."[1] Froissart, in the copy of his work preserved in the Amiens library, gives the introduction to the wars of Britany in a different way from that in which it stands in the printed copies of his history. The passage extracted by M. Polain is important as shewing how these chronicles were constructed, but it is difficult to understand why Froissart so entirely changed his introduction to the account of the wars of Britany as first written.[2] In the printed editions of Froissart the

[1] Chron. Jehan le Bel (ed. M. Polain), vol. i. c. 46, p. 226.

[2] The passage from Froissart, as preserved in the MS. at Amiens, is thus given by M. Polain :—

" Pluisseurs jongleour et en-
" chenteour en place, y lit-on, ont
" chantet et rimet les guerres de
" Bretaingne et corromput par les
" chançons et rimes controuvées la
" juste et vraie histoire, dont trop
" en desplait à Monsseigneur Jehan
" le Bel, qui la commencha à mettre
" en prose et en cronique, et à moy
" Sire Jehan Froissart, qui loyau-
" ment et justement lay poursuivy
" à mon pooir, car leurs rimes et les
" canchons controuvées n'ataindent
" en riens la vraie matére, mes vel-
" leci si comme nous l'avons faite
" et rachievée par la grande dilli-
" gence que nous y avons rendut,
" car on n'a riens sans fret et sans
" peine. Jou Sire Jehan Froissart,
" desrains venus depuis Monsseig-
" neur Jehan le Bel en cel ouv-

passage is nearly in the words of John le Bel:—"Et "pour chascun mielx infourmer pourquoi tous ces maulx "avindrent, j'en conteray aucune partie, ainsi que je "sçais, et que j'en ay enquis au pays, mêsmement où j'ai "esté et conversé pour en mielx sçavoir la vérité, et à "ceulx aussi qui ont là esté où je n'ai mie esté, et "qui ont veu et sceu ce que je n'ai mie pu voir et "concevoir."[1] It is just possible that Froissart may have made the enquiries he speaks of, but Wavrin, who was not born at the time and whose history was not written until more than a century afterwards, can scarcely be thought to have made personally the investigation he speaks of. He writes:[2] "The duke of "Britany who had been with the king in the army "before Tournay," &c.; and (speaking of his death) "there was great sorrow among Frenchmen, for that "he was a good prince; and after his death great "wars came to pass and destruction of towns and "castles. And for better information and knowledge "as to the reason why all these evils arrived, I will "relate here in this present chapter some little about

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

"raige, ai-je allé et cherchiet la "plus grant partie de Bretaingne, "et enquis et demandé as seigneurs "et as hiraus les guerres, les prises, "les assaux, les envaies, les ba-"tailles, les rescousses, et tous les "biaux fes d'armes qui y sont "avenut, mouvant sur l'an mil "cccxl., poursuivant jusqu'à la dai-"rainne date de ce livre, tant à la "requeste de mes dits seigneurs et "à ses fraix, que pour ma plaisance "accomplir et moy fonder sus title "de vérité, et dont j'ay estet grande-"ment récompenssé. Et pour chou "que vous sachiez le commence-"ment et le rachine de cette guerre, "et dont elle se moet, je le vous "déclairay de point en point, si en "direz vostre entente, et quel cause "et droit Messire Carles de Blois "eut al hiretaige de Bretaingne, et "d'autre part li comtes de Monfort "qui en fist fet et partie contre lui; "pluisseurs gens en ont parlé ou "parolent qui ne sçavent mie ou "n'ont sceu par quel affaire li "oppinions de la challenge des "seigneurs dessusdits est venu ne "premièrement esmeu; mes chi "s'ensuilt, si lorez si vous plest, et "je le vous declairay." Vol. i. p. 226, note.

[1] Froissart (ed. Buchon), vol. i. lib. 1, pt. 1, p. 127, col. 2.

[2] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. ii. lib. 1, c. 24.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

" them, as I myself know and have enquired about
" in that part of the country where I have been and
" conversed with men who must have known and
" seen what I had not seen nor was able to know."

We shall presently have to notice another somewhat similar appropriation made by our author of his predecessor's intimation that recourse had been had to personal enquiries in order to verify the facts he was about to narrate; and this under circumstances which preclude all probability of such a course having actually been adopted.

We are all familiar through the pages of Froissart with the romantic story of the passion conceived by King Edward of Windsor for the beautiful countess of Salisbury. The reader is accustomed to turn with something like a feeling of relief to this episode in the sterner narrative of war which demanded the pen of the chronicler in those disturbed times when battles and scenes of blood were almost the only themes to engage the labours of the historian. The courageous spirit of Bruce had now called upon Edward to divert a portion of his armies from the contests in France and Britany to defend the borders of his own kingdom and repress the incursions of the Scots. This occasion suddenly carried Edward in person to the north, and, if we may credit the chronicler's tale, exposed him to dangers which he had not contemplated in making his preparations for a conflict of a far different kind. It was here that he was destined to meet, under circumstances of peculiar interest, which should have disarmed disloyalty, the beautiful wife of his trusty and absent friend. His chivalry was now to be more severely tested than probably it had ever been in war; and unhappily for the monarch's reputation the romancer has not been ashamed to attribute to him a fall which historians have not had the boldness to record, or have been wanting in the requisite knowledge to impart it to

posterity. This page of romance has been transferred by Wavrin into his own chronicle in almost the identical form, and with only a slight variation of language from Froissart's interesting narration. If our author had cited by name Froissart or John le Bel as his authority for this tale, which savours so much more of romance than genuine history, it might be objected that in discussing the sources of Wavrin's chronicle, the editor is not bound to question the authenticity of the incident. Wavrin, however, has made it part of his own narrative, and as the enquiry is curious, and not without its advantage in judging of the value of the portion of Wavrin's chronicle of a time other than his own, it is thought not inappropriate to consider here the source from which this tale is derived, and the degree of credit that we are called upon to accord to it as a historical incident in the life of the renowned monarch. It might still be thought an unnecessary labour if we had only to refute a story of gallantry and chivalrous admiration of the beauty of his fair enslaver, such as it is represented by Froissart, with yet a slightly implied censure of the enamoured monarch's conduct towards the wife of his absent friend and loyal servant, then actually a prisoner in the service of his royal master. But this is not all. The sequel of the story, as it occurs in the original author, or at least in the author from whom Froissart confesses to have derived his note, has yet a blacker dye and brands the name of the noble Edward with the stain of infamy and guilt.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

It was in the year 1342, as the chronicle relates, that the Scots under David Bruce made several incursions on the borders, and in particular besieged the castle of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. A sally was made and the earl of Moray was taken prisoner and delivered to Sir John Neville, the captain and governor of the town. Sir John undertook to convey the news to the king, whom he found at Chertsey, and who was very

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

angry when he learnt the invasion of the Scots, and he determined to assemble an army forthwith and to march in person to the north. In the meantime the Scottish king besieges Durham and burns and destroys the city, and then takes the direction of Carlisle.

[1] "And as he was traversing this part he halted for "one night near to a strong castle named Salisbury,[2] "which belonged to the earl of Salisbury, who was "taken prisoner with the earl of Suffolk in the "Marches of Picardy before the town of Lille in Flan-"ders, and he yet was a prisoner in the Châtelet in "Paris. In this strong castle was the noble countess "of Salisbury, the earl's wife,[3] who was accounted to

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[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. ii. lib. 1, c. 29.

[2] This has been supposed to be the castle of Wark upon Tweed, which King Edward, in the year 1334 (Patent Roll, 8 Edw. 3, p. i., m. 33), granted to the earl of Salisbury, then Lord Montacute, with remainder to his second son John de Montacute, afterwards Lord Monthermer in right of his wife; but it is not apparent upon what legitimate evidence the conjecture is founded. If the story be accepted as true, the conjecture is reasonable enough that the countess was besieged in her own castle on the Scottish border; but the circumstance of the earl of Salisbury being the owner of a castle in that locality should not be used in corroboration of the tale.

[3] The countess of Salisbury, who is made the heroine in this romance, was Katherine de Grandison, one of the daughters and co-heirs of William Lord Grandison, summoned to parliament in the reign of Edward the First. The family of Grandison derived their name from the castle of Grandison, now called Graunson, near Lausanne, which formed part of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, and subsequently of the duchy of Savoy. Peter, Sire de Grandison, who died before 1262, had several sons; the eldest was ancestor of the subsequent lords of Grandison, several of whom were ambassadors of the kings of England to foreign sovereigns in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Otho, a younger son, accompanied Eleanor, the queen of Henry III., to England, and he became an English subject, and a peer of Parliament. His brother, William Lord Grandison, father of the countess of Salisbury, died 30th June, in the ninth of Edw. III., 1335. (Escheators' accounts 1 to 20 Edw. 3, various counties, Roll 83.) He left three sons, Peter Lord Grandison, John, who was bishop of Exeter, and Otho, father of Thomas, third Lord Grandison. Upon failure of issue of the three sons, the heirs

" be the fairest and noblest born lady in England. Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.
" This castle was well fortified with men-at-arms and
" with all that belongs to the defence of a fortress.
" The captain and governor there was a noble knight,
" brave and bold, nephew of the said earl of Salis-
" bury, being his sister's son,[1] and called William de
" Montacute, after his uncle who was so named; for
" the king of England had settled him in marriage
" and given him the earldom of Salisbury for his
" prowess, and in return for the good services he had
" done him."

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of his three daughters, Arabella, Katherine, and Agnes, became his co-heirs, and between them the barony of Grandison fell into abeyance. In 1855 it was claimed by the late Sir Henry Paston Bedingfield, and on the 26th June 1858 the Committee of Privileges in the House of Lords reported in favour of the claim. Katherine, the second of the daughters, was married to William Lord Montacute, who was created earl of Salisbury; his services to his sovereign were as eminent as their reward was in truth substantial. He died 30th January 1344, and was succeeded by his son William de Montacute, second earl of Salisbury. Katherine Grandison, whom the chronicler here describes as " the fairest and " noblest born lady in England," survived the earl, her husband, rather more than five years; she died on 23rd April 1349. Esc. 23 Edw. 3, part 2 (1st nrs.) No. 58. The present representatives of this lady are the marquess of Hastings, William Lowndes, of Chesham, Esq., and William Selby Lowndes, of Whaddon, Esq.

[1] It is not clear how the son of the earl of Salisbury's sister should be William de Montacute; the earl could not have had a nephew, son of a younger brother, old enough to have been captain of Wark Castle in 1342; but it is not improbable that his cousin William de Montacute, or Edward the son of that William should have had the office. Simon de Montacute, grandfather of the earl, had two sons, William, the earl's father, and another son, who was father of a William living in 1334. This William was first cousin to the earl of Salisbury, and may well have lived to 1342. If not living, his son, Edward de Montacute, married to Alix, or Alice, daughter and co-heir of Thomas de Brotherton, earl of Norfolk, may have been governor under the earl. It is remarkable that Alice had been previously betrothed or married to William de Montacute, the elder brother of Edward, whose wife she became after the death of William. Patent Roll, 7 Edw. 3, part 1, mem. 23, and Close Roll, 23 Edw. 3, mem. 28.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

The Scots make a vigorous assault upon the castle, which is gallantly defended, "and the countess of "Salisbury greatly encouraged her people, who, cheered "by the support of such a lady, might well be said "to be worth at a pinch two for every one." The besieged, finding the matter to be growing serious, hold a council, and determine to send to King Edward, who had come to Berwick, as they learned from some Scottish prisoners whom they had taken. After a little debate, they being all unwilling to forsake the defence of the castle or abandon the fair lady, it was agreed that Sir William de Montagu should undertake to deliver a message to King Edward, and with greetings on the part of the countess relate the perilous position she was in; "and as soon as night was come, he issued "from within as quietly as possible, in order that he "might not be perceived by the enemy." When he reached Berwick, the king replied courteously and frankly that he would not fail them, and that if he had known earlier of the attack of the Scots and the danger of the castle and of the lady, he would have gone to that place sooner. And so the king prepared to leave Berwick on the following morning, "well pleased "with the news which Sir William de Montacute had "brought him."

"So soon as the Scots knew of the coming of King "Edward, they took counsel together, and deemed it "better to retire for that time. King David would "gladly have awaited the arrival of the English king "to have given him battle, but he would not act "against the advice of his barons. King Edward ar- "rived with his army before the castle on the very "day the Scots had withdrawn, and his men, being "wearied with their forced march, were allowed to rest "themselves; but the king, who was anxious to see "the fine castle and the noble lady within it, whom "he had not met since the time of her marriage, as soon

" as he had taken off his armour, accompanied by ten
" or twelve of his knights who were in his suite, set
" off for the castle to salute the countess of Salisbury,
" and see how the Scots had managed the assault.
" When the countess heard of the king's arrival, she
" went out very richly attired to meet him at the gates
" of the castle, and, making her reverence before him
" low to the ground, she thanked him for the gracious
" honour he had shown her in coming thus to her as-
" sistance."

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

The king's admiration of the great beauty and charms of the countess, and the overtures of love he ventured to address to her, and the simple and graceful manner in which she refuses to listen to the king's somewhat too warm declarations, are forcibly and touchingly told by the chronicler. Here is also given an interesting description of a game of chess played between the king and the countess, which is omitted in all the printed editions of Froissart, and occurs only in a single MS. known to be extant, that, namely, which is preserved at Amiens; neither is it found in Wavrin's chronicle,[1] which in this narrative is closely adopted from Froissart, who, however, has not derived this part of the tale from any source at present traceable. As it is new to the English reader, it will not, perhaps, be thought out of place in these observations, which have the object of weighing the probability of the whole story and testing the authority of an incident which borders so much nearer on the region of romance than that of real history.

" After dinner they rose from table. The king sent
" Sir Reginald de Cobham and Sir Richard de Stam-
" ford to the army and to his companions who were
" lodged within the castle to know what they were

[1] It may be inferred from this that Wavrin used a copy of Froissart different from that at Amiens.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

" doing, and to tell them that they were to get ready,
" for he had decided to go on further and pursue the
" Scots, that all the waggons and baggage were to go
" forward, and that he would be with them in the
" evening. Then he ordered the earl of Pembroke to
" form the rear-guard with five hundred lances, and to
" await him in the fields until he came; all the rest
" were to move forward.

" The two barons did all they were ordered; and
" the king tarried still at the castle of Salisbury beside
" the lady, hoping that ere his departure he might yet
" have a more pleasing answer from her than he had
" had. He asked for the chess table, and the lady
" had it brought. Then the king challenged the lady
" to play with him, and she accepted the invitation
" with pleasure, and showed him all the good cheer in
" her power. And she was, indeed, bound to do so,
" for the king had done her a good service in raising
" the siege of the Scots from before her castle, where
" she was in great danger; and the lady moreover
" could do no less, seeing that the king was her right
" natural lord by faith and homage.

" At the commencement of the game of chess the
" king, who wished to leave something of his with the
" lady, began the attack, saying, with a smile, 'Lady,
" 'what does it please you to stake on the game?'
" the lady replied, 'Sire, and you too?' then the king
" placed on the table a very beautiful ring, which he
" wore on his finger, containing a large ruby; but the
" lady said, 'Sire, I have no ring of such value as yours.'
" 'Lady,' said the king, 'such as you have, put it
" 'down; I do not set great store on this.' Then the
" countess, to obey the king's wish, drew from her
" finger a ring of gold, which was not of great worth.
" So they played chess together, the lady on her side
" as well as she could, that the king might not take
" her to be too simple and ignorant. But the king

" made only pretence of playing, for he did not play Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.
" his best; and between the moves he did nothing but
" gaze upon the lady so fixedly that she became quite
" ashamed, and made great losses in her moves; and
" when the king saw that she had lost a rook, a knight,
" or whatever it was, he also lost something to make the
" lady even in the game. They played on until the king
" lost, and by a skilful move he was mated.

"Then the lady rose and called for wine and spices, for
" the king seemed to wish to depart, and the lady took
" her ring and placed it on her finger, and wished very
" much that the king should take back his, and even
" offered it to him, saying, 'Sire, it is not fitting that
" 'in my house I should have anything of yours, rather
" 'you should take something of mine.' 'Lady,' said the
" king, 'indeed the game was so, and if I had won, be
" 'sure I should have taken your ring.' The lady did
" not wish to press the king further, but going to
" one of her damsels, she delivered the ring to her, and
" said, 'when you see that the king has gone from
" 'within, and has taken leave of me, and is about to
" 'mount his horse, advance and return him courteously
" 'this ring, and say that I can in no wise retain it, for
" 'it does not become me to do so,' and the damsel
" answered that she would willingly do this."

"At these words came the wine and spices, but the
" king would not take any before the lady, nor the
" lady before the king, and there was great altercation
" about it, all in pleasantry. At last it was agreed
" that they should both take them at the same time, the
" one as did the other for sake of peace. This being
" done, and the king and his knights having all drunk,
" the king took leave of the lady, and said aloud, so
" that nothing might be thought of it, 'Lady, do you
" 'remain in your home, while I go and pursue my
" 'enemies.' The lady at these words made a low
" obeisance before the king, and the king then courte-

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

" ously took her by the right hand and pressed it
" gently in token of love; and observing that the knights
" and damsels were occupied in taking leave of one
" another, he ventured to say yet only two words,
" 'Dear lady, God keep you until my return. I pray
" 'you will think of this and be of a different mind
" 'from what you are in at present.' 'Dear sire,'
" replied the lady, 'may the Father of Glory direct you
" 'and take from you all wicked and dishonourable
" 'thoughts, for I am and always shall be minded and
" 'ready to serve you to your honour and mine own.'"[1]
" Then the king left the chamber and the countess
" also, who accompanied him to the hall where his
" palfrey was waiting. The king then said that he
" could never mount while the lady remained there;
" so not to cause further delay, the countess this time
" took leave finally of the king and his knights, and
" re-entered her chamber with her ladies. Then as the
" king was about to mount, the damsel who had re-
" ceived instructions from her lady, approached the
" king and knelt down; and when the king saw her,
" he raised her immediately, thinking she was about
" to speak of other matter than she did. 'My liege,'
" she said, 'behold your ring, which my lady sends
" 'back to you. She begs humbly that you will not
" 'take it as reproach that she does not wish this to
" 'remain with her; you have done so much in other
" 'ways for her, that she is bound, she says, to be your
" 'servant always.' The king, who heard the damsel
" and saw his ring which she held, and perceived the
" wish and excuse of the countess, was much vexed.
" Nevertheless, after he had reflected a little, and in
" order that the ring should remain at the castle, as

[1] This last portion of the dialogue between the king and the countess of Salisbury occurs in Jean le Bel. It is retained in the printed editions of Froissart, and is adopted by Wavrin. (Vol. ii. lib. 1, c. 31.)

" he had always intended, he answered briefly, for it " was not convenient to make a long speech, and said : " ' Damsel, since the small winnings of your mistress " ' from me do not please her, do you keep it your- " ' self.' Having said this, he forthwith mounted and " took his departure forth from the castle, and set out " with his knights, when he found the earl of Pembroke, " who awaited him with five hundred lances. They " then departed all together and followed the army ; and " the damsel of whom you heard returned to her lady " and related to her the king's answer, and she wished " to give back to the countess the gold ring which " the king had lost at chess. But the lady would not " take it, and said that she claimed nothing, and that " the king having given it to her, she might keep it " for her advantage. And so the king's ring remained " with the damsel." [1]

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

The narrative now proceeds with the relation of other matters, but it mentions that the earl of Salisbury, who yet remained a prisoner in France, was by arrangement between King Philip and his ally the king of Scotland exchanged for the earl of Moray.[2] The earl returns home, and the king holds a great festival and solemn jousts in the city of London in honour of the beautiful countess.

[3] " The king gave special commands to the earl of " Salisbury to suffer the countess to come in no other " array than became her, and that she should bring " her ladies and damsels with her, and all her neigh- " bours who wished to come. This the earl willingly " acceded to as one who thought of no evil nor doubted

[1] Froissart's chronicle from the MS. at Amiens, cited by M. Polain in his edition of Jehan le Bel (vol. i. p. 271). The editor remarks that M. de Cayrol had before directed attention to this extract in a letter addressed to M. Rigollot on the Amiens MS.

[2] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. ii. lib. 1, c. 31.

[3] Ibid. c. 40.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

" the king his sovereign in any manner, and the good " countess did not dare to refuse the earl her husband " nor discover to him what she thought. Nevertheless " she went there unwillingly, for she could understand " the reason why the king gave this assembly."

The circumstances of the king's first interview with the countess, and the particulars of that interview, as described by the chronicler, are made the principal feature in Edward's march to the north and his arrangements for carrying on the war against his Scottish adversary; and although the chronicler skilfully weaves the romance in with the history, he impresses the reader at the opening of the story with a doubt of its fitness in a chronicle of veracious incidents.

Most persons who may have read with admiration this singular story of Edward's passion for the countess of Salisbury, upon which the chronicler seems to dwell with something almost of the pertinacity of belief, amidst the recitals of events of historical importance, have hitherto been accustomed to consider the romantic tale, whether regarded as a pure fiction or grounded upon an incident of actual life, as either engendered in the imagination of Froissart or resting upon his single authority. Undoubtedly very much of the favour with which it has been received is due to the simple and charming manner in which the narrative is expressed; but we must now transfer from Froissart to John le Bel the authority for or at least the perpetuation of this romantic episode. Is it not, however, in fact entirely a fiction from beginning to end, with just so much only of historical truth as the names of the parties concerned, being real personages living at the period, and mixed up with the events then actually in progress, should lend to it the semblance of verity and aid in its imposition on the belief of its readers? John le Bel, solicitous as he tells us he was to sift the authenticity of the transactions he chronicles, and fully alive to the "*grandes faintes et bourdes controuvées*"

of the rhyming poets and jongleurs of his day, has yet allowed, without exercising, it would seem, his accustomed criticism and careful investigation, a romance of at least doubtful probability, if not a palpable violation of historic truth, to creep into his pages and be recorded in his chronicle among events of real and genuine history—a romance, moreover, which fixes a stain upon the reputation of that heroic prince, whose prowess and gallantry in war had received from the same chronicler's own pen the distinction which he denied to his liege sovereign Philip of France, that, namely, of "the *noble* King Edward."[1] Le Bel has so interwoven this romance with the other undoubted details of his chronicle of the wars in Britany, that it would appear almost to involve the acceptance of this tale, as entitled to equal respect with the rest of his narrative, or the rejection of his history of the transactions of the period, as wanting in the essentials of a great authority. Although he has himself removed this difficulty in the way of our reception of his history as true, by assuring us of the pains he had taken to ascertain from those who could best inform him of such facts as were not within his own knowledge or personal observation, he yet gives no sign and offers no security

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

[1] "Aucunes gens (writes le Bel) "qui orront lire ceste hystoire se "pourront esmerveiller pourquoy je "appelle le roi d'Engleterre, *le noble* "*roy Edowart*, et tout simplement je "nomme le roy Philippe de France, "si cuideroient et pourroient penser "que je tenisse bende et partie. "Sauve la grâce de chascun, je ne "le fais pas pour porter partie, ains "le fais pour honnourer celluy qui "en ceste hystoire s'est porté le "plus noblement; c'est le noble "roy Edowart, que on ne pourroit "trop honnourer, car tousjours a "cru bon conseil en ses besongnes, "et ses gens chevaliers et escuiers "ouï, et chascun, selon son estat "honnouré, et bien deffendu son roy-"aume contre ses anemys, et sur "eulx conquesté assez, et son pro-"pre corps, dedens son pays et "dehors, sans faintise, avecques "ses gens aventuré, et ses soul-"doiers et alliez bien payé et du "syen largement donné; si en "doibt estre de tous moult voulen-"tiers servi et partout noble roy "clamé."—Chron. de Jehan le Bel, c. 70 (ed. M. Polain), vol. ii. p. 61.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

for the genuineness or authenticity of this tale, and the sad conclusion of Edward's culpable passion. We cannot believe that he had any personal knowledge of the circumstances, neither does he tell us that he was informed of them by persons who could best inform him of such facts; whilst at the same time he calls attention in many passages to the very sources to which we should look to find the origin of this tale of romance. In his prologue he says, "Whosoever wishes to read "and hear the true history of the valiant and gracious "King Edward, who at this present time reigns in "England, let him read this little book which I have "begun to make, and lay aside a great book of rhymes[1] "which I have seen and read, put into verse by some "imaginer of gross cheats and fabulous inventions; "whereof the beginning is all false and full of lies "down to the commencement of the war which the "said king undertook against King Philip of France. "And from that time onward, though it may present "some substance of truth mingled with falsehoods "enough, yet there is a great abundance of words of "imagination, and misrepresentations embellished by

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[1] It is extremely probable that the volume referred to by John le Bel contained the romantic ballad of this amour :—"Je ne sçay pas dire "toutes les aventures, qui leur sour-"vindrent, car je n'y fus pas, et ceulx "qui m'en ont raconté m'en ont dit "en tant de diverses manières que je "ne m'en sçay à quoi tenir de la "vérité. J'ay trouvé en ung livre "rimé, que ung jongleur a fait "tant de bourdes et de menteries, "que je ne les oseroie dire. Si "me tairay, affin que je n'en soye "repris de mensonge; et se j'en "escris plus avant ou mains qu'il "n'en fut, si me soit pardonné, car "je ne fus pas partout où les aven-"tures avindrent; mais bien sçay "que," &c. Ibid. cap. 61, vol. ii. p. 11. He again refers to the romances in rhyme.

"Je ne m'ose plus avant entre-"mettre de conter comment ces deux "grandes assemblées se départirent, "ne quelles aventures il y eut, car "je n'y fus mye, et ja soit que "je treuve en ces romans rimés "dont j'ay parlé cy dessus biacop "de choses, néantmoins, pour ce "qu'elles sont plus plaines de men-"songe que de vérité, je ne les ose "dire." (Ibid. cap. 62, vol. ii. p. 18.)

" rhyme, and plenty of high deeds recounted of some " knights and of some persons, which have more the " appearance of impossibilities than of credible facts." [1]

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

Froissart reiterates the indignant contempt expressed by John le Bel for these rhyming romancers,[2] and yet he has probably filled up the sketch and completed the romance of the countess of Salisbury from the very same fountain; the charming additions he has made to the story cannot be traced to John le Bel, or to any other known existing source. If they be not the produce of his own imagination, he has drawn very probably from the "books of rhymes" still extant in his time. These additions were abandoned in later issues of his work, and now exist only in the Amiens MS.

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[1] " Qui veult lire et ouir la vraye " hystoire du proeu et gentil roy " Edowart, qui au temps présent " règne en Angleterre, si lise ce " petit livre que j'ay commencé " à faire, et laisse ung grand livre " rimé que j'ay veu et leu, lequel " aucun controuveur a mis en rime " par grandes faintes et bourdes " controuvées, duquel le com- " mencement est tout faulx et plain " de menchongnes, jusques au com- " mencement de la guerre que le " dit roy emprit contre le roy " Philippe de France. Et de là en " avant peut avoir assez de sub- " stance de verité et assez de " bourdes, et sy y a grande plenté " de parolles controuvées et de " redictes, pour embelir la rime, " et grand foison de si grands " proesses racontées sur aucuns " chevaliers et aucunes personnes, " qu'elles debveroient sembler mal " créables et ainsy comme impos- " sibles; par quoy telle hystoire " ainsy rimée par telz controuveurs " pourroit sembler mal plaisant et " mal aggréable à gens de raison " et d'entendement. Car on pour- " roit bien attribuer, par telles " parolles si desmesurées sur au- " cuns chevaliers ou escuiers, proes- " ses si oultrageuses que leur vail- " lance en pourroit estre abessée, " car leurs vrais fais en seroient " mains creus, de quoy ce seroit " dommage pour eulx, pourquoy " ou doibt parler le plus à point " que on poeut et au plus prez de la " vérité. Car hystoire est si noble " ce m'est advis, et de si gentile " proesse, qu'elle est bien digne et " mérite d'estre mise en escript pour " le en memoire retenir au plus " prez de la vérité, sil estoit qui " bien le sceust et voulsist mieulx " faire de moy. Chron. Jehan le " Bel, Prologue (ed. M. Polain), " vol. i. p. 1.

[2] See extract from Froissart's chronicle, MS. d'Amiens, cited by M. Polain, vol. i. p. 226, note

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There is yet, however, an additional feature in John le Bel's narrative, which Froissart absolutely rejects, and Wavrin has not thought proper to reproduce. Le Bel devotes an entire chapter to this pitiful termination of the tale of Edward's misplaced affection for the unfortunate countess, and on more than one occasion he refers to it. [1] Froissart, in following John le Bel, takes care to change his language so as to avoid any allusion to this alleged crime; and far from adopting the chapter in which the narrative of the violation of the person of the countess occurs, he omits entirely from the latter issues of his work all mention of the circumstance. He explains in one of his earlier editions (preserved in the Amiens MS.) his grounds for rejecting the story.

[2] "You have heard it related above how the English "king was enamoured of the countess of Salisbury; "now although the chronicles of Monseigneur Jean le "Bel speak of this amour more at large, and not so "becomingly as I should do, for, please God, I would "never think of inculpating the king of England or "the countess of Salisbury of any such wicked shame. "But ere I continue the history I would set the "matter in its true light, that all good men may be "satisfied and know why I speak of, and now recur "to, this amour. It is true that Messire Jean le Bel "maintains in his chronicle that the king of England "used this lady most shamefully, and had his will "upon her by force, as he says; and as to this I "tell you, so may God help me, that though I have "lived much in England, and had frequent converse "in the houses principally of the great lords of that "country, and of the king, I never heard speak of this

[1] Chron. Jehan le Bel, c. 50 (ed. M. Polain), vol. i. p. 270, and ibid. c. 64, vol. ii. p. 25.

[2] Froissart, MS. d'Amiens, cited by M. Polain in his edition of the chronicles of Jehan le Bel, vol. ii. p. 29, n.

" wicked act. And I have asked many who must Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.
" have known of it had anything of the kind occurred.
" Moreover, I can never believe, and it is not to be
" believed, that so high and courageous a man as the
" king of England is and was would deign to sully
" the honour of one of his noble ladies, and a knight
" who had served him loyally all his life; so that for
" the rest I shall be silent touching this amour, and
" I shall now return to speak of the earl of Derby and
" the English lords who were at Bordeaux."

It will perhaps be said that Froissart's rejection of this story was occasioned by a change in his position with regard to the family of the royal personage whose character was impeached by such a scandal. A purer motive might probably be discovered in his zeal to destroy a groundless accusation. Now let us see how the narrative is given by Froissart's predecessor.

[1] " I will now relate to you," writes John le Bel,
" the wicked act which King Edward committed, and
" for which he must be blamed. It was not a slight one,
" as I have heard say. You have heard, indeed, how
" that he was enamoured of the beautiful countess of
" Salisbury, and that notwithstanding every rebuke and
" refusal that he met with from her, whether given
" to his humble suit or harsher words, he could in no
" wise subdue or restrain his passion. It happened
" after he had sent the valiant earl of Salisbury, hus-
" band of the good lady, into Britany with Sir Robert
" d'Artois, he could not keep himself back from going
" to see the brave lady under pretence that he had
" come to visit her country and the fortress; and he
" set out for the borders where the castle of Salisbury
" was situate, and where the lady was living. Then
" he went to see her to try if he could find her better
" disposed to him than formerly. The lady showed

[1] Chroniques de Jehan le Bel, cap. 65 (ed. M. Polain), vol. ii. p. 29.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

" him all the honour and good cheer in her power, as " one who knew well how to entertain her sovereign, " albeit she would have much preferred that he had " gone to another part, so greatly did she dread dis- " honour to herself. However that may be, the king " remained there the whole day and night, but could " not get any encouraging answer from the lady, how- " ever humbly he sought it, at which he was sorely " wroth and grieved at heart. At night when he had " retired, nobly as became his estate, he knew that the " noble lady was in her chamber, and that all the " people within were sleeping and his people also, ex- " cept his private chamberlains ; he arose and commanded " his chamberlains that no one should disturb him in " what he wished to do on pain of being hanged. " Then he went into the chamber of the lady, shut " the door of the wardrobe in order that her ladies " could not assist her ; then he seized her and stopped " her mouth so hard that she could not utter more than " two or three cries, and then violated her in such a " cruel manner and with such suffering, that never was " woman so villainously treated, and there he left her " lying, gasping, bleeding at the nose and mouth, and " other parts, which was a great harm and sore pity ; " he then departed on the morrow without saying a " word, and returned to London much troubled at what " he had done.

" The good lady never after felt joy nor gaiety in " any way, nor did she mix in company with good " people, such was her grief at heart. Soon afterwards " it happened that the noble king went into Britany " to succour his people whom he had sent there, as " you have heard, and then he returned to England in " company with the earl of Salisbury. When the earl " arrived at his house, the good lady entertained him " as well as she could all that day, and made no appear- " ance at all of what had happened. But at night when

" the earl was a-bed, and she did not lie beside him, as Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.
" had been her custom, he called her and said, 'Lady,
" 'what aileth you that you show such poor welcome,
" 'and do not lie down with me?' The good lady
" seated herself on the bed near him, weeping tenderly,
" saying to him when she could speak, 'Surely, my lord,
" 'I am not worthy to lie in the bed of so valiant a man
" 'as you are.' The good knight was quite appalled at
" these words, and anxious to know the reason thereof,
" he said to her, 'Holy Mary! lady, what is it you say?
" 'Truly, I must know the reason.' The good lady,
" who must have told it sooner or later, discovered to
" him everything from the beginning to the end. It
" matters not to ask whether the valiant knight then
" felt a bitterness at heart, for if ever he had reason to
" be driven desperate through grief and anger then was
" the time; and now he called to mind the great friend-
" ship and honour the king had always shown him, and
" on the other hand, the great services and valiant and
" perilous acts he had done for the king; and after all
" to show him such dishonour, and thus betray and dis-
" honour the bravest lady that ever lived. It was no
" marvel then if he was angered, but it was a wonder
" that he was not desperate. I can well believe that he
" never again felt joy at heart.

" When he had given vent to his grief on one side,
" and the good lady on the other, he said, 'Surely, lady,
" 'what has been done cannot be undone. I could
" 'never remain thus dishonoured where I have had
" 'such honour: I shall then go into another country to
" 'pass the remainder of my life, and you shall live as a
" 'good lady, as I believe you deserve, and you shall
" 'have the moiety of my land for you and my child,
" 'your son, whom you will bring up and tend, for I
" 'believe you will never again see me. And I will
" 'take the other half for my use so long as I live, in
" 'whatever part I may be, but I believe this will not

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" ' be for long, and God grant it may be soon as I wish,
" ' and may He in pity receive me to His mercy.' Could
" anyone have seen the anguish of their grief, he must
" have had a hard heart if he were not moved to pity
" and compassion.

" Then the valiant earl left his wife in deep sorrow, and
" took his young son, aged eleven years, with him to
" London; and he came into the room before the king
" and said: 'Sire, you have given me much honour and
" ' wealth in time past. May God reward you for it!
" ' —and I have always loved and served you loyally
" ' according to my power, Heaven knows. Now you
" ' have cast filth upon me, and shamefully dishonoured
" ' me in a manner that a noble king like you never
" ' ought to have imagined, wherefore you ought to be
" ' ashamed of it; for the blame will always rest on you,
" ' and your good deeds will be damaged and tarnished
" ' by this shameful act. I take my leave of you, and
" ' return to you all I hold of you, in aid of my young
" ' son whom you see here, for neither you nor any other
" ' will ever see me again in this land.' Then the noble
" knight departed from King Edward's court in great
" grief, and left his son. He crossed the sea and went
" abroad, at which all the English lords were extremely
" grieved and angered, and the king was blamed by all
" men for it. When he had crossed the sea he went to
" the king of Spain, who was at war with the king of
" Granada and the Saracens, and had besieged a strong
" town which was named Algesyde (Algesiras);[1] and
" at this siege the noble knight died, as also did many
" other lords ere it was won. And I believe that the

[1] The surrender of Algesiras took place about the 1st of November 1343 (L'Art de vérifier les Dates, vi. 503, 569), and the earl of Salisbury was at the jousts at Windsor in the January following, where he received bruises, from the effects of which he died on the 30th January 1344. Chron. de Jean le Bel, c. 66. see p. cxxiv. of this Introduction, note 1.

" good lady the countess did not live long afterwards, Sources of
" for a good lady could not exist in such distress. But Wavrin's Chronicle.
" I will be silent now—God grant them pardon." [1]

No one perhaps will contend very rigidly for the veraciousness of this account, which even in its language savours so strongly of the ballads and poetic fictions current towards the middle of the fourteenth century. The subject is a likely one to have engaged the pen of one of those *jongleours et enchanteours en place* of whom we have no flattering notice at the hands of the indignant canon of Liége, who nevertheless adopts as true history this romantic fiction. The noble names of the persons involved in the romance would tend to secure for it, no doubt, a considerable share of attention; but so long as the fiction retained only its primitive fashion, as pictured in the quaint style and semi-romantic pages of the old knight of Valenciennes, very little prejudice might arise to the persons whose names were borrowed for this historic ballad; but when the story obtains admission into the chronicles and memoirs of the events of genuine history it is of importance that a tale in which the poet saw perhaps only the consequence of an ill-placed but chivalrous passion for a fair lady, should not be converted into a charge of guilt against a name illustrious in history.

The anonymous author of the Chronicles of Flanders [2] relates this story again in a different manner, and,

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[1] Compare this story with that of the violation of the wife of Buerne Bocart by King Osbright of Northumberland, page lxxv.

[2] The Flemish chronicler* writes: —" While the armies of the duke " of Normandy and the king of " England were near one another, " Oliver de Clisson, Godfrey de " Harcourt, and several other " knights of the French army, who " had been already secretly engaged " in behalf of the earl of Montfort, " allied themselves also to King " Edward through gifts and promises, and a letter of this alliance " was written to which several of " them had put their seals; and this

* Chron. de Flandres, 1562, ed. Sauvage, cc. 85, 86, pp. 171, 174.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

whether true or false, the dishonour attached to the name of the countess of Salisbury was not suffered to be forgotten. So much easier is it to affix a slander than to efface the stain of an unmerited scandal.

If there were the slightest foundation[1] in truth for this scandal and blot upon the chivalry of Edward, how could he have stood before the barons and knights of England, when only three months after the death of the injured husband he proposed to institute the Order of the Garter, and became the head of that illustrious fraternity, every member of which should be emphatically a knight "without reproach?"

Wavrin relates the particulars of the great feast given by King Edward at the castle of Windsor in 1344, when that king founded a new order of knights,[2] to be called

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" letter the earl of Salisbury had in " his keeping on the part of King " Edward.

" But the earl having learnt on " his return to England, from his " wife herself, that she had been " forcibly violated by King Edward, " he withdrew himself and sent for " his friends, and went into the " presence of King Edward before " his peers, and there having dis- " seized himself of his lands, he " made his daughter his heir, his " wife taking thereout her dower " during her life And then the " earl departed from King Edward's " court, and when he had crossed " the sea he sent to defy him, and " came to France to King Philip, " and delivered to him the letters " of the alliance which Oliver de " Clisson and Godfrey de Harcourt " had made with Edward. And the " earl soon after left the court of " King Philip, and since that time " was not seen or heard of in France " or England."

[1] The details given in these different versions of the tale are nearly all contradicted by well-known incidents in the life of the earl of Salisbury. His death is attributed to bruises received at the jousts in the month of January 1344, and certain it is that the writ of Diem clausit extremum was issued on the day following his death, viz., 31st January 1344. The inquisition taken upon that writ finds that he died on Friday, 30th January 1344, his son William having attained the age of fifteen years on the 25th June preceding. His widow Katherine (not Alix, as she is called by the chronicler), was the daughter of William Lord Grandison, and she survived her husband till April 1349.

[2] Consult Beltz on the subject of the foundation of this institution. In his summary view of the History of the Order of the Garter he examines with much judgment the grounds of admissibility of Froissart's account, and the date here assigned

the "Knights of the Blue Garter," in commemoration of King Arthur's Knights of the Round Table; this account is entirely derived from Froissart, whose narrative, with the exception of some unimportant changes in language, is adopted by Wavrin.[1] The chronicle of John le Bel probably afforded Froissart the outline of his account of the feast at Windsor, but some other sources, either written or from oral testimony, have enabled him to amplify materially the original relation. John le Bel makes no reference to the celebration of this feast as being the institution of the Order of the Garter.[2] It is worthy of observation that the young earl of Salisbury, son of the earl whose tragic story has just been spoken of, immortalised by the canon of Liége, was among the earliest chosen to be one of the founders of King Edward's new order of chivalry. He was elected a Knight of the Garter in April 1344.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

We have before remarked that Wavrin does not always adopt the narrative of Froissart, even where his information would seem to have been derived directly from that source. The relation is sometimes abridged and the order of the narrative transposed; and occasionally additions are made from other sources, while at times he altogether forsakes Froissart and draws his information from an entirely distinct source. There is a remarkable minuteness and a somewhat ostentatious desire manifested in some instances to avow the authority he has used, and to bring prominently forward the name of Froissart; and in others there is not only an entire omission on the part of our author to make such avowal, but through inadvertence seemingly he actually assumes the place and position of the original narrator whose statements he is

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to the foundation of the order. (Memorials of the Order of the Garter by G. F. Beltz, K.H., Lancaster Herald. London, 1841.)

[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. ii. lib. 2. c. 1. Cf. Froissart, vol. i. lib. 1, part 1. (Ed. Buchon, p. 179.)

[2] Chron. Jehan le Bel, cc. 64 and 66.

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adopting, and in so doing is apt to produce an impression not altogether favourable to the honesty of his averment. Examples of both these cases will presently be seen. In the first, when describing the coming of the duke of Berry to Sluys in 1386, and how the duke broke up his army which was to pass over into England, Wavrin adopts with only some very slight variations the narrative of Froissart, and closes the relation in these words:—[1] "Now the "council of the king of France assembled one day "to have advice as to how the matter should be pro- "ceeded with. It was told me, the relater of this "history, for I betook myself to Sluys to see the lords "and their state, as also to learn the news from correct "information and open truth, and I well saw the proba- "bility why the Duke de Berry broke up the voyage "against the wish of his brother, the duke of Bur- "gundy, who bore the king no good will, but showed "much bad feeling towards him during more than three "months together, and I will tell you the reasons why "the said duke of Berry then proposed to break up and "put off the journey." Again, a little further on he writes:—

"I have told you above how the king of France rejoiced "greatly at the coming of the duke of Berry; and so also "did all the lords of France who were desirous of going "to England, for they had sure hope and expectation "of gaining everything, and placing England under "subjection." . . . . . [2] "It was told me (for, as "you have heard above, I was at Sluys) that these "things were not immediately settled, but many a word "arose ere they took their departure," &c.

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[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. iii. lib. 5, cc. 10 and 11. Cf. Froissart, lib. 3, c. 47 (ed. Buchon), vol. ii. p. 531, col. 2.

[2] Cf. Froissart, ibid., p. 532, col. 2. "Et il me fut dit adonc, car pour "ces jours j'etois à l'Escluse, que "ces choses," &c.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

The adoption here by Wavrin of Froissart's narrative without any acknowledgment of his name will not produce a favourable impression of our author's diligence in the revision of his extracts. Wavrin now cites Froissart by name:—

A.D. 1387.—[1] "Many persons may ask how such "things come to be known to me, that I am able so "well to speak of them. That worthy man, Master "John Froissart, who has so well treated of these matters, "says in his chronicles, whence I have extracted the "deeds done and conquests gained by the English, as "well in France as in Britany, Spain, and Portugal, "that in order to make a just investigation of all "these things, and what should happen to follow, his "study was, as he says, to make the acquaintance of "the great princes and lords as well in France as in "England; and he says that in the year of grace 1390 "he had laboured thirty-seven years, and at that day "he was fifty-seven years of age; that at the age of "thirty-seven years a man is in his force and vigour; "and he had been in all parts, for in his youth he "was five years with King Edward and the queen, "and he had been much with the King John of France "and his son King Charles. Thus during this period "he had been able to learn and conceive many things. "And certainly his greatest delight and pleasure were "to investigate things first, then to retain in his mind, "and finally to give in writing, what he had found "from his research. And as regards the constable, "his capture and deliverance, and his whole course "of life, he had been informed of this by a knight "of Britany, named Sir William (d'Anseys) d'Ancenis, "who was a great baron. And in like manner Sir "Espaing du Lyon had informed him of things which

[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. iii. lib. 6, c. 13. Cf. Froissart, lib. 3, c. 70 (ed. Buchon), vol. ii. p. 601, col. 1.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

" had happened in Foix, Béarn, and Gascony, and " also Sir John Ferrant Percek, of events respecting " Portugal and Castille. And Froissart says in his " history that he had journeyed a good while with " the said Sir William d'Ancenis, and that they dis- " coursed on many matters. Among other things " they began speaking of Bertram de Claiquin (du " Guesclin), who had been constable of France, and " in his time a most valiant knight . . . . . " Then the said knight and Sir John Froissart came " together into the town of *Prilly*."

One more example of the remarkable manner in which Wavrin abridges Froissart's relation, and adapts it to his own narrative, introducing Froissart by name upon the scene.

A.D. 1394. — [1]" It is true that this distinguished man, " Sir John Froissart, who so well and with so much " truth has treated long since the wars between France " and England, in which for the most part he was " present, and indeed wherever he was, took great " pains and care to find out the truth, happened one " day to be discoursing with Sir John de Grailly, a " noble and valiant knight, who was bastard son of that " brave and noble chevalier the captal de Buch, of " whom you have heard so much above; and he took " up the discourse with the said Froissart, and spoke " to him thus :—' You know, Sir John Froissart, that " ' the king of England would marry most willingly, " ' and has cast his eyes about everywhere, but we can " ' find no wife to suit him ; if the duke of Burgundy " ' or the count of Hainault had daughters able to " ' marry, an arrangement would gladly have been " ' entertained,' &c. " And it happened that about " this time the said Froissart arrived at Eltham, " where the king of England was coming, and he

[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. iv. lib. 3, c. 7. Cf. Froissart, lib. 4, c. 41 (ed. Buchon), vol. iii. p. 203, col. 1, et seq.

" arrived on Tuesday; and on the Wednesday following Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.
" he saw that the lords were arriving from all parts;
" and there came the duke of Gloucester," &c. At
" the words which were there spoken and proposed,
" he was not present, nor was he permitted to be
" there, and there was no one within the chamber ex-
" cept the lords of the council; but when the council,
" which lasted more than four hours, had broken up,
" and dinner was over, the said John Froissart, re-
" newed his acquaintance with an old knight whom
" he had known since the time of King Edward, and
" asked him truly to tell him if he could how this
" council was concluded. The knight thought over his
" words and request, and then answered thus:—'Yes,
" 'these are not things which it does to conceal, for
" 'they must soon be seen and heard published every-
" 'where. You know,' said the knight, 'and must
" 'have heard say, how that the duke of Lancaster
" 'is gone into Aquitaine,' &c. "And I will show
" 'you and tell the reason why, but you will keep
" 'it secret until it shall be better known and pub-
" 'lished,' and Froissart answered 'Sir, I will do so.'"

"All these things which I have recited to you
" Froissart relates in his book, and he says that at
" all these matters he was present, not at the council,
" but in a chamber near by, and all the things which
" are contained above the old knight above named, Sir
" Richard d'Estury, told and related word for word to
" the said Froissart while they walked along the gal-
" leries of the king's palace at Eltham, where it was
" very fine and pleasant, and shady, for the walks were
" then covered with vines. Now it happened that on
" the Sunday following all the council had gone away
" and retired to London, or elsewhere to their homes,
" except the duke of York, who remained about the
" king's person, and Sir Richard d'Estury; these
" two, with Sir Thomas de Percy, brought to the

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

" king's notice the business of the said Froissart, and
" he wished to see the book which Froissart had brought;
" so he saw it in his chamber, where Froissart had
" placed it on the bed of state, and he opened and
" looked inside it, and it pleased him greatly; indeed,
" it must have pleased him well, for it was well written,
" illuminated, and the stories illustrated with paint-
" ings; it was covered with scarlet velvet, with ten
" clasps of silver gilt and richly worked in the centre
" with golden roses. The king asked the said Froissart
" of what it treated, and he said, 'Of love.' He was
" greatly delighted with this answer, and examined
" the book in several places and read out of it
" for he could read and speak French very well, and
" then he had it taken by a knight named Sir
" Richard Credon, and carried to his private chamber,
" and from that time forward the king gave the said
" Froissart more and more good cheer and gracious
" reception. And it happened that on this very Sunday
" that the king had received and kept with great
" affection the said book, an English esquire was in the
" king's chamber, who was named Henry Cristede, a
" man of means and prudence, who spoke French well
" and fluently, and he accompanied the said Sir
" John Froissart, seeing that the king and the nobles
" had given him such good cheer and fine reception,
" and he had seen the book which Froissart had pre-
" sented to the king, and imagined that the said Frois-
" sart, from his manner and speech, was the historian;
" indeed, he had already been told so by the said
" Richard d'Estury; so he spoke to Sir John Froissart
" in the manner I shall tell you.

. . . . . All which facts Froissart kept in
" his mind, and wrote them down, for he did not wish
" to forget them. And John Froissart, who was in
" the king of England's household as much as he
" pleased, says," &c.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

We have now seen that Wavrin, when he adopts the narrative of Froissart, though for some reason not now apparent he has in one or more instances thought proper to disguise the fact, does not hesitate on other occasions to avow his obligation to him, and to acknowledge most distinctly the source to which he is indebted. Yet we must not infer that Froissart's chronicle alone has supplied our author with his materials for the period over which that chronicle extends. There is occasional evidence of other and distinct sources. The chronicle of Flanders, the chronicle of the betrayal and death of Richard the Second, king of England, and other sources, of which the authority cannot now be traced, have by turns contributed to the formation of Wavrin's text. These memorials, albeit at times the precise language and arrangement are followed without any appreciable alteration, are frequently much condensed and the order of the narrative transformed, entire chapters being omitted when the matter and incidents related are foreign to the design in hand, and the relation of one writer is intercalated with incidents borrowed from another so as to present in many respects a new and original composition. Wavrin himself explains his design in that respect; after speaking of Geoffrey Tête-Noire and the siege of Ventadour in 1388, almost in the very words of Froissart, he adds:—[1] "For that I, "author of the chronicles of England, do not wish "to treat of or collect at great length all the things "that happened in several and divers places, but only "such as relate to the wars of France, England, and "Britany, and those of Castille and Portugal with the "English, I shall speak here, but only very briefly, "of the duke of Gueldres, as he was a near relative "of the king of England and his uncles; on them he "relied and hoped to have help and succour if any

[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. iv. lib. 1, c. 53. Cf. Froissart, lib. 3, c. 113 vol. 2, p. 705.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

" necessity arose, but at that time there were such " great troubles in England that they could give no " heed to him; and on the other hand they knew " that the young duke of Gueldres was so valiant and " brave that they had no doubt of his achieving in the " end his object and undertaking, as indeed he did; " for the Brabanters, by command of their lady, the " countess of Brabant, on account of some quarrel which " she said she had with the duke of Gueldres, sent a " large armed force from the communities of her " country of Brabant, together with those of the good " towns of that country, to lay siege to the fair town " of Grave; but the duke of Gueldres with a handful " of men attacked them thereupon so suddenly, that " he routed and put them to flight, a great number " being slain and taken prisoners with most of the " great lords of Brabant. Never was there heard of " a more disgraceful thing than this defeat which turned " upon the Brabanters. The duchess of Brabant was " much grieved at this disaster, and she sent for " succour to Philip, duke of Burgundy, who had mar- " ried her daughter's (sister's) daughter,[1] who was " daughter of the count of Flanders, and through that " sister, after the death of the duchess [the duchy of " Brabant] would descend to the said duchess of Bur- " gundy. For this cause, therefore, Duke Philip had " good and legitimate reason to extend his helping " hand to her in order to abate the pride of this duke " of Gueldres, who had recently also sent to defy the " young king Charles of France; but the king took " this in bad grace, and had shown great despite thereat, " and so much had he taken the affair to heart, that

[1] Margaret, sister of Jane, duchess of Brabant, was married to Louis de Mâle, count of Flanders; it was their daughter Margaret, niece of the duchess, who married Philip le Hardi, duke of Burgundy. She died on the 16th March 1405. After the death of the Duchess Jane in 1406, Anthony, second son of Margaret of Flanders and Duke Philip of Burgundy, became duke of Brabant. (Art de Vérif. les Dates, xiv. 103.)

" the first thing he thought of doing was to pass into " Gueldres with the intention to overcome and put " into subjection the duke who had thus defied him, " and for this reason he delayed taking vengeance on " the duke of Britany for the capture of Messire " Oliver de Clichon, his constable, notwithstanding that " before his departure, by the advice of his uncles, the " matters were sufficiently arranged; *as you may see* " *at length in Froissart.*" Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

We have sufficiently drawn the reader's notice to the fact that Wavrin, though he principally adopts the chronicle of Froissart for his information upon English affairs, does not simply transcribe his predecessor's narrative, but adapts it,[1] with such modifications as he thought proper, to the purpose of his own chronicle.

With the close of the fourteenth century, when Froissart's chronicle terminates, Wavrin's sources in reference to English affairs become less and less distinctly traceable. Monstrelet, without doubt, was much consulted by Wavrin, and either his chronicle or some other memorials, common alike to Wavrin and to Monstrelet, furnished to a great extent the materials for the chronicles of England, down to the period with which the first edition closed, that is, the coronation of King Henry the Fifth. The compilation of this portion of the work was begun sometime between the years 1445 and 1455; about which latter date it was completed and published with the prologue now prefixed to the entire work. It is Monstrelet.

[1] A collation of Wavrin with Froissart will fully justify this observation. Among others, cf. Wavrin, vol. ii. lib. 1, c. 41, with Froissart, lib. 1, pt. 1, c. 194, vol. i. p. 166; Jean le Bel, c. 61, vol. ii. p. 10; Wavrin, vol. ii. lib. 1, cc. 44, 45; Fr. lib. 1, pt. 1, cc. 200–212; Wavrin, vol. ii. lib. 2, c. 12; Fr. lib. 1, cc. 246, 247; Wavr. vol. iii. lib. 3, cc. 3, 8; Froiss. lib. 2, cc. 159, 161, 165, and cc. 197, 198; Wavr. vol. iv. lib. 1, c. 54; Froiss. lib. 3, c. 114; Wavr. vol. iv. lib. 2, cc. 25, 26; Froiss. lib. 3. cc. 136, 137; Wavrin, vol. iv. lib. 3, c. 19; Froiss. lib. 4, c. 51, vol. iii. p. 258; Wavr. vol. iv. lib. 4, c. 11; Froiss. lib. 4, c. 68, vol. iii. p. 333, and Wavr. vol. iv. lib. 4, cc. 25, 26; Froiss. lib. 4, c. 75, vol. iii. p. 349, 350 et seq., and lib. 5, cc. 6 and 7.

Sources Wavrin's Chronicle.

quite possible that, even for the last twenty years of the period embraced in the first four volumes, our author should have derived some of the information he has recorded either from the actual relation of those who had the opportunity of knowing, or at least a confirmation of existing memoirs from their personal testimony. In speaking of the horrible carnage at the battle of Shrewsbury, he writes:[1]—"For as I have heard "it related by word of mouth and in writing, there "is not to be found in any book of all this chronicle, "from the time of the conquest of Duke William when "he obtained the kingdom of England, any battle so "full of horrors and so much shedding of Christian "blood as in that one of which we are now speaking;" and again, "and as I have been informed by men of "note, who told me that they had been assured of a "truth by knights and persons of authority who had "witnessed it, that there never was heard of in history "any affair that equalled it."

The last book of vol. iv. embraces the entire reign of Henry the Fourth, and although many of the chapters here correspond in matter and arrangement, to a great extent, with Monstrelet's chronicle during the same period, the matter is much fuller of particulars in Wavrin, the incidents connected with English affairs are related at greater length, and we may assume that though he followed Monstrelet, he was not indebted to him solely for his narrative.[2]

We are unable to trace to its source the long and graphic description which our author gives in the first and second chapters of the sixth book, of the causes of the dissensions which arose between King Henry and

[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. iv. lib. 6, c. 2.

[2] Compare Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. iv. lib. 6, c. 15, with Monstrelet, vol. i. c. 26 (ed. 1595), p. 24 et seq.; Wavr. ibid. c. 16; Monstr. c. 28, p. 25 v°.; Wavr. ibid. c. 17; Wavr. vol. iv. lib. 6, cc. 19–21; Monstr. vol. i. c. 47, p. 75 v°.; Wavr. vol. iv. lib. 6, cc. 27 and 31.

the Percies, after Isabella, widow of the lately deposed monarch, had been sent back to France. In relating the anecdote relative to the earl of Douglas and the Scottish prisoners after the battle of Homildon Hill (14th Sept. 1402), Wavrin makes the refusal to deliver the prisoners to King Henry proceed from Sir Thomas de Percy.[1] He says that Sir Thomas de Percy, having refused to deliver the earl of Douglas to King Henry, incurred the displeasure of the king, and he adds:—"The said Sir Thomas de Percy, about "six days after the departure of the pursuivant "(sent by King Henry to demand the surrender of "the prisoners), came to London before the king, who, "while he, Sir Thomas, was making his reverence "and excusing himself, asked him in a very furious "manner if he had brought the earl of Douglas with "him, to which Sir Thomas replied that he had not, "and that he was his prisoner in his country. The king "at these words was much enraged and struck Percy "a heavy blow, which Sir Thomas having borne, he "quitted the presence without taking leave, mounted "his horse and returned home."[2]

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

Monstrelet makes no allusion to the occurrences here described, and in lieu of the detailed account which our author gives of the subsequent steps taken by the Percies for securing the alliance of the Scots and Welsh, and of their proceedings until the decisive victory gained at Shrewsbury, he has only one short unsatisfactory chapter,[3]

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[1] The capture of the earl of Douglas was made by Hotspur. Henry, earl of Northumberland, and his son Henry de Percy only, were engaged in this battle. The chronicler here seems to have confounded the earl of Northumberland, the constable, with his brother Thomas de Percy, who was earl of Worcester. Moreover, he speaks of Thomas de Percy as the son of the earl of Northumberland, and this would favour a conjecture that the transcriber has written *Thomas* for *Henry*.

[2] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. iv. lib. 6, c. 1. The miniature here is very clever. King Henry is represented giving Percy a box on the ear.

[3] Contrast Monstrelet, vol. i, cap. 7, and Wavrin, vol. iv. lib. 6. cc. 1 and 2.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

in which he confounds the events of the battle fought in 1402 with those of the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403. His relation is altogether very meagre; but testimony to Henry's prowess on the field is borne by both writers. Wavrin, however, says:—"King Henry, whom the "matter touched more nearly than any other person, "troubled at seeing his vanguard thus defeated and "discomfited, began first in a loud voice to encourage "his men to acquit themselves well, then striking into "the ranks, he performed many a fine exploit of arms, "so much so that by both sides he was accounted a "most valiant knight; and it was related for certain "that on that day, with his own hand he slew thirty of "the enemy's men. To say the truth, through his skill, "courage, and noble demeanour was the battle gained "and the enemy discomfited. Thrice he was unhorsed "by the earl of Douglas' lance, and in rescuing him "several were slain, and there fell many a man never "to rise again."

We have then five chapters entirely occupied by the challenge and letters sent by Louis duke of Orleans to King Henry of England, with the king's replies. The copies of these documents are derived from the same source, and probably translated from the same Latin originals as those used by Monstrelet. The letter of defiance written by the count de St. Pol to King Henry, dated 10th Feb. 1402 (Wavrin has 11th Feb.), is given at length by both Monstrelet and Wavrin; but the latter is much fuller in his narrative relating to the reply given by the king to the count's messenger,— "who, upon hearing the king's answer, without making "any rejoinder, set off with all diligence for Dover, "where he took ship for Calais, and thence went on "direct to Aire, where he found the Count Waleran, "his master, and to whom he related by word of "mouth the message with which he had been charged, "just as you have heard it. When the count had

" heard the messenger touching the answer of King " Henry, he was much troubled in heart, but tried to " pass it off as well as he could, and in order to keep " his word, he prepared in all haste to make war " upon the said King Henry and all those whom he " thought would owe him any grudge." Wavrin then narrates, much in the same language as does Monstrelet, the particulars relating to the figure which the count de St. Pol caused to be made, being a representation of the earl of Rutland, ("son to the duke of " York and cousin-german of the said King Henry") hanging by the feet on a gibbet, and which he caused to be set up near the gates of Calais.[1] Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

Monstrelet and Wavrin both give a description of an encounter at sea, in the beginning of the year 1403, between the admiral of Britany and some English pirates, in which the Bretons gained the advantage. The details of this fight are fuller in our author than in Monstrelet; but the latter closes his narrative with a brief account of an esquire named Gilbert de Fretun, or Strethun, a native of the country of Guisnes, who sent a challenge to the king of England to avoid doing him his homage.[2] Wavrin has nothing of this, but in lieu thereof gives the following account of a descent made on the English coast by the Bretons, and their defeat by the English under the earl of Warwick, Richard de Beauchamp. With reference to the naval engagement first spoken of, he adds to what Monstrelet has said:—" In this engagement there were but " few English gentlemen present, the force consisting " only of people got together at random, who held " the sea and plundered everything they could " meet, making war upon all nations; and it was " principally in order to destroy them that the duke

[1] Monstrelet, vol. i. c. 10, and Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. iv. lib. 6, c. 8.

[2] Monstrelet, vol. i. c. 12, and Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. iv. lib. 6, c. 10.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

" of Britany fitted out this armament under his ad-
" miral; and greatly were they rejoiced when they
" learned the news of their destruction. But the king
" of England and the English, grieving much at this
" adventure, determined forthwith to place men all
" along the coast towards the English ports, and to
" keep a navy ready to protect and aid them, and to
" defend the island; for the king and his council natu-
" rally thought that it only rested with the Bretons,
" elated with their recent good fortune, to begin again
" with a fresh armament; and so it turned out, for not
" very long after the admiral of Britany, having re-
" posed and being reinforced by the seigneur du Chas-
" telneuf and several others with him, again set out to
" sea. This time there might be as many as there were
" before, that is to say, about twelve hundred lances,
" brought together as well from the country of Britany
" as from Normandy, and men all well accustomed to
" war. They set out then from Vennes, and proceeded to
" take sea from the port of St. Malo with the intention of
" making their descent on the port of Termue,[1] (? Dart-
" mouth). The admiral and some others were against
" this step; but their advice not being approved of by
" the seigneur de Chastel and others of his opinion, a
" landing was made by them in expectation that the
" admiral and the rest would follow. This they did
" not do. They had no sooner landed than they put
" themselves in order of battle; and not far from them
" were the English, at the head of whom was the earl
" of Warwick, who, having raised his banner, began
" his march, crying 'Saint George for Warwick.' Thus
" they came up with the Bretons, who valiantly and
" with great courage defended themselves with all their
" force; but the English began to discharge their arrows
" so rapidly that they seemed to fall like hail; but
" when they came to close fighting with their swords

[1] Termue, or *Dertemue*, formerly the ordinary way of spelling Dartmouth.

" and axes, both parties fought most vigorously. The " English were in far greater numbers than the Bretons, " who for this reason were unable to sustain the Eng- " lish attack; and thus were the Bretons vanquished, " and the seigneur du Chastel and his two brothers " were slain, and with them a Norman knight, named " Sir John Marchel, and many others. About one hun- " dred were taken prisoners, and amongst them the " seigneur de Bacqueville, who was afterwards ran- " somed. The admiral and those who remained with " him in the ships, learning the discomfiture of their " men, and that it was out of their power to assist " them, returned into their own country sad and dis- " consolate for their great loss."[1]

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

Wavrin relates the advancement in 1406 of John, duke of Burgundy to the government of Picardy, with no material difference from Monstrelet's account. The names of the English ambassadors who came to the French court about the same time on the subject of a marriage between Isabella, King Richard's widow, and Henry, prince of Wales, are the same in both writers; there is, however, a distinct character in Wavrin's narrative relating to the object of the embassy and the effect produced by the report of the ill success of the mission. He gives the details much fuller than Monstrelet, and after mentioning the circumstance of the king's recall of Sir Clugnet de Brabant, who had been recently appointed to the office of grand admiral of France, and his return to Paris, the two narratives become entirely distinct. Wavrin refers to a friendly alliance then made between the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, the marriage of Isabella with Charles, son of

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[1] Monstrelet in a subsequent chapter, c. 14, gives a brief description of this descent; and Stowe gives the following short account of the same invasion: — " The lord of " Cassels, in Brytaine, arrived at " Blackepoole, two milles out of " Dartmouth, with a great navy, " where of the rustical people whom " he ever dispised he was slaine."

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

the duke of Orleans, who soon afterwards takes with him his niece and daughter-in-law; the duke of Burgundy also withdraws to his country of Artois and Flanders, and summons from his country of Burgundy six hundred fighting men, whom he places in garrison on the frontiers of the Boulonnois to act against the English. About the same time also the duke of Northumberland and his grandson, the Lord Percy, came over to the king of France to ask for assistance to enable them to make war on the king of England, "and they promised the king of France to serve him and give him hostages from their nearest relatives and friends, but their application was unsuccessful, and they returned home abashed."

It would not perhaps be desirable, even if it were practicable, in these introductory remarks to cite all the passages which distinguish the chronicle of Monstrelet from that of our author. It has been thought sufficient to notice a few of the differences between the two chronicles, which seem to denote a common source, but appear to contradict the notion that one was copied from the other.

The narrative of the murder of the duke of Orleans, by John, duke of Burgundy, in 1407, as given by Wavrin, contains some details not mentioned by Monstrelet.[1] Our author states that Henry, on hearing

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[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. iv. lib. 6, c. 19. The chronicles of France are referred to by Wavrin as the authority used by him in this relation:—"Apres le dit duc dOrliens mort, le duc Jehan de Bourgoigne se party de Paris hastivement si sen vint en ses pays dArtois et de Flandres, ou il assambla ses barons et chevalliers, evesques et abbez, et tous ceulz quil luy sambla estre propices pour avoir conseil sur ses affaires, qui nestoient mie petis, desquelz je vous lairay une espace; *mais quy a plain voldra scavoir de ces matieres voye les cronicques de France; la porra trouver tout au long* la maniere et comment pour lors les choses furent demenees et conduites tant de lune partie comme de lautre, Lesqueles choses advindrent lan mil quatre cens et sept." (Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. iv. lib. 6, cap. 19.)

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

of the assassination of the duke of Orleans, assembled a parliament, when it was ordered that all subjects of the English crown in France should abstain from favouring either the Orleanists or the Burgundians.[1]

When the Liegeois, in the year 1408, rebelled against John of Bavaria, their bishop, drove him out of their country, and besieged him in the town of Maestricht, the bishop asked the assistance of his brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy. A full narrative of the details of the battle which ensued and the defeat of the Liegeois is given by both Monstrelet and Wavrin, who alike close their account, founded, no doubt, upon the same written memorials, with a glowing eulogy on the prowess of the leaders and the valour displayed by those engaged on both sides, dwelling particularly on the chivalrous bearing of Duke John of Burgundy. Wavrin, however, refers more particularly to the testimony of eye-witnesses. "*Certainement, comme jay* " *trouve par enqueste de ceulz mesmes quy furent a* " *la journee,* le duc de Bourgoigne y fut lun des plus " vaillans chevalliers de toutes les deux parties, et " sans faulte se au long voulloie raconter les vaillances " qui faites y furent, et par qui, tant dun coste comme " dautre, trop alongeroie ma matiere, si en laisse leffect " au jugement de tous ceurs sachans que cest de teles " adventures."[2]

And on another occasion (A.D. 1413) the chronicles of S. Denis are again referred to:—"En celle " saison le Vendredy, neufiesme jour " de Juing, le roy de France " et son excercite mist le siege " devant la cite de Bourges, mais " de ce quy fait y fut ne vous " quier faire grant mencion, pource " que *es cronicques de France* est " lhistore continuee tout au long ja " y eust il maintes belles escar- " muches faites, mais en fin traitie " y courut par quoy la ville fut " rendue en lobeissance du roy de " France, et fut lors renouvelee la " paix faite a Chartres entre les " parties dOrlyens et de Bourgoigne " avec les sermens recoullez dune " part et dautre." (Ibid. cap. 29.)

[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. iv. lib. 6, c. 20.

[2] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. iv. lib. 6, cap. 21. Cf. Monstrelet, cap. 47 (edit. 1595), p. 75 v°.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

Wavrin, in speaking of the death of King Henry the Fourth, relates the anecdote of the removal of the crown by Prince Henry, and adds:—"And very soon after "this, scarcely uttering another word, King Henry "ended his life, and so he was buried decently and "with honour; and subsequently the body was taken "on a barge down the river Thames as far as Graves-"end,[1] and thence was carried on a litter to Canter-"bury, where it was placed in a very rich coffin of "brass near to the shrine of Saint Thomas. And on "the other side lay the noble prince of Wales, his "uncle, who was father to King Richard, whose king-"dom he had usurped, as has been narrated above."

His first issue completed.

We have now reached the period at which Wavrin terminated his first issue,[2] as he himself tells us in his

[1] In a MS. preserved in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, M. xiv. 98, there is a singular story told by Clement Maydestone, on the authroity of one of the three persons employed to convey the body of King Henry the Fourth by water, from Westminster, for interment at Canterbury. Finding themselves in danger of a storm, they threw the dead body into the river, and proceeding to Canterbury, deposited the empty coffin in the grave. (Peck, Desiderata Curios., lib. 7, No. ii.)

[2] We have before shown that Wavrin published the first issue of his chronicle in four volumes, and that he must have concluded with the coronation of King Henry the Fifth. It is manifest that the beginning of the fifth volume as we now have it was in the first issue the termination of volume iv. The narrative of Henry's death would very naturally be closed with an account of his children; and Wavrin, in his prologue, clearly enough intimates that his design was to complete his work in four volumes, brought down to Henry's coronation. It was not, therefore, until a transcription was made of the entire work left by Wavrin in six volumes, that the termination of the fourth, and the commencement of the fifth volume, assumed the appearance they now present. The fourth volume, then, as it now exists, after the words—as has been narrated above,—ends with this phrase:—"Et atant fine le "quart volume de ces cronicques "d'Angleterre. Si commencerons "le chincquiesme au couronnement "du roy Henry son filz v^e de ce "nom—en poursievant jusques a "lan soixante et douze, que regne "triumphamment Edouard-le-De-"bonnaire." It has been before suggested that the words having reference to a fifth volume, and the continuation of the work to the year 1472, "in which the gracious "Edward reigns triumph antly," did not exist, and could not have existed

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prologue:—"Environ lan mil quatre cens chincquante "et chincq me ingerai de vouloir emprendre et achever "ceste euvre jusques au couronnement du Roy Edouard "(Henry) V^e. de ce nom." He determined to embark in this undertaking some time after the return of his nephew, Waleran, lord of Wavrin, from Constantinople in the year 1445, and he must have been occupied nearly nine years in collecting materials and in preparing the work for publication.[1] The issuing of this compilation, however,

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

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in the first edition of the work comprised in four volumes, and to which the prologue was written. This passage must have been added when the six volumes were transcribed, and probably after Wavrin's death; at the same time also we must believe that the words were interpolated in the last chapter (cap. 31), after stating that Henry maintained his kingdom in peace and justice, "comme si aprez ou chincquiesme "volume est plainement declare." The passage which we suggest terminated the fourth volume, and was afterwards transferred to the beginning of volume v., is as follows:—"Or doncques aprez que le dit roy "Henry le quart fut mort et son "service fait et adcomply, Henry "son filz, prince de Galles, et ses "trois freres, se partirent de Can-"thorbie, avec eulz tous les autres "princes, barons, chevalliers, eves-"ques, abbez, et autres nobles hom-"mes dont il y avoit grant nombre, "si sen vindrent a Londres, ou ilz "menerent le dit prince de Galles, "auquel lieu furent toutes les be-"songnes preparees necessaires et "apartenans pour son couronne-"ment. Et puis sen ala le dit "prince a son pallaix de West-"monstre, adcompaignie moult "haultement de ses trois freres "dessus nommez, et aussi de tous "les princes prelatz et barons de "son royaulme, ou il fut onoint "sacre et couronne roy; et la ne "saparut homme de quelconcque "estat pour y voulloir contredire. "Aprez le couronnement du roy "Henry chincquiesme de ce nom "entendy on auz negoces du "royaulme entretenir en bon "pollice.'

[1] From evidence which the narrative itself affords, we may infer that the compilation of the four volumes was not completed until after the year 1451. Froissart, writing at the time when Gascony was under the rule of the English, gives an account of the duchess of Lancaster's journey to Castille in the year 1388, on the occasion of her daughter's marriage to the king's son. "So they departed from Bor-"deaux and came to Bayonne, and "there the duke of Lancaster took "leave of her and returned to Bor-"deaux, and the ladies took the road "towards the city of Dax, and "journeyed on until they arrived "there; 'et y furent recues moult "'grandement, *car la cité de Dax* "'*est en obeissance au roi d'Angle-*"'*terre.*" (Froissart, lib. 3, c. 136 (ed. Buchon), vol. ii. p. 757, col. 2.) Dax continued under the

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

was not improbably preceded by the composition of a work which, although it has never, I believe, been found in a separate form, may yet have been prepared by Wavrin at his nephew's desire immediately upon his return to Lille. I refer, of course, to the account of the expedition fitted out by Duke Philip of Burgundy against the Turks, under the command of the seigneur de Wavrin, in the year 1444. This interesting and entirely original narrative is placed in the present collection in its order of date, at the beginning of the sixth volume, but if the conjecture here hazarded be well founded, it must have been composed several years anterior to the time when the volume preceding that, at the head of which it now appears, was completed and offered to the public; and while too the facts and incidents were yet all fresh in the memory of the relater who occupies so prominent a position in the narrative, and from whose own dictation our author, without doubt, must have derived his information. The success of this narrative probably suggested to the seigneur de Wavrin the advantage of a compilation of the chronicles of England, and the fitness of our author for the task, and the interest felt by both uncle and nephew for that country, to whose service in war many years of toil and danger had been devoted, contributed probably some share in the desire to undertake the task.

After the completion of the four volumes referred to, which terminate just where Wavrin's own personal

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authority of the English until it was retaken by the French in the year 1442, and having been recovered by the English, was finally retaken in 1451, "and the people "of the city put themselves under "the obedience of King Charles." (Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. vi. lib. 2, c. 18. Wars of the English in France (ed. Stevenson, 1864), II. p. 2, pp. 465, 466.) Cf. Monstr. Continuat. vol. iii. (ed. 1595), fol. 35 v°. Wavrin, in following Froissart, gives the same account, but adapts his narrative to the altered position of the city in relation to the English rule at the time he was writing. He writes, "and they were well received "there, for the city of Dax *was at* "*that time* under the obedience of "the king of England." (Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. iv. lib. 2, c. 24.)

observation of the events in progress would be of the greatest advantage in compiling a chronicle of the times, he must have felt that his labours ought not to close at that point. He, therefore, set about the continuation of his history, and in a fifth volume, which he probably published soon after the year 1461,[1] and certainly before the death of Philip, duke of Burgundy, in 1467, he brings the history down to the period at which Monstrelet's chronicle ends. This volume embraces a period only of thirty years, but thirty years of the most eventful scenes, and during nearly the whole of which our author was engaged in many of the incidents he describes. Personal observation and the relation of contemporaries,[2] grounded probably upon the written and published memorials of his day, such as Monstrelet,[3] the chronicles of France, and other similar authorities, supplied to Wavrin the sources of his information.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

We have seen that Wavrin and Saint-Remy were contemporaries, and that they not only were known

Saint-Remy.

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[1] If this conjecture be correct, the fifth volume, which comprises the entire period of Saint-Remy's Memoirs, not published until after 1460 (see Introd., p. 321), could not well have been the source of Wavrin's narrative. See Choix de Chapitres inédits, vol. i. pp. 205 et seq. Saint-Remy survived his patron, the good duke of Burgundy, but died in the year following.

[2] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v. lib. 1, c. 7:—"Ainsi que me raconta ung "gentil homme quy despuis fut roy "darmes de la Toison dOr en la "maison du duc Phelippe de Bourgoigne, lequel, comme il disoit, "avoit este tout au long de ceste "chevaulcie;" and again:—"Car "tant de nobles hommes et gentilz "escuyers y morurent que pitie "estoit, comme je, acteur de ceste "euvre, vey a mes yeulz; avec- "ques ce que jen ai enquis auz "officyers darmes et autres estans "es deux ostz, que jay bien este "advertyz de la verite de tout ce "quy la fut fait tant du party des "Anglois comme des Francois, et "mesmement en fus largement in- "fourme per Messire Hues de "Lannoy et Guilbert son frere: "lequel messire Hues y fut prins "prisonnier, mais il eschapa la "nuytie." (Ibid. c. 14.)

[3] Frequent additions and independent statements are to be found in Wavrin, even where his text seems most to correspond with that of other chroniclers. Cf. Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v. lib. 1, c. 2; ibid. cc. 2, 19, vol. v. lib. 2, c. 4, vol. v. lib. 5, cc. 35, 37.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

to each other, but each being engaged in writing the memoirs of his own time, they mutually acknowledge their obligations to one another for the oral communication of facts which came respectively under their own personal observation. We are enabled, moreover, from their own report to approximate nearly to the period when they were both engaged in their design of perpetuating the memorials of their own experience and preserving a history of the great events of their day. Saint Remy's memoirs made their appearance about the same time, and but a little, if at all, anterior to the time that Wavrin published his fifth volume. Is it credible that the latter adopted as his own narrative, without acknowledgment, the labours of his contemporary who had so recently preceded him, if, indeed, that were so indisputably? George Chastellain's[1] narrative preceded probably those both of Saint-Remy and Wavrin; but his is quite an independent history. The period embraced by the memoirs of Toison d'Or is from 1407 to 1460;[2] therefore his work was published after the latter year. "En apprès je parlerai, et en brief, de "moult merveilleuses et piteuses aventures advenues "depuis le commenchement de cestui petit-livre, jus- "ques à l'an 1460; et pour che, j'ai dict que je com- "mencherai en l'an 1407."[3]

[1] St. Remy, in his introduction, writes:—"En apprès je parleray des- "hauts et loables faicts du duc "(Philippe de Bourgongue) et des "chevaliers de son ordre, non mye "sy au long, à la centiesme partye, "que en a descript nottable orateur "George le Chastellain." (Introd. Mem. de Saint-Remy (ed. Buchon, 1838), p. 321.

[2] St. Remy in his prologue speaks of transmitting to George Chastellain the fruits of his labours, to make such use of them as he pleased in the histories and chronicles he was preparing:—"Et ce fait, les ay "envoyés au noble orateur George "Chastellain, pour aulcunement, à "son bon plaisir et selon sa dis- "cretion les employer ès nobles "histoires et chroniques que lui "faict, jà soit ce que la chose soit "de petit fruit au regard de son "œuvre, si non tant sullement par "manière d'avertissement." (Ibid. p. 319.)

[3] Ibid. p. 321. Jean Lefebvre de Saint-Remy, Toison d'Or, king-at-arms to Philip, duke of Burgundy, died in 1468. The publication of his memoirs must have been made between 1460 and 1468.

Now Wavrin, we know from his own prologue, completed his first issue down to the year 1413, in or about the year 1455. That he began his fifth volume soon after the publication of the first four volumes we may safely infer. The period embraced in that volume is from 1413 to the year 1444. May we not believe that this could not have been accomplished many years later than 1461? We know that the last book of the fifth volume was in course of compilation when King Edward was on the throne, and we may conjecture that it was completed and published very soon after Edward's coronation, but certainly during the life of Wavrin's patron Philip, duke of Burgundy. How then are we to explain, notwithstanding the many variations, omissions, and additions which the chronicles of Wavrin and St. Remy respectively present, the close resemblance in very many instances between the two narratives? It is undeniable that a great portion of the narrative treats of incidents that could not have come under the personal observation of either of these two writers. There can then be no difficulty in referring such statements to an authority open equally to one as to the other; and these statements, being confirmed wherever the personal experience of either enabled him to supply authentic information either from observation or from the oral communication of witnesses, would seem to render the two chronicles, as independent testimonies mutually corroborating each other, much more valuable than if one had been merely a copy from the other.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

Wavrin gives a full and most interesting narrative of the proceedings of the English court during the negotiations upon the treaty for a marriage with the daughter of the French monarch, and the unjust and exorbitant demands of Henry the Fifth, which seem to have furnished only a pretext for his invasion of Normandy. The account of the siege of Harfleur and reduction of the town to the obedience of the English, and Henry's subsequent march with the intention of

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

re-embarking at Calais owing to the sickness which prevailed among his soldiers, contains nothing of importance that is not to be found in other contemporary relations of this expedition. There were ample written materials before Wavrin for compiling an authentic memoir of this period, one to which he must from many circumstances have recurred with more than ordinary interest; and the information he has so acquired he has corroborated by the actual testimony of persons who were present at the scenes, and from his own personal observations and enquiries. He doubtless had access to, and must have availed himself of, the Latin narrative of a priest who accompanied Henry's expedition,[1] as well as other contemporary writers; and the details so reproduced, confirmed by his own experience, though perhaps an interval of forty years may have tended somewhat to weaken his description of the incidents, should have saved him from the neglect in which his manuscript has hitherto lain.

It will be remembered that, although the invasion of Normandy by Henry was without provocation, as his pretext for quarrel with the French king cannot be justified in right or policy, yet was the English monarch most desirous, after he had once determined upon his return to England, to avoid any hostile collision with

[1] Gesta Regis Henrici Quinti, Auctore Capellano in Exercitu Regis, MS. Cotton, Julius E. iv., and Sloane MS. 1776; Cleopatra C. iv.; Claudius A. xiii., and others. Henrici Quinti gesta, illust. B. Williams, printed for E. Hist. Soc. Lond. Sir Harris Nicolas, in his "History of "the Battle of Agincourt," London, 8vo. 1832, has collected the principal statements of contemporary writers, both French and English, and by the completeness of his memoir he has left but very little to be added on this most interesting subject. One of the disadvantages under which the chronicle now before us has laboured from not having hitherto been edited, is, that while St. Remy is abundantly cited by Nicolas as a contemporary authority, Wavrin is altogether ignored. From a careful comparison I have made of the two texts, I feel assured that the conclusion that Wavrin is the mere plagiarist of Saint Remy is only the result of an insufficient examination of the claims of both writers to be considered as independent testimonies.

the enemy. The battle of Azincourt, the first of Henry's great successes against the crown of France, was manifestly forced upon the English; and before the battle, propositions of peace having been made, it was even reported, (though Wavrin considers this to be an invention,) that the king of England had offered to the French, if they would allow him to pass peaceably on with his army to Calais, and enable him to procure provisions on reasonable payment, that he would give back the town of Harfleur and make indemnity for the loss sustained by the expedition and conquest:—"Or est vray que "aulcuns de par de cha ont mis hors a scavoir que "le roy d'Engleterre offry auz Francois que, se ilz "voulloient laissier passer paisiblement luy et son ost "jusques a Callayx, et livrer vivres en les paiant "par raison, courtoisement, quil renderoit la ville de "Harfleu avec les dommages et interestz que fais "avoit au moyen de la dite conqueste et voiage; "mais desplaise a ceux quy le recordent ce fut chose "controuvee; car oncques le roy d'Engleterre ne se "restraigny lors oultre la demande devantditte."[1] It appears that on the 12th of October, when the English army was near the town of Eu, before they reached the Somme, (Henry's intention being to cross it at the passage of the Blanche-tache, where King Edward the Third had crossed before the battle of Crecy,) a strong party of the French having made an attack were repulsed, with considerable loss on both sides. Wavrin here relates the anecdote of the rencontre between Lancelot Pierres and an English knight, as mentioned by several contemporary writers; but it is not clearly to be gathered from the somewhat inconsistent statements of the chroniclers upon this point whether the French were as anxious to avoid a general engagement as all the historians agree in representing the English to have been. They nevertheless all loudly condemn

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v. lib. 1, c. 11.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

the conduct and misrepresentation of the Gascon prisoner, who is said to have been indirectly the cause of the disastrous battle of Azincourt. If the French really had been desirous of allowing Henry to reach Calais without a battle, as the reproaches heaped upon the unhappy Gascon would seem to imply, the opposition offered to all attempts on the part of the English to cross the river at every bridge seems to be inconsistent. The incident, however, is singular in any point of view, but the relation of it has occasioned a yet more singular misapprehension, when it is sought from it to establish Wavrin as a plagiarist of Saint-Remy, because the anecdote is related by each. There can be no doubt that if the English, after the army had traversed the country of the Vimeu, could have succeeded in securing the passage of the river at the Blanchetache, they would have reached Calais without interruption, and the battle of Azincourt might never have been fought; but it happened that a Gascon, who was in the suite of the constable of France, then stationed at Abbeville, was made prisoner and brought before the English king; and then he stated and staked his head upon the truth of his information that the French army was assembled in great force on the opposite side of the Somme, that the passage was strongly guarded, and that it would be contested by the enemy. This intelligence, which subsequently proved to be wholly without foundation, determined Henry to abandon his first design, and seek a passage higher up the river. In relating this adventure of the Gascon, Wavrin, who at that time was engaged in the service of the French monarch in the company of his father, the seigneur de Wavrin, acknowledges his obligation for the information of what passed in the English army to Lefebvre de Saint-Remy, then a pursuivant-at-arms, who was, during the whole march, with the English. Saint-Remy, says Wavrin, related this to me:—"ainsi que me raconta ung gentilhomme quy

" depuis," &c., and he then gives the account of the adventure very much in the same manner as Saint-Remy. It seems to be a very strained construction of the passage in Wavrin (inexplicable, unless for the purpose of establishing a theory) by which a reader can see in it,—badly expressed as the passage certainly is, and corrupted probably by his transcribers,—any intention on the part of Wavrin to ascribe to the pursuivant-at-arms, from whom he had the story, either the credit or the blame of having influenced Henry's determination for good or for evil, and of having been in fact the cause of deterring him from crossing the Somme at the Blanche-tache, and consequently the indirect occasion of the disaster at Azincourt. Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

The murder of John, duke of Burgundy, on the bridge of Montereau, in 1419, hastened the current of affairs now running so favourably to Henry's pretensions against the crown of France, and set the seal to the establishment of the English ascendancy in that kingdom. The calamitous event which filled all France with mourning, and changed so completely the fortunes and interests of the crown, could not fail of exciting a sympathy in our author, to be awakened forty years after the occurrence, when about to chronicle the particulars of this sad story. Gratitude for the favours heaped on him by the illustrious son of the murdered duke could not but influence his feeling, though they might not tempt him to betray his duty as a historian. Accordingly we find his narrative of the facts and circumstances attending this murder very much in the manner of the other writers who have mentioned it; but an expression of feeling is apparent in Wavrin which does not so pointedly characterise the language of his contemporaries.[1] He concludes his relation of the assas-

[1] " Apres lesquelles parolles le " noble duc chevaulcha, et aprochant " son malheur, entra dedens le chas- " tel de Monstreau par la porte des " champs," &c.; Wavrin, vol. v. lib. 1, c. 29; and he thus designates the councillors of the dauphin, "par " la deliberation des parvers con- " seillers."—Ibid.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

sination with these remarks:—"Sy tyrerent droit a "Troyes, ou ilz trouverent le roy de France, la royne, "et plusieurs grans seigneurs, ausquelz ilz raconterent "la piteuse mort du duc Jehan de Bourgoigne, dont "toute la court fut troublee: *et quant les nouvelles* "*en furent espandues parmy le royaulme de France,* "*il y eut maint cuer doullent et courouchie, et disoient* "*aulcuns que oncques cas pareil nestoit advenue en* "*France, ne plus grant deshonneur a la couronne;* "*et que une fois le royaulme en seroit destruit.* "Dautre part, quant le roy dAngleterre fut de ce ad- "verty, a scavoir, ung jour aprez la chose advenue,— "grant dommage, dist-il, est du duc de Bourgoigne! il "fut bon et leal chevallier et prince dhonneur, mais "par sa mort a layde de Dieu et de Saint George "sommes au-dessus de nostre desir, si aurons malgre "tous Francois dame Katherine que tant avons desiree. "Ainsy, comme vous oez, se devisoit le roy dAngle- "terre a ses barons et chevalliers de la mort du duc "Jehan, dont toutesvoies les Anglois estoient grande- "ment resjouys pour ce quilz en pensoient leur be- "songne de mieulz valloir."[1]

Chroniques de S. Denis.

Wavrin's acknowledgment of the sources whence he derived his information has been abundantly pointed out. At the close of the last chapter of the fifth volume he again repeats his obligation to the Chronicles of France, when, speaking of the French successes against the English at the relief of the town of Dieppe in the year 1443, and the subsequent incursion made by the dauphin upon the territory of the duke of Burgundy, he adds:—"*Comme il appert plus am-* "*plement en la deduction des cronicques de France.*"[2] Now if our author, as it has been assumed, though I think without sufficient grounds, was indebted solely to the pages of Monstrelet for the principal part of his

[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v. lib. 1, c. 29. Cf. Monstrelet, vol. i. c. 211 (ed. 1595), p. 280, et seq.; St. Remy, c. 97 (ed. Buchon), p. 441, col. 1.

[2] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v. lib. 6, c. 20.

information and narrative during the period from the commencement of the fifteenth century to the year 1443, when Monstrelet's chronicle terminates, it is matter at least of surprise that he should have been wholly silent as to the authority he so employed.[1] The same unfounded charge of plagiarism from Monstrelet's continuator has obtained credit. This is, however, of less importance, for, as we shall presently have occasion to shew, the anonymous author of the continuation might with not less appearance of truth be charged with having derived his narrative from Wavrin, whose distribution of chapters and particularity of details is so closely followed, that an important question must arise whether both chronicles may not have emanated from the same pen. It is more necessary to remove the false impression likely to be made by the citation of the rubrics merely of each chapter of Wavrin consecutively, with a reference for the contents of the chapters to Froissart, Monstrelet, St. Remy, or Jacques du Clercq, as the case may be. The system adopted in the French edition of Wavrin would seem unintentionally to convey an impression which it will require a faithful comparison of all the chapters so indicated to destroy.[2]

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

Continuator of Monstrelet.

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[1] Wavrin distinctly refers to Monstrelet by name in a subsequent portion of his chronicle, but then it is only as an authority upon a state of things resulting from a long antecedent occurrence. The death of Charles, duke of Orleans, on the 3rd of January 1464, is related by Wavrin. He then speaks of the consequences of the civil war in France, which this duke had been the occasion of, in revenge for the murder of his father by John, duke of Burgundy; and he adds that this war continued for upwards of thirty years to the destruction of the kingdom, "comme ou peult "veoir par les cronicques a plain "que compilla Enguerran de Monstrelet," (vol. i. c. xxxvi.)—Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. vi. lib. 4, c. 33. Consult Mr. Stevenson's preface to the Wars of the English in France, Henry VI., pp. xxiii. et seq. and note [1], p. xxiv.

[2] Cf. Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v. lib. 2, c. 2; Monstrelet, vol. i. c. 226 (ed. 1595), p. 296 v°; Saint Remy, c. 103 (ed. Buchon), p. 448; Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v. lib. 2,

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

In what year Wavrin completed and published his fifth volume has not yet been precisely ascertained. There is evidence that it was not completed until after the accession of King Edward the Fourth,[1] but its publication was probably made soon after that event. After mentioning the recall of the dauphin to Touraine consequent upon his victory, and that the king appointed him to another charge, the volume concludes in this way:—"De la quele je me passe quant a present; "car je voeil, selon ma premiere intention, terminer "et baillier fin a mon present chincquiesme volume; "mais au sixieme sequent, Dieu devant (donnant), je "parsievray ma matiere, autant que oportunite me "durera, selon la fourme encommencie. Et y sera "entee, quasy au commencement, une notable inci- "dence qui en ce temps advint en Sarrazine terre; "laquelle, a mon semblant, debvra grandement plaire "a tous, pour recreer les esperitz, comme je ne la "sache estre recitee en quelque autre volume."

His narrative of the expedition to Constantinople.

The interesting account, here promised, of the expedition fitted out against the Turks, though probably composed soon after the return of the Seigneur de Wavrin from Constantinople in 1445, appears in the succeeding volume in its chronological order, and does, in fact, comprise the whole of the first book of the sixth volume. The relation of the Seigneur de Wavrin's return is thus mentioned:[2]—"After these things, in

cc. 4–7; Monstrelet, vol. i. c. 227 et seq.; ibid. vol. v. lib. 3, cc. 11, 18, 25, 28, 29; lib. 4, cc. 10, 13, &c.; lib. 6, cc. 12, 13; Du Clercq, lib. v, cc. 1, 8, 9, 10 (ed. Buchon, Paris, 1838), pp. 222, 235; Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. vi. lib. 4, cc. 28, 29; Monstrelet, vol. iii. fol. 96 v°, 101 v°, &c.

[1] Speaking of the duke of York's appointment as governor of the Duchy of Normandy (2nd July 1440), Wavrin writes "a ce commis "par le roy Henry d'Angleterre, III. "(? VI.) de ce nom, et pere (? petit "fils) du roy Henry le quart, suc- "cesseur (? predecesseur), *du noble* "*roy Edouard, presentement reg-* "*nant*, a la garde et entretenement "dycellui pays contre les Francois, "leurs annemis."—(Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v. lib. 6, c. 13.)

[2] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. vi. lib. 1, c. 19.

" remuneration of the said service done to the church " by the Seigneur de Wavrin, our holy father gave " him certain indulgences, which he brought back " with him, wherein all are participators who visit the " church of Lillers, in which place the said seigneur de " Wavrin, after his return, put the said relics of the " robe of our Lord Jesus Christ, incased in a golden " cross, very richly set with large pearls and other " precious stones. Then the said Seigneur de Wavrin " took his leave of the holy father, and of the court " of Rome; and after receiving the apostolic bene- " diction, he departed from Rome, and returned by " stages to his country, without meeting with any " adventure which is worth recounting, to his prince, " the most noble Duke Philip of Burgundy, whom he " found in his good town of Lille, by whom, after he " had related the effect of his voyage, as is above " fully described, he was honourably received and " feasted with good will, and also by the noble princes " and barons of his court generally." If not previously published by Wavrin, this narrative must certainly have been written before the time of the completion and issue of the fifth volume. Assuming then that Wavrin may have been occupied five or six years in the production of the fifth volume, we may date its completion somewhere about the year 1462. At that time also the materials were probably collected for the first three books of the sixth volume, which embrace a period of fifteen years, viz., from the sailing of the expedition to Constantinople to the coronation of King Edward the Fourth.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

We have now arrived at the most important portion of our author's labours, namely, the sixth volume of his chronicle. The value of this passage of contemporary history has been very generally admitted, the authorship of the chronicle has never been hitherto called in question, and all testimony at least agrees in ascribing it to the pen of Wavrin. It is in truth here

The sixth volume the most important of his work.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

that, if at all, he becomes the historian in the true acceptance of the word—a contemporary and original author in the fullest sense in which any chronicler can be deemed to be an original author. But now, perhaps for the first time, the credit of this composition

Du Clercq.

is denied to him; Jacques du Clercq and the anonymous continuator of Monstrelet have been put forward as competitors for a considerable share of the narrative contained in this volume; and now we shall have to consider whether we may still continue to accept the whole of the six books of this volume as Wavrin's own composition, or be compelled to relinquish, so far as his name is involved, great part of the pretension to authority which to this time has been accorded to him, in regard to that portion even of the chronicle which is contemporaneous with his own life; if this were so we must be content to assign to him henceforth the secondary position only of the mere adopter of some contemporary's work. It would not be an easy task certainly, in this case, to decide the question, to whom we should transfer the credit, whatever it may be, of the production; for if it be not Wavrin's, it assuredly is not from the pen of du Clercq, as we shall presently shew. To some one must belong the merit of having compiled, arranged, and reduced into continuous narrative, for the period in question, the relations of prior writers, of amplifying or abridging their statements as circumstances and the design of the compiler may have justified or demanded, and of adding from personal knowledge or enquiry new facts and fresh incidents whenever authentic sources, and opportunities, were presented. The continuator of Monstrelet, whoever he may have been, has done all this, and to him or to the chronicle exhibited in the printed editions of Monstrelet's work we have been accustomed mainly to appeal for the history of the twelve month's war which brought the loss of Normandy to England through breach of treaties on her part, and internal

dissensions among her own rulers. The transactions during the war between the men of Ghent and the duke of Burgundy, and the chief events which have been described with reference to the affairs of England in her relations with France and Burgundy, down to the year 1467, are known to the English reader principally through the pages of the work commonly described as the third volume of Monstrelet. But this continuator of Monstrelet is anonymous. Can we supply him with a name? We must do this, or we must deprive Wavrin of a very considerable share in the chronicle which now bears his name and authority. It is not easy to believe that a chronicler of any reputation (and we have seen that Wavrin was not unknown to his contemporaries in that capacity,) should have adopted in the compilation of his chronicle the same arrangement, the same narrative, and the same distribution of chapters with those presented in the work of an anonymous writer, the publication of whose labours scarcely can have preceded his own. We can much more readily accept the alternative that the two chronicles emanated from the same author. Was Wavrin then the real continuator of Monstrelet and the compiler of the chronicle usually printed as the third volume of Monstrelet's work, or has he transferred to his own compilation a very large portion of an anonymous work, which could not have been completed before the year in which his own chronicle itself terminates?[1]

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

The continuation of Monstrelet attributed to Wavrin.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the early editions of this work, namely, that of Jehan Petit and

[1] The chronicle which is always cited as the third volume of Enguerrand de Monstrelet, extends from April 1444 to the death of Philip, duke of Burgundy, in 1467. This at least is the period embraced in the printed copies, but it is probable, and the Harl. MS. 4424 and the Imperial MS. 88 confirm this conjecture, that the chronicle was in fact, carried down to the year 1471.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

Michel le Noir, Paris, 1512, and that by Francois Regnault, Paris, 1518, (reprinted in 1572, 1595, and 1603,) inaccurately present the continuation as the third volume of Monstrelet, since it is notorious that Monstrelet could not have been the author. His death is placed without dispute in the middle of July 1453; and independently of this, there is no resemblance in the character of the continuation to favour the belief that any part of the narrative or arrangement was the production of the author of the first two volumes. Moreover we have the testimony of Mathieu de Coucy and of the author of the prologue to the chronicle contained in the Harl. MS. 4424, that Monstrelet's labours only extended to the year 1444. If any materials for the continuation of this history had been left incomplete by Monstrelet at the time of his death, these may have come into the hands of Wavrin, and have been reduced by him into the form of narrative, and used in the compilation of his own chronicle. According to the register of the Cordeliers of Cambray, and the memoriaux of Jean le Robert, Monstrelet had written the history of the war of the men of Ghent against the duke of Burgundy. This war began in April 1452, and terminated at the end of July 1453; he could not therefore have witnessed its conclusion or have completed an account of the war to its close; but if materials were collected by him, Wavrin may have prepared the narrative and continued the relation to the establishment of the peace. The events of the war are minutely detailed in the second book of the sixth volume, cc. 21—41, and in the identical language in which the narrative occurs in the printed editions, vol. 3, fol. 42—55.

There are many reasons for believing Wavrin to be the original continuator of Monstrelet; but in order to arrive at a sound conclusion on the subject, a minute and critical examination should first be made not only

of the two works represented by the Imperial MSS. f. fr. 88, and f. fr. 6758–9, but also of the MS. 432 of the fonds Sorbonne, MS. 734 of the fonds Dupuy, and generally of all the manuscript contemporary chronicles which treat of the period between the termination of Monstrelet's chronicle in 1444 and the year 1472. The present editor has not yet fully had the opportunity of doing this; but in the meantime, and subject to the modification of opinion which such an examination may produce, this conjecture is submitted. Very soon after the year 1471 Wavrin published an edition of the portion of his work, comprised in the sixth volume, with this title, "En ce livre sont escriptes les guerres "advenues en France en Angleterre, et en Bourgoine, "depuis l'an mil quatre cens quarante quatre jusques "en l'an mil quatre cens soixante onze." Having subsequently procured much additional information from personal enquiries and authentic sources, particularly upon English affairs, he prepared the materials for a new and revised edition; prevented by death from completing the publication of this last performance, the task of distribution into books and particular chapters in the same manner and after the method pursued in the previous volumes, and the care of superintending the ingrossing and fair transcribing of the volume may have fallen to another hand;[1] but no other has sought to appropriate the materials: Wavrin's name was still retained as the author, albeit his last supervision may not have been given to it.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

The chronicle which we believe should be now restored to its author, as having been the first edition of the sixth volume of the Chroniques d'Engleterre, is

[1] This may account for the misplacing of many chapters which now appear out of their chronological order, owing to the introduction of some entire chapters of new matter, and the re-writing of some others; these seem occasionally to have been inserted without sufficient care, and betray a want of the author's own superintendence.

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that which has heretofore been designated as "Les "Chroniques d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet, depuis 1444 "continuées jusqu'en 1471."[1] The original MS. formed part of the famous Gruthuyse collection, is in the same *format*, and appears to have been transcribed about the same period as the complete work of Wavrin, in six volumes, or twelve parts; both copies now being in the Imperial Library at Paris, the one f. fr. 88 (olim f. fr. 6762), and the other f. fr. 6758, 6759.

This anonymous chronicle, which, for the sake of argument, we shall in these remarks call the first edition of Wavrin's sixth volume, differs in many respects from all other contemporary chronicles heretofore printed. It agrees in arrangement and narrative with neither Jacques du Clercq, Mathieu de Coucy, nor Olivier de la Marche; and although they embrace the same period, and frequently the same facts are related, and many of the incidents, derived from earlier sources, as Jacques du Bouvier and Jean Chartier, are described in language frequently not very dissimilar and sometimes almost identical, yet none of these writers present the

[1] Les manuscrits François par M. Paulin Paris, vol. i. p. 99. It is described by Van Praet under the number xcvi. The chronicle printed as volume iii., or the continuation of Monstrelet, does not strictly represent the MS. 88, and appears to be a pirated and incomplete copy of it, the transactions in which England alone is concerned being either wholly omitted or abridged in a very summary manner without judgment or accuracy. Moreover, it ends with the account of Philip, duke of Burgundy's death, in 1467, omitting the epitaph said to have been inscribed round his tomb. The Harl. MS. 4424 agrees very nearly with the printed text, contains the epitaph, and is continued to the year 1471. It has a special prologue, in which the writer professes to have derived his information from personal enquiries, and describes his work as beginning with the year 1444, *la ou fine Enguerran de Monstrelet son second livre*, and ending in the year 1471. For the first portion, viz. to the end of the wars between Flanders and the death of the duke of Burgundy, there is an entire agreement between Harl. 4424 and the printed continuation. The MS. 88 comprises also a large portion of the narrative of English affairs between 1460 and the duke's death, as related in Wavrin's sixth volume.

peculiar features which characterise this chronicle. Now the sixth volume of Wavrin possesses all the features which distinguish the MS. 88; and a comparison of the two chronicles must lead to almost a conviction of their identity in point of authorship, except in so far as there has been a revision, and in many places a re-casting of the original narrative, and the introduction of new matter, principally in relation to the affairs of England.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

The sixth volume opens with the following brief and somewhat vague and general description of events that happened in England in 1447 to 1450:—

[1] "Now, therefore, to enter on the matter of this "present volume, following out the same order as "that with which we began; true it is that about "the year which is reckoned 1447, a parliament was "held in the kingdom of England, at which the duke "of Gloucester was put under arrest by the Lord "Beaumont, at that time constable of England, and "thereupon he and his people were taken and made "prisoners in divers places in the kingdom; and on "that very night was the duke of Gloucester killed "and cruelly murdered in his bed, albeit he was uncle "of the king, and had been son and brother of a "king; and no way can we know truly the cause nor "for what reason he was thus inhumanly murdered. "At this death the principal part of the people of "England, and especially all the commons, were greatly "troubled, and they conceived very generally a great "hatred against the duke of Suffolk and those of his "party, because, as I have said at the end of the fifth "volume preceding, he was the principal councillor of "King Henry; it was therefore on the prosecution of "those persons that he was condemned, immediately "after, to be banished and sent into a perilous exile. "The duke seeing himself thus driven away, and so

[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. vi. lib. 1, cap. 1.

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" received, principally by the common people, set off as
" soon as he could, fearing to lose his life, which would
" have been endangered by a longer stay. He there-
" fore hastily conveyed his chattels, taking and heap-
" ing up gold and silver, good rings and jewels, and
" set off for Dover; being arrived at this place with
" his people he took ship and put to sea in a vessel
" which was named 'the ship Nicolas of the Tower.'
" But scarcely was the said duke out of Dover, when his
" ship was boarded by an English vessel, and they who
" had come on this errand cut off the head of the said
" duke of Suffolk without doing harm to any of his
" people. Thus, as you see, the duke of Suffolk ended
" his days, and was paid off in the same coin he had
" lent to others. At this time also the commonalties
" of the bishopric and city of Salisbury formed a con-
" spiracy against their bishop, and one from among
" them killed him and cut off his head. Now we
" shall leave awhile the affairs of England, and we
" will return to them at the commencement of the
" second book. Now we shall treat of the incidence
" of a voyage which about this time was made by the
" seigneur de Wavrin into the country of the Sara-
" cens, as you shall hear."

The narrative of the expedition to Constantinople then follows, and occupies the whole of the first book. The second book begins with the series of disastrous contests between the French and English, which ended in the total loss of Normandy to the English crown. Unless we can accept the suggestion that Wavrin is the author of the continuation of Monstrelet's chronicle, usually printed as the third volume of that work, the forty-two chapters of book the second contain no new matter at all of any moment.[1] A few introductory words in allusion to

[1] In referring in our remarks on this subject to these two works respectively, which we shall assume for the sake of convenience to be the first and second edition of our author's chronicle, we shall designate

the troubles and dissensions at the English court, which the author says he had touched upon in his preceding volume,[1] then bring us at once to the relation of the capture of the town and castle of Fougeres by the Arragonese knight, Sir Francis de Surienne, in violation of the truces then existing between France and England, in which Britany was likewise included. It is remarkable that A. omits all the matter contained in D. between the period from April 1444, when the truces were agreed upon, until this infraction of them in 1448–9. The materials for the history of these years are borrowed entirely from the chronicle of Jean Chartier and that of Berry, which writers the author follows very closely; the disposition and arrangement of the narrative are nevertheless of the same character and indicate the same hand with the rest of the continuation. The reference to English affairs at this period in the earlier edition is very slight, and the few facts mentioned do not seem to have been very carefully sifted. There is an account given of the murder of the bishop of Chichester, Adam Moleyns, the keeper of the king's privy seal, during a commotion of the populace, and the author, following Berry and Chartier, calls him bishop of Gloucester. This error is not reproduced in the later edition, A. There were two bishops murdered about this time; the bishop of Chichester towards the close of the year 1449, and the bishop of Salisbury in June 1450. In his revised edition Wavrin mentions the death of the latter, but omits the chapter which speaks of the murder of Moleyns. The deaths of the duke of Gloucester, of the duke of Suffolk, and

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

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by the letter D. the MS. in the Imperial Library at Paris, f. fr. No. 88 (olim f. fr. 6762), which it has already been said represents so far as it goes the printed continuation; and the acknowledged work of Wavrin, which is contained in six volumes (or twelve parts), f. fr. 71–82 (olim 6748–6759), will be distinguished by the letter A.

[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. v. lib. 6. c. 13.

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of the bishop of Salisbury had been mentioned by Wavrin in another place, and it is quite possible that in a revised edition he may not have thought it desirable to reproduce all the matter which he had inserted in the previous edition. The narrative which then follows, after the breaking of the truce until the complete reduction of Normandy in one year and six days, occupies in A. fourteen chapters, and in D., by the insertion of some incidents foreign to the subject in hand, the matter is extended through twenty-eight chapters. In A. there are evident traces of a revision, and to a great extent there is a reconstruction of the narrative, and occasionally fuller details are added and new facts supplied; but the change in the language when the same incidents are related seems to be nothing more than such as would naturally suggest itself to the author himself on a review of his own work. The omission of those chapters which are irrelevant to the history of the reduction of Normandy to its obedience to the crown of France, and frequently a transposition of the order in which the several towns and castles in that duchy were one after the other wrested from the English rule, present a more uniform and consecutive narrative than that of the earlier edition, and upon the whole we cannot but admit that the later version is an improvement upon the older compilation.

After the surrender of Falaise by composition, and the capture of Domfront, followed not many days later by the fall of Cherbourg, the entire recovery of Normandy was deemed completed. At the siege of the latter town it is recorded that Sir Pregent de Cotigny, lord of Rais or Retz, and Tiedal le Bourgeois, were killed, one by a cannon-ball and the other by a shot from a culverine. MS. A. adds, that the former was "admiral of France;" and subsequently in speaking of the surrender of the castle by the English captain, Thomas Gonel, it is stated that the seigneur de Beuil, who was then made captain for the king of France,

had been "recently appointed admiral on the death of "Cotigny, who had been captain of Granville, to which "post John, Monseigneur de Loheraine was thereupon "advanced." The mention of these facts is likewise found in Du Clercq.[1] The conclusion of the narrative slightly differs in MS. A. from that in MS. D., and the reasons assigned for the loss of Normandy are new. Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

"Thus, as you have heard, was the whole duchy of "Normandy re-conquered, and all the cities, towns, and "castles brought under the obedience of King Charles "of France, in one year and six days, without great "effusion of blood or loss of men; and this was a par- "ticularly great honour to the king of France, to all "the lords above named, and generally to all those "who had accompanied him on this expedition. The "accomplishment of this was effected in the year of "the great jubilee and general pardon at Rome. The "country of Normandy contains in length six *grosses* "*journées*, and four in breadth, and within it are six "bishoprics and one archbishopric, and one hundred "towns and castles, not including those which have "been destroyed in the wars."

[2] "After this conquest the king of France ordered "six hundred lances, with a proportionate number of "archers, for the protection and defence of the duchy, "and the other men-at-arms he sent into Guienne. "Then he set out for the city of Tours, where he "arrived in the month of September of the said year, "and there by the deliberation of his Great Council, "for the purpose of rendering thanksgivings and "praises to God, and in gratitude for his noble con- "quest, he ordered general processions to be celebrated "throughout all the churches of his kingdom, on the

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[1] Mémoires de J. Du Clercq., lib. 1, c. 35 (ed. Buchon), p. 24.

[2] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. vi. lib. 2, c. 14. Cf. Monstrelet, iii. (ed. 1595), fol. 32 r°, and Mémoires de J. Du Clercq., cc. 36, 37.

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" 14th day of October, and thenceforward in every " year on the 12th day of August, *which is called* " *the Feast of the King; and upon this he made* " *letters patent to the prelates of his kingdom.* Thus " then was re-conquered the duchy of Normandy, to " the great loss and displeasure of King Henry of " England, and of all his well-wishers, and generally " of all the commonwealth and community of his " people; and all this happened through the divisions " and bickerings which arose at his court between " the princes and officers of state, for then justice " neither reigned nor was done in any part of that " kingdom, and all this owing to the envyings, hatreds, " and rancours between the dukes of York and " Somerset, the which were so great, as you shall after- " wards hear, and there ensued from them such ills, " that pity and horror it is to tell of them; *the which* " *events, as truly as I can, shall be hereafter written* " *by me.*"

Our author appears to have adopted the same method, and to have drawn his narrative from the same sources in the compilation of the subsequent history of the reduction of Guienne, comprised in the succeeding chapters, from chapter 14 to the end of chapter 28, which relates the re-capture of Bordeaux by Talbot. The facts and details continue to be drawn almost exclusively, and frequently in the identical language, at one time from Chartier and at another time from Berry, even in the digest of the same chapter.[1] Here,

[1] Mlle. Dupont, in her "Choix " de Chapitres inédits," (vol. ii. p. 163) seems to intimate that Du Clercq is the source of Wavrin's narrative as regards the fourteen chapters which contain the relation of the recovery of Normandy by Charles VII. A careful collation, however, of the two texts, and a comparison respectively with the printed texts of Chartier and Berry (ed. Denys Godefroy, fol. 1661) have failed to satisfy the present editor of the soundness of that inference. There may even be a grave question whether Wavrin could have had the opportunity of copying from Du Clercq's memoirs, since their

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however, in the later edition the author's revising hand has been but sparingly applied. The six chapters, beginning with chapter fifteen, are almost word for word and chapter for chapter the same in the two editions, MS. D. and MS. A. This identity continues through the whole of the remainder of the second book, which is occupied entirely by the narrative of the war in Flanders between the duke of Burgundy and the men of Ghent.[1] Chapter 21 begins with the siege of Oudenard, and chapter 41 relates the establishment of the peace at the end of July 1453. This piece of compilation we have before suggested may have been derived from the materials prepared, but left incomplete by Monstrelet, and so far the two editions A. and D. present an identity in order, distribution, and composition. Some unimportant changes in the language of the narrative, and the addition occasionally of a name, constitute the only

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publication antecedently to Wavrin's first edition has not been established; although in the volume edited by Buchon, the memoirs are only brought down to the year 1467, we have no certain evidence before us as to when their composition and publication were completed, or even if they were completed before the death of Wavrin. Indeed the author's preface would lead to an inference that at the time of the publication of his first volume and the writing of his preface some years must have elapsed since the last event recorded in the volume. "*Et "combien que ce n'est pas tout ce que "j'ay escript des choses advenues*, et "n'est seulement que des choses "advenues durant le temps dessus- "dict, qui dura jusques à la mort "d'icelluy Philippes-le-Grand, duc "de Bourgongne, des quelles choses "j'ay compilé ce present livre." We must believe that "*des choses ad- "venues depuis*," the author had already collected materials for at least a second volume—"et des choses ad- "venues depuis j'ay intention d'en "faire ung aultre volume, ou deux, "selon ce que je vivray, ou qu'il ad- "viendra des choses en mon temps." (Prol. to the Memoires of J. Du Clercq.)

[1] The war seems to have originated in a quarrel relative to a tax upon salt imposed by the duke of Burgundy. On this occasion the chronicler of Arras is referred to in the Continuation, vol. iii. fol. 40 v°, "En ce pas icy dit le Croniqueur "d'Arras." MS. A. has only "Dist "ycy lacteur," *des croniques d'Arras* may be an omission by the scribe. (Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. vi. lib. 2, c. 19.)

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variations; as for instance, to the leaders who composed the vanguard in the battles fought by the Count d'Estampes against the men of Ghent,[1] in MS. A. is added to Anthony Bastard of Burgundy, and the lord de Savenses, the name of "Le seigneur de "Wavrin." This account is followed by a short relation of the operations of the lord de Croy in the duchy of Luxembourg; and so closes the second book. The third book begins with the re-capture of Bordeaux by Charles, followed by the general reduction of the whole kingdom to the obedience of the French monarch. It contains fifty chapters, of which by far the larger number present entirely new matter relating to affairs in England, which is not found in the printed continuation of Monstrelet. Chapters 1 to 5 inclusive agree for the most part with the printed text, but the order of the relation of some of the events is transposed. We have the account of a communication which was had between Pope Nicholas and the duke of Burgundy on the subject of a crusade against the Turks in the year 1453; the siege of Chastillon in Perigord, and its reduction; the taking of St. Emilion and Libourne, and the death of Talbot. The siege of Constantinople, and its capture by Mahomed the Second on the 29th of May 1453, is related in the same language in MSS. A. and D.; but MS. A. contains in addition the following account of three marvellous signs which preceded the fall of the city, and are said to have been predicted by Leo, an ancient Greek philosopher.

[1] "It is to be noted that before the taking of this "noble city there happened three marvellous signs, "two of which were predicted by an ancient Greek "philosopher, named Leo. As regards the first; in

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[1] Vol. iii. fol. 42 v°; Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. vi. lib. 2, c. 22.

[2] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. vi. lib. 3, c. 5.

" the church of St. Demetrius of the said city there " was a column of marble entirely painted after the " manner of a chessboard, so arranged that in the " first square of the checquers, at the top, was written " the name of the then reigning emperor, and in the " next the name of the patriarch who ruled in the " said city; and he predicted that when all the squares " of the checquers should be filled in this order, then " the famous city of Constantinople would be lost " to the Christians; and so it happened; for in the " time of Constantine the emperor, and Gregory the " patriarch, when the said city was taken, the last " squares had been filled by their names. The second " sign which the philosopher Leo predicted was that " in the days of Constantine would the city be lost, " the words of which philosopher were written upon " the said column after this manner, 'Constantine " 'built me—Constantine shall destroy me;' and so " it fell out. It was a marvellous thing how the " said philosopher foresaw the said destruction so long " before, which could only be by a revelation of the " Holy Spirit; for the first who ennobled this city " was named Constantine, who gave the patrimony of " the church; his mother was named Helena, and the " patriarch Gregory; and the last who reigned at the " time of the loss of the said city was also called Con- " stantine, who died there; his mother was Helena,[1] " and the patriarch was Gregory.[2] The third wondrous " sign, which signified the taking of the said city, was " that which follows, seen by the Turks, but unknown " to the Christians, namely, that one night the Turks " watching the siege of the said city, looking in that " direction saw suddenly a great multitude of lights " as of burning candles descending from all parts on

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

[1] The mother of Constantine Palæologus was named Irene.

[2] Gregory IV., patriarch of Constantinople; he retired to Rome in 1452, and died there in 1459 (l'art de vérifier les dates, iv. 121).

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

" the walls and towers of the said city, seeing which " they were much terrified, and augured therefrom " that the said city was under divine protection, and " when they related it to the Grand Turk he dis- " sembled for the time, and himself watched the " following night with his people, saw the said lights " descend again on the walls and towers of the city, " which soon ascended again to heaven; and then " the Turk, interpreting the said vision, spoke thus " to his people:—' The burning candles which you " ' have seen descend from heaven on the city show " ' us that God in time past has had the city " ' under his protection, but inasmuch as the said " ' candles reascended to heaven, that is to shew " ' that God has abandoned it to us; wherefore I " ' tell you that it is time to assault it now, and I " ' no longer doubt but it will be ours;' and thus " with raging fury he caused it to be assaulted, " and took it in the manner above shewn."

There occurs at this point a remarkable variation between the printed text of the third volume of the continuation of Monstrelet and the MSS. A. and D. In volume iii., fol. 61 v°, the narrative of the taking of Constantinople is followed immediately by the letter purporting to have been written by Mahomet the Second to Pope Nicholas, and the account of the exploits of the famous White Knight, knight marshal of Hungary,[1] against the Turks. Our chronicle again takes up the narrative in precisely the same way, but only after the intervention of several chapters which are confined entirely to the relation of transactions in England from 1450 to 1462. The information relative to English affairs used by Wavrin, for even his earlier edition, does not seem to be fairly represented in the printed continuation of Monstrelet; the few incidents

[1] John Corvinus Huniades, Waivod of Transylvania. (Gibbon's Decline, xii. 162.)

there given, in lieu of the full and detailed narrative of our author, do not appear to have been selected always with judgment, and we can imagine them to have been abridged or compiled from the earlier redaction of Wavrin, as represented in MS. D., and to have been digested by an unskilful and uninformed imitator. The prologue prefixed to the Harleian MS. offers some foundation for the conjecture. Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

It seems difficult to explain the extraordinary agreement of the two works, represented by the MSS. A. and D.[1] on any other more reasonable theory than that which we have suggested, and in adopting it we free the subject from an embarrassment which would materially affect the credit and value of our author as an original chronicler. In attributing the chronicle, represented by MS. D., to Wavrin, we deprive no one of any credit, and we give a name to the continuator of Monstrelet which has been hitherto sought in vain.

So far as we have been able at present to ascertain, we may consider as original and authentic the sources from which Wavrin derived his materials for the history of the transactions in England during the ten years, beginning with Cade's rebellion in 1450, and ending with the account of the execution of the earl of Oxford in 1462. This history is inedited save in the selection of chapters from Wavrin, recently published for the French Historical Society. His chronicle of the transactions in England, between 1450 and 1462, inedited.

Wavrin introduces his narrative of English affairs in these words:—

[2] "Now it happened that during the conquests of

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[1] We can only account for the absence of the narrative of English affairs in the printed continuation of Monstrelet, an omission which is in like manner observable in the manuscript in the British Museum, Harl. 4424, by supposing that the Harleian copy and the copy from which the continuation was printed, were transcribed from a pirated and defective copy of Wavrin, in which were designedly omitted all transactions in which England alone was concerned.

[2] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. vi. lib. 3, c. 6.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

"Normandy and Guienne, of which we have herein-
"before spoken, and when the kingdom of England
"was not united, and justice was ill dispensed there;
"and also after the duke of Somerset, and those of
"his company, had departed from the town and castles
"of Normandy and had returned to their own home
"in the kingdom of England, greatly disgusted at the
"loss which they had sustained: yet, nevertheless, was
"the duke of Somerset sorely accused to the king and
"his council, so much so that he was taken and thrust
"as a prisoner into the Tower of London. It was
"during this time it happened that one named John
"Cade got together a great many of the common people
"in the county of Kent, and made himself captain over
"them all.

"This John Cade, boasting of the respect which
"everyone shewed to him, (nevertheless the people
"of the country used to say that he was an apostate,
"and, to say the truth, no one knew whence he came),
"so contrived that by speeches and incitements he
"got together of his party, one with another, more
"than 20,000 fighting men, who, under his leadership,
"held the country, and one day they even came and
"took up their station within five miles of London.

"The king was advised to go and fight them. But,
"considering that they were only wicked people and of
"the lower orders, it was determined on deliberation
"to send thither the earl of Bouquinghuem[1] to say
"to them that the king commanded that all who
"accounted themselves loyal subjects should quit the
"field and return every one to his home. And no
"sooner was the proclamation made than this same
"captain, named John Cade, answered, 'And one of
"'such am I, so off I go;' and he departed and went
"his way. Now it so happened that as he was going
"away he met a gentle knight, named Sir Humphrey

[1] Humphrey Stafford was created duke of Buckingham, 14 Sept. 1444.

"Stafford, and William his brother,[1] with whom he "fought, and slew the two brothers, and sad pity it was." Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

The narrative of Cade's rebellion, his capture and death, is interesting, and some of the details are new. In the attack upon the citizens of London, they choose for their captain the Lord Scales,[2] with the celebrated Mata-go or Matthew Goch; Goch is slain in the encounter. The author then mentions Somerset's liberation from the Tower at the queen's instance, and the consequent enmity entertained by the duke of York; this induced his recommittal. The partiality which was continued to be shewn by the king and queen towards Somerset lead ultimately to the battle of St. Alban's on 22nd May 1455. The author describes the battle, and "says, the air was so thickened by the flight of arrows, "and the dust which the horses made, that the sun lost "its brightness; so horrible was this battle that there "was none who spared either brother or kinsman, and "at length the king lost the day. And some there "are who say, *as I was informed,* that the king was "there wounded in the arm by an arrow;[3] and the "duke of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, the "Lord Clifford, and many other great lords and gentle-"men died there. And the king was taken by some "of his people towards London; but the duke of York "did not pursue him, and returned to York with the "two earls, herein above named."[4]

Our author briefly passes over the events antece-

[1] Sons of Sir John Stafford, knight, of Hooke.

[2] Thomas, seventh lord Scales, had served with distinction during all the wars of France, from their commencement until their suspension upon the truce made in 1444, the breach of which led to the loss of Normandy, as our author has related. He had been detained for many years a prisoner, and was ransomed at the large amount of 36,000 salus. (Rot. Franc. 36 Hen. 6, m. 30.) The value of the salus was 22 shillings. See note, p. xlvii.

[3] See an account of the first battle of St. Albans, printed from a contemporary manuscript in the Record Office, Tower. Archæol. vol. xx. p. 523.

[4] The earls of Salisbury and Warwick.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

dent to the battle of Bloreheath. He mentions the nomination of the duke of York to the government as protector of the realm of England, and his short continuance in favour through the Queen's enmity to him by reason of the death of the duke of Somerset. The duke of York and the earls of Salisbury and Warwick are banished as traitors. A reconciliation is subsequently brought about between the duke of York and the new duke of Somerset, Henry Beaufort, son of the late duke, although the duke of York was absent in Ireland at the time. This peace lasted for a year and a half; Warwick was made captain of Calais. The jealousies, however, between the parties were not at an end; and Warwick, who at his father's desire, had returned from Calais in the hope of being able to allay the differences between the duke of Somerset and the earl of Salisbury, seeing how matters stood, was again obliged to leave the court in great haste, suspecting a design against his life. "On that very "night there was discussed between those of the "duke of Somerset's party a plot for procuring the "death of the earl of Warwick, for they deemed it "likely that if he were killed there would be less "difficulty in putting down the Yorkist party; so they "determined that on the morrow they would send "word to the earl of Warwick to come to the king. "And one of the gentlemen then set out to bring "him, and it was agreed that he should do his best "to provoke a quarrel between them whilst the earl "was with the king; and the earl would have tarried "there if he had not been put on his guard by a "certain knight, for by that time the reports had "become so loud at the palace that everyone cried "out against him; and so, in fact, he was constrained "to make his escape in a barge with only two com-"panions, and to betake himself to London to the "place where his horses and some of his party were, "three of whom were left dead upon the spot. When

" the earl of Warwick saw how narrowly he had Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.
" escaped from this danger and great treason he rode
" off as fast as he could to the duke of York, and
" the earl of Salisbury, his father, and related to
" them at length the treatment he had received at
" the palace of King Henry, at which they marvelled
" greatly." Then they held a long conference together, and resolved to make war upon the king. The earl of Warwick took leave of the duke and his father and returned to Calais to his own people, " who were al-
" ready informed how they had wished to kill him.
" And there he was received by his uncle, the earl of
" Fauquembergue,[1] and the soldiers of the town, with
" the burgesses and merchants, who all shewed him
" great cheer; then on the morrow he related his
" whole case to his said uncle of Fauquembergue in
" order to have his advice and to know what he had
" best do; and thereupon they determined that it
" would be good he should return to my lord of
" York, and that he, the said Fauquembergue, should
" guard the town of Calais."

The subsequent transactions are related at some length, and with many new and important details. The battle of Bloreheath is referred to in its chronological order; but the details are given in a subsequent chapter; and so also the description of the battle of Northampton occurs in a chapter by itself after the transactions which immediately preceded the battle of Wakefield.

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[1] William Neville was Lord Fauconberg in right of his wife Joan, daughter and heir of Thomas de Fauconberg, the sixth baron. It was, no doubt, on his reported death at Ferrybridge, that the earl of Warwick is represented to have made his famous appeal before the battle of Towton. (Monstrelet Continuat., vol. iii. fol. 84 r°.) Wavrin says he led the vanguard at that battle with the duke of Suffolk (vol. vi. lib. 3, c. 47). He was not made earl of Kent until 1462, in which year he died.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

In chapter 27 there is an interesting account of the surrender of the Tower of London by Lord Scales, and a description of his death;[1] after relating that the body of Lord Scales was carried to Southwark, and buried in the church of St. Mary Overey (*Sainte Marie au Roy*), our author adds, "or renterrons en nostre matere, "ycelle poursievant en fourme decente." He subsequently mentions the return of the earl of Warwick to Calais, being anxious to see his wife and mother, but with the intention of coming back soon in order to be present at the parliament.

Several transactions are then minutely detailed in the next three chapters; afterwards an account is given of the parliament held at London, and the earl of Warwick's preparations to be there at the opening to announce to the lords the coming of the duke of York, "mais nul ne scavoit la pensee ou voullente dudit duc, "fors seullement ceuxl de son prive conseil."

"After the earl of Warwick had made his salutation "to the king and to the lords, and everyone was in- "formed of the duke of York's approach, the earls "of March, of Warwick, of Salisbury, and of Fau- "quembergue, the archbishop of Canterbury, and "several other great lords and prelates were assembled "there in order to begin the parliament on the Mon- "day following, which was the first Monday after St. "Michael's day;[2] upon the which day King Henry "was seated on his throne in royal state, as was the "custom in such case in the kingdom of England, and "around him sat the prelates, dukes, earls, barons, "and knights in order, each one according to his rank. "And there was the archbishop of York standing be-

[1] Cf. Wars of the English in France (Wilhelmi Wyrcester Annales), ed. Stevenson, vol. ii. p. ii. p. [773].

[2] The parliament met on Tuesday the 7th of October, 39 Hen. 6, 1460, but it was George, bishop of Exeter, who pronounced the opening discourse, and not the archbishop of York. (Parliament Rolls, vol. v. p. 373.)

" fore the king, and he propounded the instructions of Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.
" the parliament, there being present all the assistants,
" —shewing how that the realm had been misgoverned,
" the great losses which had been lately sustained in
" France, and other imperfections, and saying that the
" king and his council were desirous of remedying all.
" And the parliament had been sitting eight days be-
" fore the arrival of the duke of York."

The duke seeing matters ready, set out from Ludlow to come to London, accompanied by many of the Welsh nobles. When arrived he went straight to the palace, and the king was given in guard to six of the duke's people. " The earl of Salisbury see-
" ing this, went away without saying a word, and
" proceeded to London to his son, the earl of Warwick,
" to whom he related the doings and orders of the
" duke of York, and how the king was put out of his
" chamber. When the earl of Warwick heard his father
" speak, he grew very wrath, for he was aware that
" the people of London were already discontented. So
" the earl forthwith sent for the archbishop of Can-
" terbury, and prayed of him, in order to set matters
" right, to go to the duke of York and point out to
" him the great mischief he was doing, and to con-
" sider the grand promises he had made to the king
" and to the lords of the kingdom. When the arch-
" bishop understood that he was required to take upon
" himself this charge, which appeared to him some-
" what dangerous, he answered that he would not go,
" for he knew that the duke was well accompanied, and
" he was afraid of causing him displeasure. Thereupon
" the earl of Warwick, seeing that the archbishop was
" unwilling to go, said that he would go himself. So
" he called to him Sir Thomas Neville,[1] and others of

[1] Sir Thomas Neville, youngest son of Richard, earl of Salisbury; he was slain at the battle of Wakefield.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

" his people, and then entered his barge on the Thames, " and went to the palace, which he found full of armed " men. And when he perceived this arrangement, he " suspected greatly that the duke fully intended to " accomplish his design, notwithstanding which the " earl did not desist from his enterprise, but went " straight into the duke's chamber, where he found " him resting his arm on a sideboard; when the " duke perceived him, he walked up to him and they " saluted one another. And thereupon there were high " words between the two, for the earl remonstrated " with the duke and shewed him how that the lords " and the people were dissatisfied with him, inasmuch " as he would dispossess the king of his crown. Whilst " this conference was going on, there came up the " earl of Rutland, brother to the earl of March, and " he said to the earl of Warwick, 'Fair cousin, do " 'not be angry, for you know that it is our right " 'to have the crown, and that it belongeth to my " 'lord my father, who is here, and he will have it, " 'as any one may see.' To this speech the earl of " March, who was present, replied, saying to the earl of " Rutland, 'Be not despiteful to any one, my brother, " 'all will yet be well.'"

The pretensions of the duke of York to the crown occasioned great dissatisfaction in London, and endeavours were made to bring about some agreement between the duke and King Henry. The earls of March and Warwick and the people of London, being against deposing the king, despatched ambassadors to the duke. He heard their reasons, but answered that "notwith- " standing all they had said, it was his intention to " have himself crowned on St. Edward's day, which " would be on the Monday next,[1] and this with the

[1] The feast of St. Edward, the 13th of October, fell on Monday in the year 1460.

" aid of God and of all his good friends." Subsequently it was agreed between the princes that after the death of King Henry the crown should descend to the duke of York and his heirs. " So soon as the agreement " was settled, and the duke of York had sworn to " observe the conditions as agreed upon above, all the " people who were there began to shout, 'Long live " 'King Henry and the earl of Warwick!' and on the " feast of All Saints following, King Henry wore the " crown in the church of St. Paul's, London, where a " very grand procession was made, in which the duke " of York took part, and the earl of Warwick carried " the sword before the king, and the earl of March " bore the train of his royal robe. So they all dined " together, and there was on that a right noble feast, " whereat Sir John de Neville,[1] the brother of the earl " of Warwick, was appointed the king's chamberlain." Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

The author now leaves the thread of his narrative, and goes back to the battle of Bloreheath, fought on the 23rd September 1459. He relates the particulars of the capture of the Viscount Beaumont, and the losses on either side, " and finally were the earl of Beau- " mont and those on his side defeated; and so there " died in this affair, by the report of the heralds, " about two thousand men, and on the side of War- " wick fifty-six; and the said earl Beaumont, the " Lord Welles, and twelve other knights were taken " prisoners, the remainder fled. This battle was fought " in the month of September, three or four days before " the feast of Saint Michael." In speaking of the earl of Warwick, he says, " This earl of Warwick had " greatly the voice of the people, because he knew " how to address them with fair soft speeches, being

[1] John Neville, second son of Richard, earl of Salisbury, summoned to Parliament, 1 Ed. 4, by the title of Lord Mountague, and subsequently created duke of Northumberland.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

" communicative and conversing familiarly with them, " subtle, as it were, in order to gain his ends, giving " them to understand that he would maintain the " increase and advantage of the public weal of the " kingdom with all his power, and that he would never " in his life be otherwise. Thus he managed to ac- " quire the goodwill of the people of England to such " an extent that he was the prince whom they held " in the highest esteem, and in whom they placed the " greatest credit and reliance. He now favoured the " party of the duke of York." [1]

The affair at Ludlow is next described; then the battle of Northampton, at which the king was captured, and also the duke of Buckingham, the Viscount Beaumont, and other great lords, of whom some were afterwards beheaded. We then come to the description of the battle of Wakefield: " And here were slain the duke " of York, and the earl of Rutland, his son, the earl " of Salisbury, and his son, Sir Thomas [Neville], with " several other nobles of their company. And this " battle was fought before the town of Wakefield, on " the 30th day of December, in the year one thousand " four hundred and sixty. At this event was Queen " Margaret greatly rejoiced, as were all those who " were on her side. And on the other hand, the earls " of March and Warwick, who had each lost his father " there, were sorrowful and angry; but for that time " they could not remedy it." The battle of Mortimer's Cross is then mentioned, followed by an account of the second battle of St. Albans. King Henry was placed under the charge of Sir Thomas Kiriel and his son; some interesting details are then given relative to the treason of one Louvelet or Lovelace, who was to have led the vanguard against the royalists, the earl of Warwick conducting the main body, and

[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. vi. lib. 3, c. 36.

the company in which the king was; "but on that very night the said Louvelet gave the queen information of the whole disposition of the army. Then the queen, having received this intelligence from Louvelet, despatched the duke of Somerset to move towards St. Albans in order to receive the king, whom the said Louvelet had promised to deliver up to him, and this he did. Being arrived at St. Albans, the said duke of Somerset caused a great alarm to be spread; and immediately this Louvelet went to the king and said to him, Sire! all our people are put in disorder; and he asked him where was his cousin of Warwick; to which Louvelet answered that he had taken himself off; and then Sir Thomas Kiriel asked where his people were; to which Louvelet replied that they had all fled. Then Sir Thomas Kiriel, who was a very valiant knight, and knowing in such matters, as one who had had a great experience in stratagems of war, suspected strongly from appearances that treason was at work, seeing the great derision there was among the parties." Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

"When the earl of Warwick heard this reported, and saw that things were turning out badly, he thought it advisable to look to the king, but he could not approach him for the people who were flying. And so the king was captured under a great oak, where he was found laughing heartily at what had occurred. Then the king prayed those who advanced towards him to do nothing to injure the person of the said Sir Thomas Kiriel, which they promised not to do; but Louvelet, the disloyal traitor, forthwith conducted the king, his master, with Sir Thomas and his son, before the queen, who was very joyful at the king's arrival, for now she thought she would soon obtain her desire of having the kingdom again under subjection. So the queen had

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

" much discourse with Louvelet; and afterwards she " spoke to Sir Thomas Kiriel and his son, whom she " several times addressed as traitors; to this the good " knight replied, 'My most dread lady, never in my " 'life have I committed or imagined treason, nor has " 'any one ever been able to lay any shameful reproach " 'to my charge; thus I take it very ill that in my " 'old age I should have this stain fixed on me.' At " these words the queen looked at him very fiercely, " swearing that in faith she owed it to the king to be " revenged on him; so she caused the prince of Wales " to be called, to adjudge by what death they should " die. And the child, who was now brought in, " came before the queen, his mother, who asked him, " 'Fair son, by what death shall these two knights, " 'whom you see,' meaning Sir Thomas Kiriel and " his son, 'end their days?' And the young prince " answered that they should have their heads chopped " off. To which Sir Thomas answered, saying, 'May " 'God bring to evil those who taught thee to speak " 'thus.' And soon after their heads were cut off, " which was a pity. And to speak of the discomfiture " of that day, there were very few persons who fell, " for the most part of them fled on the great disorder " which there had arisen; and all this was brought " about through the traitor Louvelet, who commanded " the van. The earl of Warwick was sorely troubled " at this mishap, for never was greater confusion seen, " or more sudden, than this, effected through the means " of the traitor Louvelet, who had thus betrayed his " master."

The whole narrative of English affairs which our author has given in this volume is replete with new and interesting particulars. After relating the details connected with the battle of Towton, the following is added, from personal information, as the author assures us:—

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

[1] " In truth, if I would declare and tell all the valiant " passages of arms which that day took place, as well " on one side as on the other, I should occupy too much " space, and therefore will I pass over it as briefly as I " can; but I dare aver that the greatest shock of the " battle was delivered against the quarter of the earl of " Warwick, who was there seriously wounded; but at " last those of the party of the king, the queen, and the " duke of Somerset, were completely discomfited, and " the earl of March remained the victor; and, *as I was* " *then informed by credible persons who were present* " *at the battle*, all the greatest princes attached to the " king and queen were left dead on the field, or were " taken prisoners. Firstly, the earl of Northumberland, " the earl of Clifford, the lord of Nevill, the lord of Wil- " loughby, the lord of Muelles (Molines), the son of the " duke of Buckingham, the lord de Scales, the lord de " Grey, and Andrew Trolot (Trollop), the lord of Roos, " the lord of Percy, Sir Gracian [2] and his son, and many " other knights and esquires, which was a grievous matter, " so that there died there on that day 36,000 men, besides " prisoners and wounded, who were in very great num- " bers there; amongst these were the lord Rivers and " his son.[3] Then fled to York, King Henry and Queen " Margaret, his wife, the duke of Somerset, and the " duke of Exeter. And on the side of Edward, earl of " March, there fell the lord Fitzwalter,[4] the lord Scrope,

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[1] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. vi. lib. 3, c. 48.

[2] The MS. du fonds Sorbonne No. 432 reads here " Le seigneur de " Percy et Messire Graint son fils."

[3] The lord de Scales had been previously mentioned in the list of the slain, or prisoners.

[4] This instance of Sir John Ratcliffe, who was killed at Ferrybridge, being designated Lord Fitzwalter, is important. He must have assumed the title in right of his wife Elizabeth Fitzwalter, sole daughter and heiress of Walter, seventh Lord Fitzwalter, who died in 1432. There is no record of a writ of summons to Parliament having been addressed to him, but no doubt can be entertained that the individual here referred to was the husband of Elizabeth, and the father of Sir John Ratcliffe, who was summoned to parliament in the 1st of Henry the Seventh, as Lord Fitzwalter.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

" Sir Ralph Grey, and many others, *whose names I do* " *not know ;* the earl Danthiens (Devonshire), who was " taken in the battle, was beheaded at York. Thus, " then, as you may hear, was this terrible battle fought " hard by York in England, which greatly tended to " lessen Christendom. So should they be bitterly ac- " cursed by whom such destruction arises, and certainly " the councillors of princes are often the cause of it, who, " to maintain themselves in power, place before their " sovereigns, for the sake of pleasing them, those projects " of which oftentimes wars, dissensions, and battles are " begotten, which are the destruction of the public weal " of kingdoms and of empires. And yet, if kings, " princes, and great lords would choose for their coun- " cillors wise and good men, and well experienced, such " calamities would never ensue. For upon this, saith " the proverb, truly, *unhallowed is that land whose* " *king is a child.*"[1]

We have here in fact from the pen of our author an uninterrupted history of English affairs to the year 1462; this occupies entirely the remainder of the third book, and is carried on to the end of the fourth chapter in book the fourth. After speaking of the coronation of King Edward the Fourth in 1461, the return to England of his two brothers, George and Richard, from the court of the duke of Burgundy, and their creation, one to be duke of Clarence and the other to be duke of Gloucester, the history then relates that Edward, during a progress he was making to the several towns and castles of his kingdom, discovered the existence of a treasonable design against him. Amongst the leaders in this conspiracy was the earl of Oxford. John de Vere, twelfth earl, had always been a steady supporter of the House of Lancaster, and his death was only one of the many sacrifices necessitated by the deplorable disorders which now agitated the kingdom. He was beheaded on Tower Hill, with several other noble-

[1] Ecclesiastes, x. 16.

men, on the 26th of February[1] 1462. Our author gives here a minute and very interesting description of the execution, which it is believed is not found in any other contemporary writer. It occurs also in D., with some trifling various readings; and it would be difficult to account for the singular agreement, chapter by chapter, between the two histories of English affairs, as here found in MS. A. and MS. D., if both relations did not proceed from the same pen. Here the narrative in both MSS. goes back to Queen Margaret's escape to Scotland, her reception by the Scottish queen, who was daughter of the duke of Gueldres, and niece to Duke Philip of Burgundy; and it speaks of the negotiations for a marriage between the young prince of Wales and Mary of Scotland, the embassy of the seigneur de la Gruthuyse to the Scottish court, and his return to Flanders. Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

This interpolation, so to speak, of English history seems to favour, if it does not establish, the theory of a revised and enlarged edition of the chronicle which, for the present, we shall assume to be the chronicle compiled by our author of the wars in Normandy and Guienne from the year 1444. There is nothing at all like it in the printed text of the continuation of Monstrelet, but it occurs with some modification in the MS. D., which again, with this exception, corresponds very nearly with volume iii., and particularly in that part which has been the most extensively subjected to our author's revision, namely, as far as fol. 32 of the printed text. We have already suggested that this text must have been printed from an incomplete and pirated copy of the first edition of Wavrin's sixth volume. The entire omission in some cases, and in others a very meagre summary only of English affairs distinguish this continuation from the chronicle which we have supposed to be Wavrin's first edition as represented by the MS. D., in

[1] Inq. p. m., 3 Ed. 4, No. 23.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

which the narrative of the transactions in England is also found, but with such variations as might well be expected to exist between a first and a revised edition. The Harleian MS. agrees very nearly with the printed text, but it is continued from the death of the duke of Burgundy in 1467 to the year 1471, and ends with the letter of King Edward to the men of Bruges, in the same manner as MS. A. The importance of D. will be found very great in editing the sixth volume of our chronicle, and several valuable emendations may be made for the text of MS. A. The transcriber of this MS. has apparently regarded rather the production of a splendid and showy copy than a good and accurate text, which in very many cases stands greatly in need of emendation. Whilst many long passages (some probably being later additions, and others simply omissions of the copyist,) will be found in A. which are wanting in D., there are manifest omissions in the MS. anc. f. fr. 6758–9, or A., which may be supplied from D.

We have already noticed that at the point where this diversion from foreign affairs begins, the fifth chapter of the third book was treating of the siege of Constantinople in 1453, and closed with the account of the predictions of the philosopher Leo, being immediately followed by the history of English affairs from 1450 to 1462. This history ends in the fourth chapter of the fourth book. In the next chapter the narrative is resumed at the point where it was broken off, and introduces the letter sent by the Grand Turk to the Pope relative to the crusade meditated against him; the narrative then continues for the next fourteen chapters in the same order of arrangement, and in perfect agreement with the printed continuation of Monstrelet; and this brings the history down to the embassy sent from King Edward the Fourth to the duke of Burgundy. The account of this embassy is omitted in the printed continuation; it appears that the ambassadors found

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

the duke at Valenciennes upon his return from the celebration of the coronation of Louis XI. in 1461. In the chapter immediately following the narrative in exact agreement with the printed text is resumed. The duke of Burgundy's illness and his recovery are referred to; and the same identity of narrative continues to the end of chapter 25. Here five chapters occur, which are either omitted entirely in the printed text or are varied in the narrative, the introduction being, "Maintenant renter-" rons a parler des besongnes Dangleterre." In chapters 26 and 27 is mentioned Queen Margaret's visit to France to ask assistance from King Louis; then are related the French king's compliance with her request by furnishing 2,000 men under the conduct of Pierre de Breze, lord of Varenne and count of Maulevrier, and Edward's preparations to meet them. In chapter 28 is the account of Queen Margaret's adventure with the robbers in the forest on her way from Scotland to take refuge in Flanders with the young prince of Wales. This is also related in the Continuation, but the narrative in the revised edition is more detailed.[1] In chapter 30 are related the incidents of the battle of Hexham near Newcastle-on-Tyne, gained by Warwick's brother, the earl of Northumberland, on 15th May 1464, where Henry Beaufort, duke of Somerset, was taken and beheaded. Here the narrative in the two editions begins to exhibit more frequent signs of revision, and several incidents unconnected with the principal matter, which appear in the printed continuation, are omitted in A. The same general arrangement, however, of the history is preserved, and the language agrees where the original chapters are retained. This continues to the end of

[1] In relating this adventure Lingard refers for his authority to Monstrelet, iii. 96. In amending this authority and transferring it to Wavrin, we are not depriving Monstrelet of any credit which he might justly claim, for Monstrelet had been dead many years before the event. The only injustice will be in giving an anonymous author a name.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

the fourth book, in the last chapter of which is related the king's announcement of his design relative to his marriage with Elizabeth Wydeville.

The fifth book begins with two chapters not found in the printed continuation; these describe the incidents of the king's marriage and the dissensions which arose between the king and the earl of Warwick relative to the marriage of the duke of Clarence with Warwick's daughter. After these two chapters the history for some time relates only to transactions out of England, and treats of affairs in which the members of the royal family of France and the House of Burgundy are principally concerned. This continues during twenty-two consecutive chapters, which present little or no variation between the first and the revised edition. This brings the history down to the year 1467, and the death of Philip, duke of Burgundy. Chapter 25 gives the epitaph[1] on the duke's tomb precisely as it is found in the MS. 88, or D.

Here ends the first division of what has been hitherto authoritatively called "Les Chroniques d'En- "guerrand de Monstrelet, depuis 1444, continuées jus- "qu'en 1471."[2] Shall we be justified in future in changing this title by restoring the work to its proper author? Is not in fact this hitherto anonymous chronicle the work of Jean de Wavrin? This is an inquiry of no slight importance to the literary reputation of Wavrin; and if the grounds we have ventured to submit in these observations shall be deemed insufficient to furnish the reply, future investigations

[1] The insertion of this epitaph in both editions of Wavrin's chronicle is remarkable; all the copies contain it, namely, Harl. 4424, f. fr. 6762, and f. fr. 6759. It occurs, moreover, in the Mémoires of Du Clércq (Panthéon Littéraire, p. 308). The verses are the production of Jean Molinet, Canon of Valenciennes, and were probably written soon after the duke's death. (Les faictz et dictz de Jean Molinet, Paris, fol. litt. goth. 1531, fueillet xli. v°.)

[2] Les Manuscrits François, par M. Paulin Paris, vol. i. p. 99.

may yet enable us to answer the question in the affirmative. The division adopted by M. Paulin Paris seems to be an arbitrary partition of the chronicle into two parts, for the purpose of distinguishing the edited from the inedited portion. It would seem that a more correct division would have been at the end of the narrative, which closes with the death of Charles VII. in 1461. The author's own words, after the relation of this event, describe very clearly the character of the work, and point to this period as its proper division.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

[1] "Down to this time a great part of what is "herein-before written is found in the book of King "Charles the Seventh of that name,[2] especially re- "lating to all that happened, as well at his conquest "of Normandy and Guienne, as throughout the whole "kingdom of France, since the year 1444 unto the "year 1461, in which year that noble King Charles "passed from this world. . . . . But as regards those "things which were done during that time by the "king of England and the duke of Burgundy out of "the kingdom of France there is no mention made "in that book, which is called '*The Chronicles of* "'*King Charles*,' or if anything is there said it is "spoken of so briefly that great difficulty is found "in understanding it; but this present book sets "forth at length the events, and who were engaged "in them, which have occurred in England, in Flan- "ders, in Brabant, and in other places, and names "the countries, the places, and the persons where and "by whom those things were done."

The Chronicle by Jean Chartier.

We may instance another ground for assuming that D. is the earlier edition of Wavrin's sixth volume, and

[1] MSS. Bib. Imp. de Paris, f. fr. No. 88 (olim. f. fr. 6762).

[2] Chronique du temps du tres Chrestien prince Charles VII., de ce nom roy de France, faite par moy Jean Chartier, Chantre de l'esglise de S. Denys en France, et Chroniqueur du dit royaume.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

A. a revised and augmented copy. After the relation of the death of the duke of Burgundy, narrated in chapter 24, MS. D. speaks of a commotion of some of the commonalty of Ghent against their new duke. In MS. A. this is related in chapter 31, there being six entire chapters intervening at this point in A., which do not occur at all in D. From this time to the conclusion of the work the two editions completely agree as to the arrangement of the matter and treatment of the history. The narrative in the fifth and sixth books of A. presents evident marks of revision and later alterations, derived doubtless from fuller sources of intelligence and better and more approved information. A remarkable instance of this will be found in the substitution of the account of King Edward's arrival, derived for the most part from the English narrative, in lieu of the first account given by our author in the earlier edition. There are other clear and undeniable indications of an amended and considerably enlarged narrative ; but no event later than the year 1471 is recorded either in A. or D.[1]

In the 31st chapter of his fourth book Wavrin has left us an account of the treacherous designs entertained, as it was reported at the time, by Louis the Eleventh, against the count de Charolois and his father, the duke of Burgundy ; from the expressions used by him we must infer that our author was occupied in the preparation of the first edition of the fourth book of his sixth volume in February 1469.[2]

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[1] The narrative of the arrival of King Edward the Fourth and his recovery of the crown is transposed in A. after the relation of the capture of Azille, which was an occurrence later in the same year. In the earlier edition the two narratives are placed in their proper order of date.

[2] Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. vi. lib. 4, c. 31. After saying that it was currently reported at the time that by a letter written and signed with his own hand the king of France had charged the bastard de Reubenpre to take the count of Charolois dead or alive, and bring him to the king, our author writes:—" Mais " Dieu, qui congnoist les corages " des gens, ne voult pas lors par- " mettre ne souffrir si grant ruyne " advenir en si noble maison comme

If the conjectures here advanced be capable of being sustained, the inference will be material for considering the question of another source to which Wavrin is supposed to have been indebted. In addition to Monstrelet and St. Remy, another contemporary author has been represented as having contributed no inconsiderable share of the narrative contained in the pages of Wavrin from the year 1448 to the year 1467. The Memoirs of Jacques du Clercq undoubtedly present a chronicle of events and incidents which fully entitles him to the character of an original and independent writer; but the evidence is wanting that Wavrin has adopted his narrative. His history terminates with the relation of the death of Duke Philip of Burgundy, and a copy of the verses

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

The memoirs of Jacques Du Clercq.

" celle de Bourguoigne, lequel " autorisie hostel a pour verite " este jusques a present le plus " beau, plus ferme, et plus sieur " pillier de la couronne de France. " Dieu par sa grace les voeille " ambedeux conserver et garder a " tous jours mais de tous perilz, " ycelles entretenant en ferme paix " et amour ensamble. Toutesfois " j'ay ce mis par escript selon la " commune renommee du temps de " lors, non pas comme voullant " affermer de moy-mesmes que le " roy pensast oncques voulloir faire " a la dite maison de Bourguoigne " si grant iniquite, atendu les " biens innumerables quil en avoit " recheuz; combien que neant- " moins estoit ancores prisonnier a " la fachon de ceste lettre devant- " dite ce bastard de Reubempre ou " pays de Hollande en la fin du " mois de Febvrier de lan soixante " huit (1468–9)."

The characteristic language employed by the writer of the above passage in recording this charge of treachery, must establish beyond all question that it was a genuine expression of sentiment and an original record of the actual feeling which our author, the favoured retainer of the noble house whose greatness he eulogises, himself entertained towards the family of his patron. Can we believe this to be simply the re-echo of another's idea and opinion, a repetition of expression in mere words adopted from the spontaneous thought of the real author? We think the circumstance that this passage stands in almost the identical words cited above in Monstrelet (vol. iii. fol. 105 r°) is conclusive in favour of our conjecture that the true name of Monstrelet's continuator has been recovered. It is not a little remarkable, that in the "Choix des chapitres " inédits" the reader is here referred to Du Clercq's Mémoires, which certainly, if this chapter were not elsewhere printed, would afford no ground for alleging that it was not *inedited*. There is not in Du Clercq a trace of the sentiment or of the passage cited above.

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inscribed around the tomb of the great duke closes the account. This chronicle then was certainly published some time after the year 1467, but how long after that year we are not distinctly informed.[1] Was it in time for his contemporary, (had he been so minded) to have availed himself, as suggested, of the information thus recently given to the world? We may safely assume that a great portion of Wavrin's sixth volume must have been prepared long antecedently to the death of Duke Philip; he was writing the latter part of the fourth book in February 1469; but we can only conjecture that the volume, which terminates in the year 1471, was concluded in that year or very shortly afterwards. Doubtless he continued occupied in writing and collecting the materials for the revised edition of the sixth volume on to the period of his own death. The latter part seems to present

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[1] Du Clercq, in his preface, declares the period at which the volume of his Memoirs, then about to be published, was to terminate; his intention being to produce one other volume of the occurrences which had taken place since that time, or two if he should live; and he tells us distinctly that that volume was not all he had written concerning the events which had happened, but he had there related only the events that had happened within the period referred to:—"Et des choses *depuis* "*advenues* j'ai intention d'en faire "ung aultre volume ou deux, selon "ce que je vivrai, ou quil adviendra "des choses en mon temps." (Mem. de J. du Clercq, ed. Buchon, 1838, p. 2.) We may conclude, moreover, that though the general narrative terminates in 1467, the composition and publication of the Memoirs did not necessarily follow in the same year; even some events of later occurrence seem to be referred to which could not have been anticipated; for instance, at p. 293, in speaking of the members of his own family, he says, "La cincquiesme "eut nom Jehanne, laquelle fut "mariée à ung nommé Guillebert de "Brenay, &c., duquel *elle demoura* "*vefve lan mil quatre cents soixante-* "*cinq*, quy, comme cy-dessus est "dict, feut meurdry en la ville de "Tournay, et en demoura cinq "filles; puis, *elle se remaria à ung* "*gentilhomme nommé Pierre de la* "*Bourre, de la quelle il olt ung filz* "*nommé Josse.*" There was time between 1465 and 1467 for a remarriage and the birth of a son; but even the events referred to would seem more probably to fix the completion of the work at a somewhat later date than the year 1467.

indications of an unfinished work; some incidents are twice related, and the chronological order of events is occasionally transposed. The death, for instance, of the duke of Burgundy is narrated, with all the details, in a preceding chapter to that in which he informs us that, whilst he was in England for the tournament between Lord Scales and the bastard of Burgundy, the news arrived of the duke's death. True it is there is no absolute violation of the order of events in first relating the history of the duke's death, and then afterwards giving an account of the time when the intelligence reached the author; but it would seem more rational to have given the relation of the circumstances under which the news of the death came to the knowledge of the writer before he narrated the particulars attending the death. And it is this change of location of the two chapters, in which the incidents are severally related, that the author's final supervision would have probably suggested. Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

The presence of Wavrin in England at the time is corroborated by a contemporary account of this famous tournament, preserved in a MS. in the British Museum. He is there mentioned as being on "The Lorde Bas- "tardes Councell." In this list the names are somewhat disguised; but there can be no doubt that the last two names placed on the council list as "Mons. "Forestres" and "Thomyson dore" represent Wavrin, seigneur du Forestel, and Toison d'or,[1] king of arms

[1] John Lefèvre de Saint Remy. It is remarkable that the three chroniclers, whose names have been so frequently associated as historians of this period, were all present in England at the tournament—Wavrin, Saint Remy, and Olivier de la Marche. This must have been one almost of the last occasions of St. Remy's acting in his official capacity. He had been thirty-six years Toison d'Or, king-at-arms to Duke Philip, and it was at the celebration of the order of the Golden Fleece, held at Bruges by Duke Charles in May, 1468, when St. Remy was taken ill, and he died only a few weeks afterwards; having

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to the duke of Burgundy.[1] It is surprising that our author, so full of details on other subjects, should have left so meagre an account of this celebrated feat of arms. He seems to have entertained some idea of giving a fuller description at a future time. "But I "forbear," he writes, "to say more of that now, for "the sake of brevity." Perhaps the MS. A. has not preserved even this brief notice so fully as our author sketched it. The statement is rather amplified in another version, which occurs in a MS. in the Imperial Library of Paris.[2] Here he says:—"but I content "myself with not saying more than this, and leave it "to others, who like myself were there also, to speak "of it more at length." Can Wavrin have been aware then of an intention on the part of his contemporary, the seigneur de la Marche, to write an account of the tournament between the Lord Scales and the bastard of Burgundy? Olivier de la Marche has, in fact, preserved much fuller and more interesting particulars of this famous combat than our author has done; and the writer himself assures us that, being in England when the bastard arrived, though he was going into Britany on urgent business,[3] he remained until the tournament was over.

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first solicited and obtained the appointment of Gilles Gobert as his successor. (Œuvres Historiques de George Chastellain, c. 149, p. 453, ed. Buchon, Paris, 1837.)

[1] Lansd. MSS. No. 285.

[2] MS. du fonds Sorbonne, No. 432. This MS. may be a pirated copy of our author's chronicle carried on to a few years later by an anonymous writer; or it may be a copy containing the last emendations by Wavrin himself. In either case the various readings will be of the utmost value in editing this part of the chronicle. *See* before, p. xliv., note [1].

[3] This was an embassy on which he was appointed together with the bailiff of Caen. He writes, "En ce "temps je me trouvai en Engleterre, "et m'y arrestay pour veoir icelles "armes." (Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche, lib. i., c. 37, p. 326, ed. D. Sauvage, Lyon, fol. 1562.) The publication of these Mémoires was not made until long after Wavrin's time.

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In chapter 37 of the fifth book Wavrin has preserved an account of the holding the feast of the order of the Golden Fleece in the city of Bruges by Duke Charles of Burgundy, in the month of May 1468,[1] when a herald brought back the collar of the order from John of Burgundy, count of Nevers and Estampes, who had been summoned to answer several charges made against him. In point of date this chapter ought to have been placed before the relation which our author in the preceding chapter had given of the marriage of Margaret of York with Duke Charles in the month of June.[2]

The narratives of Edward's restoration to the crown, in the first and revised editions, compared.

In the earlier edition of this volume our author had preserved a narrative of Edward's return to England from Bruges in the spring of the year 1471; this and his subsequent proceedings until he succeeded in recovering his kingdom are related in a manner which would have been of considerable historical value, and must have secured a full share of attention were it not for the fuller, ampler, and far more interesting details contained in the narrative which has been made to take its place in the later edition. That the two narratives emanated from the same pen no reasonable doubt can be entertained, and the superiority of the latter, as regards its historical importance, will be readily acknowledged. In both narratives the relation is followed immediately by a copy of a letter of thanks, written by King Edward to the men of Bruges, thanking them for the hospitality they had shewn him in his exile; the letter is connected with and made a part of the actual narrative by this introduction:—"All which affairs being

[1] It was at this feast no doubt that King Edward the Fourth was elected a Knight of the Golden Fleece, though the collar of the order was not sent over to him until Easter 1469.

[2] Olivier de la Marche has likewise preserved a detailed account of the festivities and rejoicings at this ceremony. (Lib. ii. cap. 4, edit. Sauvage, 1562.)

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"so done and accomplished, as you have heard, the "good King Edward wrote a very friendly letter to "those of Bruges, whereof the tenor followeth."

We may remark that the king's letter is written in French, and addressed to the nobles and burgomasters of Bruges; it is dated from Canterbury on the 29th of May 1471, three days after the latest date mentioned in the narrative; in it he thanks them heartily for the hospitality and great courtesy they had shewn him during his sojourn in their city, and he apprises them of the good success which had attended his expedition and the victories which, through God's grace, he had obtained over his enemies, followed by the recovery of his crown, and he adds:—"*As by the bearer* "*of these you may be more amply informed.*" It is quite within belief that when this letter reached the town of Bruges, Wavrin, who was then collecting materials for the volume of his history he was then about bringing to a close, may have been actually in that city; he would doubtless be anxious to learn all the particulars of Edward's success and victories, and he could not therefore be indifferent to the arrival of a messenger bearing such important news. May we not believe that our author, the historiographer of the House of Burgundy, resident in the duke's household at the time, would avail himself of such an opportunity to be informed on this important event? And from the bearer of this letter may he not have received that intelligence which he subsequently reduced into the narrative with which the first *redaction* of his sixth volume concludes? A copy of this narrative, prepared as we have suggested from oral information, in which too the duchess of Burgundy must necessarily have been deeply concerned, would naturally be presented to Duke Charles, her husband,[1] through whose assistance, our

[1] Mr. Jerningham, in his interesting communication, see note 3, says, but without giving any authority for the opinion, that a report,

author in his narrative assures us, Edward's successes were mainly achieved.[1] Copies, moreover, of a relation so full of interest to the court of the duke of Burgundy and to all his subjects, would be likely to be circulated throughout the principal towns where the duke's influence prevailed.[2] The existence at this day of copies of the narrative in a separate form may thus be explained, and we can understand why the larger and more detailed narrative which took its place in Wavrin's later edition, though of a far greater historical value, failed to awaken equal attention or secure so extensive a circulation. The interest had died out in foreign land before the enlarged narrative was prepared; and the restoration of Edward to his crown and kingdom, having now become an accomplished fact, there no longer existed the same solicitude to preserve the memorials of his victory. In England the case was different. It was material for the interests of the Yorkists, now permanently in the ascendant, that an accurate relation of the events, such as that party

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drawn up by one of the followers of King Edward the Fourth, was forwarded to the court of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy.

[1] "Thus, as you hear, did King "Edward, the fourth of his name, "recover his kingdom in less than "three months, by the favour, "countenance (*port*), and aid of his "brother-in-law the Duke Charles "of Burgundy, and by means also "of his own valiant and enter- "prising courage, but more than all "through the goodness and grace "of God, who giveth the victory "to whomsoever he willeth; and "this victory turned entirely to the "confusion of his enemies and evil "wishers." (Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. vi. lib. 6, cap. 32; MS. f. fr. No. 88, and Harl. MS. 4424.)

[2] In the public library at Ghent there is a copy of an illuminated manuscript on vellum, of this narrative of King Edward's recovery of the crown of England in the spring of 1471. Mr. Jerningham communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in 1827 a translation of the narrative, accompanied by four plates, from the originals, representing severally the battles of Barnet and Tewksbury, the execution of the duke of Somerset, and the attack of the bastard of Fauconbergh on London. (Archæologia, vol. xxi., p. 11.) There are probably copies in other libraries.

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might approve, should be put forward to silence or control the misrepresentations likely to be circulated by the adverse faction. Such a relation would be readily adopted by our author, and offered excellent materials upon which to ground a revised *redaction* of his former somewhat too meagre narrative. The relation, nevertheless, which our author has left in his earlier *redaction*,[1] even if we have not truly discovered the actual source and circumstances of his information, must have been prepared by him almost immediately after the occurrences described had taken place; the earlier edition of volume the sixth cannot be referred to a later year than 1472, and the materials for the last edition, in which he has substituted the enlarged narrative of the same events, must very soon afterwards have been completed, if we are correct in placing the death of Wavrin somewhere about the year 1474.

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[1] It will be seen that the present editor has ventured after much consideration to dissent from the view taken by Mr. Jerningham and Mr. Bruce, that the Ghent MS. is an abridgment of the "Historie of the "Arryvall." The identity of the narrative in the public library of Ghent with that given in the earlier edition of Wavrin, MS. f. fr. No. 88, cannot be disputed; and although some slight variations will be found, such as may be observed in almost any two copies of the same narrative made by different transcribers, there appears even in the translation of the MS. at Ghent, as printed in the Archæologia, ample ground to shew their connexion, and to establish an identical relation. The main events, their order and succession, the language of the relation and the poverty of details in many important incidents, with a minute particularity in others, all indicate the same narrator; and there is equally clear evidence of their both being distinct and unconnected with the "Historie of the Arryvall," other than the fact that the transactions of the same three months are alike involved. Although the account given in the "Historie of "the Arryvall" was probably not written when the narrative contained in the Ghent MS. was prepared, there could not have elapsed much time before the longer and more elaborate account was produced. Our author availed himself of this, with the aid of other information not therein contained, in the preparation of the materials for his second edition. This must have been completed before Wavrin's death in 1474.

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The two narratives, which under any circumstances must be taken to be contemporary, are, as we have already observed, clearly the production of the same author. The later account was compiled from enlarged sources of information; partly from personal and oral communications, as the extracts which we shall presently submit will shew, and for the most part derived from a contemporaneous English relation of the occurrences of the period in question. This is a material consideration in fixing the date of the composition of the English narrative, of which no copy earlier than the middle of the sixteenth century is known to exist. Our author must have seen that narrative, compiled, as the writer himself declares, "by a servant of the "kynge's, that presently saw in effect a great parte "of his exploytes, and the resydewe knewe by true "relation of them that were present at every tyme."[1]

Wavrin's relation contains, however, several additional facts and much original matter not found in the "Historie of the Arrivall." All this he must have derived from some other source, and perhaps from personal information. He commences the narrative rather differently, but it begins with the same date, the 2nd of March 1471; he first speaks of the king's sojourn at Bruges, and the hospitality he had received from many persons, and especially from the seigneur de la Gruthuyse; "then, after making preparations for war, "and getting together his army, as well from the "country of the duke of Burgundy as from England,

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[1] "Historie of the Arryvall of "Edward IV. in England, and the "finall recouerye of his kingdomes "from Henry VI., A.D. 1471," edited for the Camden Society, by John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A., London, 4to., 1838. The fact of this having been seen by Wavrin, and a very close version, and in many parts a literal translation of it inserted in his chronicle, establishes it as a contemporary relation of the events, even if its internal evidence did not suffice.

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" he proceeded to Flushing; with him were his brother, " the duke of Gloucester, the earl of Rivers, Lord " Scales, the Lord Hastings, his chamberlain, the Lord " Say, the lord of Duras, and some others, accompanied " by about 1,200 well chosen fighting men, purposing " to cross the sea and recover his heritage of England, " which then was usurped and occupied against him by " Henry, the sixth of this name, through the insti- " gation and assistance of traitors, and by the means " of his great rebel Richard, earl of Warwick, and " his accomplices." The two narratives after this agree pretty closely until Edward's arrival before the gates of York, when the recorder of the city, one Coniers, came out to meet him. According to Wavrin, this officer was accompanied by "Martin de la Mer." The relation then continues in this way:—"The king, not- " withstanding the discouraging words of the afore- " said recorder and Martin de la Mer, of whom he " had before had some suspicion, kept boldly on his " journey towards the said city, and soon afterwards " he met coming from the same Roger Clifford and " Richard Burge, who gave him better comfort, affirm- " ing that in the quarrel aforesaid of his father, the " duke of York, he would be received in the city, " whereby a little better encouraged he kept his way. " Nevertheless the said Coniers ere long returned, and " put him in like suspicion as before; and so (*en tel* " *ballance*) sometime comforted and sometime discom- " forted,[1] he left his army under the conduct of his " brother, the duke of Gloucester, within about three " bow shots from the said city, and withdrew himself

[1] The narrative, which up to these words is an exact and literal translation of the "Historie of the "Arryvall" (ed. Bruce, p. 5), here becomes totally different, and instead of the continuation "he came "to the gates afore the citie," proceeds as in the text above.

" from them, accompanied by only fifteen men-at-arms; Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.
" then he journeyed onwards as far as the city gate,
" which he found shut. He now caused the mayor of
" the town to be called, who was standing above upon
" the gate with some of the governors of the town,
" and he required him to give orders from his own
" mouth that he should be allowed to enter his city
" with his people, who were much worn with the
" journey, in order that he and they might refresh and
" recruit themselves. To this demand it was answered
" that he was free to enter with his simple attendants,
" and they would gladly receive them, but not with
" his whole army, for there were some within the
" town whom it would be impossible to keep peaceably
" disposed towards his people armed for war. Upon
" this the king returned to his army, and took counsel
" thereupon; there were some who told him that if he
" entered the city so, they might put him to death,
" but the king answered that if he could speak to the
" commons he doubted not but that he would satisfy
" them; saying moreover that if he did not enter the
" city, but drew off to some other part, the said com-
" mons would take up arms and pursue him, imagining
" that he was running away. So then the king took
" heart, and decided to try the temper of the people,
" who once won over would be mad to save him and
" his companions. So he returned to the gate with
" only fifteen men-at-arms, and twelve archers; this
" was opened to him, and when he had entered, it was
" closed upon him immediately. Upon this some of
" his companions began to be in doubt, nevertheless
" he kept on riding through the streets, until he came
" to one of the public squares of the town, where he
" found assembled a great number of the commons
" armed, full 10,000 or more, who immediately upon
" his approach, set up a loud shout of 'Long live
" 'King Henry!' This caused greater alarm to

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

" himself and his companions than before. In this " perplexity, the noble king, firm in his courage and " exhibiting neither terror nor anger, requested the " people to be silent, and to hear him speak; this re- " quest was accorded him. Then he began in a loud " voice, so that every one might hear him, in this wise: " —'Fair sirs and friends, know you not that I am " 'your natural lord, eldest son of your late duke, who " 'was my lord and father, and how that by means of " 'certain traitors I have been for a while compelled to " 'be absent from this country. Nevertheless, behold " 'me now at last returned, my first act being to direct " 'my steps to this city, whose lord and duke I am by " 'true succession; my intention, for the present, is " 'only to recover the duchy fallen to me by inheritance, " 'and to this you can have naught to gainsay, for " 'you know my condition, and moreover that I have " 'never harboured thought save of loyalty and pru- " 'dence, and I never imagined that you would offer me " 'any resistance so long as I wished to do no harm to " 'you, or the whole kingdom of England; but by God's " 'good pleasure, and my lord Saint George, I will " 'pursue my enemies, the earl of Warwick and those " 'others by whom I have been driven from my king- " 'dom.' When the commons heard this reasoning, and " saw that the king's desire was to vex the earl of War- " wick, whom they held in great hatred, not too without " cause, for he had in many ways done them great " harm, they congratulated him, crying with one ac- " cord, 'Long live the noble duke of York!' Then " they told him he might send for his army, which he " had left outside the town, and that they should be " welcome, on condition, however, that by midday on " the morrow they would leave the city. Then the " king in person returned to his brother, the duke " of Gloucester, and brought him with his whole force " to lodge within the town, where they made very

" good cheer all night; and on the morrow, at about " 10 o'clock, the said recorder and Martin de la Mer " came before the king, to whom the said Martin spoke " very irreverently, blaming him because his men " showed no signs of departing, and midday was " drawing near; whereunto the king answered that " he would keep to his promise. Then the said Martin " replied: — 'Sire, at your entry into this town " 'you promised not to challenge or lay claim to the " 'crown of England, saying that you had come only " 'to take possession of your patrimony of the duchy " 'of York: wherefore I tell you that we have all " 'resolved together that you shall not depart hence " 'without first going to the great church of this city, " 'and there making solemn oath in the presence of " 'the whole people, never to pretend to claim the " 'crown of England.' The king hearing him speak " thus, said to him:—'Martin, you bring me very " 'bad news, but tell me, where are all the nobles of " 'this kingdom of England before whom I must " 'make this oath? Take two or three days' time for " 'counsel, send and fetch hither the earl of Northum- " 'berland, who is nearest to this place, and some " 'other of the princes of the country, that before " 'them I may make this same oath, for it would not " 'be becoming that I, who am son of the duke of " 'York, your liege lord, should make oath in any " 'other way.' While these speeches were being made " between the king and the said Martin, the king's " brother, the duke of Gloucester, and the earl of " Rivers, Lord de Scales, entering the room and hearing " this foolish discussion, drew apart, and the duke " remarked to the Lord de Scales that it was not at " all clear that they would be able to leave the town " without danger unless they forthwith, in that very " chamber, slew the said recorder and Martin de la " Mer; which they accordingly resolved to do, if other- " wise they could not gain their point. But the said

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" earl, seeing the great danger that might come of this, " spoke secretly to the king, and told him that he well " understood the words of the recorder and Martin, " and that he would go and put their men in order, " which he did, and went outside a gate, around which " all his men were stationed; so he caused them to " arm themselves and mount, commanding them to " hold possession of the said gate and keep it wide " open; he then returned fully armed into the king's " chamber, to whom he said, 'Up, to horse!' and imme- " diately the king coming down from his chamber, " found at the foot of the steps his horse ready, " which he mounted, and then ordered trumpets to " sound the departure. Thus they all issued from the " town without danger, and took the road to Tadcaster, " a town, whose lord was the earl of Northumberland, " 10 miles from the aforesaid city. And on the morrow " the king drew towards Wakefield."[1]

In the narrative of the battle of Barnet, as related by our author, somewhat abridged from the contemporary English version, there are, nevertheless, some curious and interesting details which are not found in the "Historie of the Arryvall."[2] The character of Warwick we have seen has not been flattered by Wavrin; "subtle and designing where his ends were to be "served;" but in addition to this, in many of the contemporary writers, there appears, more or less, an insinuation against Neville's personal bravery. The author of the *Arryvall* says, "in this battayle was slain the erle "of Warwyke, *somewhat fleinge*, which was taken and "reputed as chefe of the felde." Wavrin avoids this charge, which to the mind of a soldier must have seemed especially degrading. He eulogises highly the courage and demeanour of the king and his two bro-

[1] The narrative after these words is continued from the "Historie," see p. 5.

[2] Compare the relation in the "Historie of the Arryvall," ed. Bruce, pp. 19–21.

thers, the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, as well as of some other nobles whom he names on both sides, and he relates other particulars of the battle not mentioned elsewhere; these he can only have derived from personal information. He avows his ignorance of the names of the several knights and nobles who were slain on the earl of Warwick's side; the duration of the battle is said to have been four hours instead of three, but the relative disproportion of the king's army to that of the enemy accords with the English version. Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

"The battle was very cruel and deadly, and many a "valiant man was slain or wounded; for Warwick's "men defended themselves most valiantly from the "first, and in such wise that at one end of the king's "division they made great havoc and slaughter; where- "fore at this spot many took to flight, some flying "even to London, and so caused much alarm to the "city; but nevertheless the remainder of the division "where the brave king was, who, by reason of the "fog, had perceived nothing of the said misadventure, "maintained themselves very steadily. Through the "discomfiture above mentioned the news spread "throughout the surrounding country that King Ed- "ward and his whole army were defeated, but, as it "pleased God, it turned out otherwise, as you shall "hear. Great feats of arms were performed there on "the king's side, especially in his own person, for as a "brave, valiant, and courageous man, he threw himself "into the midst and thickest of the fight, where none "stood before him but were smitten to the ground. "The dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, the king's "brothers, also bore themselves most chivalrously, and "so did the Earl Rivers, Lord Hastings, and several "other valiant men, servants and good friends of King "Edward. On the opposite side the Lord Marquis "Montagu, brother of the earl of Warwick, also did "wonders in cutting off heads and arms, and against

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

" all whom he encountered; but notwithstanding his " chivalrous bravery and great boldness he was at last " smitten to the ground, wounded to death. The earl " of Warwick, his brother, when assured of this, was " much grieved and alarmed, as one who had lost all " courage, and remained thoroughly abashed and dis- " comfited. At the termination of this cruel battle " the victory remained with King Edward, who put " all the rebels to flight; the said earl of Warwick was " here slain, as also were several knights and noble " men of his party, whose names I do not know. The " duke of Exeter, on the side of the earl of Warwick, " was smitten to the ground, very severely wounded, " and left for dead among the slain who were lying " around him in great numbers, none knowing who he " was. The earl of Oxford while flying, fell in with " certain fugitives of the north, with whom he drew " towards Scotland. This battle, wherein the victory, " by the will of God, the merit of the holy saints, " and the right of the just quarrel, remained with " King Edward, lasted for the space of four hours, and " the king's enemies were more than 30,000 men " against 9,000, for he had no more, as was known of " a truth. After the battle had thus ended the king " gave thanks to God for the good grace which he had " vouchsafed him on this day. Then he returned to " the town of Barnet, where he refreshed himself and " re-assembled all his people who had remained with " him; among them were found not any lords or noble " men who had been in the battle, for some had been " grievously wounded and others slain on the field, " whereat the king felt great sorrow and was sorely " grieved. Nevertheless, after the king and his army " were again in order and refreshed, he took the road " to London, where he was received most honourably " by the mayor, aldermen, burgesses, merchants, and " common people of the city, who all together gave

" thanks to God for the victory which the king had " obtained. On the morrow the king commanded that " the bodies of the earl of Warwick and the marquis " his brother should be brought to Saint Paul's in " London, and there uncovered and shewn to the " people, so that there should be no mistake after- " wards as to their fate as there had been on other " occasions; for without doubt, if they had not been " thus shewn publicly to the people, the rumour would " forthwith have spread throughout the kingdom that " they were still both living, or at least the earl; and " through such reports new insurrections and rebellions " would have arisen among a people evilly disposed." Sourcee of Wavrin's Chronicle.

After an interesting description of the battle of Tewkesbury, in which the details, though somewhat abridged, are in the main closely translated from the English version, our author names those who fell on the field, strictly following *the arryvall.* " In this " battle were slain Edward, calling himself prince of " Wales,[1] Thomas, called earl of Dommessiere (Devon- " shire), John of Somerset, named marquis of Dorset, " the Lord Wenlock, and several other knights and " esquires, in very great number." The statement, moreover, agrees in both narratives of the king's order- ing the interment of the bodies of the nobles who were

[1] It is remarkable that in the first redaction by Wavrin of the transactions subsequent to the battle of Tewksbury, the same statement occurs that the prince of Wales was killed in battle, but the following passage is added, which is not repeated in the later edition:—" Some " say that the prince of Wales was " taken and brought before King " Edward, who caused him to be " disarmed, and then struck him " athwart the face with his sword; " thereupon every one took on him- " self to strike him, and he was " there inhumanly slain, in the " twenty-fourth year of his age." (F. fr. No. 88.) The prince was born on 13th of October 1454, so that his age is here considerably overstated. This popular story of the death of Prince Henry though here mentioned by a contemporary, is not repeated in the later *redaction* of the account by the same author. He seems even at the time to have entertained some doubt of its authenticity. See the following note.

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

slain on the field, among whom alone is mentioned by name Edward, called prince of Wales.

The king entered London in great state on the 21st of May. The transactions immediately following are narrated in rather a different way from the relation given in *the arryvall.* Wavrin is the sole authority for a trait of some interest in Edward's character, which shews a touch of compassion for the consort of his royal foe, irreconcilable with the presumption of any guilty participation in the mysterious death of King Henry. The relation of the king's treatment of Margaret is entirely new and full of interest. The ultimate fate of the bastard of Fauconberg is also not mentioned in the English version.

"After all these things King Edward entered his "city of London, on the twenty-first day of May, "nobly accompanied by the lords and gentlemen of "his kingdom, so that there were full 30,000 horse-"men; and soon afterwards Queen Margaret and "several of the captains of her party were brought "before him. The king, seeing the queen's affliction, "had pity on her; wherefore he spared her life and "offered her a competent estate in any place she "pleased: she was contented with this, seeing that "all her adherents were dead; and so she prayed the "king that during her life[1] she might have her esta-

[1] This trait of Edward's clemency towards Margaret of Anjou is not noticed by other historians. The relation must have been written before the reconcilement of Edward with Louis the Eleventh, at Piquigny, in 1475, when we know that a sum was stipulated for the queen's ransom, which was carefully paid. In the earlier redaction by Wavrin the narrative is somewhat varied. Here it is said, "and soon afterwards "there were brought before him "(King Edward) Queen Margaret "and several of the captains of the "party of the prince of Wales, her "son, now dead, as has been told— "*quil en fist je ne scay ancores.* "But all these things coming to the "hearing of King Henry, being "then in the Tower of London, it "caused him so much anger and "such great displeasure that he died. "On the 23rd day of May in the "year 1471 King Edward took his "departure from London, &c."—

" blishment in the city of London, in which place the king gave her an attendance of fifteen noble persons, men and women, to serve her, in the house of the Baron Audeley, where she took up her residence. All which things coming to the hearing of King Henry, he being then in the Tower of London, it cost him such grief that he died.[1]

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

" On the twenty-third day of May following, King Edward set out from London with a large army to pursue his enemies, who had dispersed in several directions, of whom the said bastard of Faucomberg with a great number of ships had entered the town of Sandwich, for he was there at the head of forty-three vessels. But so soon as they learned that the king was approaching, they sent to him to be taken back into his good grace, and to ask an interview with him, which they obtained; and, in fact, they gave up to him the said town and their whole fleet, on the twenty-sixth day of the said month. And the bastard of Faucomberg, for better security was placed in the care of the duke of Gloucester, third brother of the king, and was brought by him to a place called Merlan, at which spot he was allowed to remain, going and coming freely with the other servants, without being restrained or in any way

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(f. fr. No. 88.) There may be some question as to the precise meaning of the words *quil en fist*, or *qui len fist*. They have been thought to apply to Queen Margaret and to express the author's ignorance at that time of what became of her. On the other hand, may they not have reference to the manner of the prince's death? —*qui len fist*, i.e. who did it, or, how it came about, I do not yet know.

[1] Compare the statement in Warkworth's chronicle, edited by J. O. Halliwell, for the Camden Society, London, 1839, p. 21. " And the " same nyghte that Kynge Edwarde " came to Londone, Kynge Herry, " beynge inwarde in presone in the " Toure of Londone, was putt to " dethe, the xxi. day of Maij, on a " Tywesday nyght, betwyx xj. and " xij. of the cloke, beynge thenne " at the Toure the duke of Glou- " cestre, brothere to Kynge Ed- " warde, and many other."

Sources of Wavrin's Chronicle.

" aggrieved; but, like an evil-disposed man as he was, " he attempted to abscond and get back the fleet to " vex King Edward afresh, but his deed was disco- " vered, and coming to the knowledge of the said " duke of Gloucester, he caused his head to be struck " off."

If in the prefatory observations which we have been tempted by the importance of the subject to make, at perhaps too great a length, we shall have yet succeeded in clearing our author from the reproach, implied in the French Historical Society's edition, of having adopted unduly the labours of his contemporaries, some excuse is claimed on that account for the extent of this introduction. Wavrin may plead guilty to the charge of having appropriated very much of the history written before his time by Froissart, and of having used, although in a less degree, the chronicles of Monstrelet, Chartier, and Berry; but he would scarcely merit the character of a contemporaneous chronicler if, in addition to this, he had used the narrative of an immediate contemporary to chronicle the events of his own time.

Description of the Manuscripts.

It now remains only to describe the manuscripts which have been used for the present edition. They are three in number, designated respectively by the letters of the alphabet, A., B., and C. The existence is known of only one complete copy of the entire chronicle of Wavrin, and a transcript of it made for the advocate Godefroy in the seventeenth century. The first is in the Imperial Library at Paris; the transcript is in the library of the Institute. The manuscript in the Imperial Library is necessarily that which has supplied the text for the edition of which the volume prefaced by this introduction is now for the first time published. This copy is represented by A.

B. is a copy of the first two volumes, also preserved in the Imperial Library. This copy consequently can

supply various readings only for the period to the death of the Black Prince and King Edward the Third.

Description of the Manuscripts.

C. is a third copy, preserved in the Imperial Library, but of the second volume only. This copy, with two volumes preserved in the library of the British Museum, Bib. Reg. 15 E. iv. (designated by C. 2), and 14 E. iv. (designated by C. 3), which, though they never apparently formed any portion of one and the same exemplar, may be considered as representing the first three volumes of the chronicle of Wavrin, and consequently they will supply various readings for the period extending to the year 1387.

The remainder of the chronicle, consisting of the fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes, exists in one manuscript alone, so far as is known at the present time. Valuable emendations and other aids to an editor may nevertheless be derived from other MSS. in which the same transactions are related, though they form no part of the acknowleged chronicle of Wavrin.

A. (f. fr. No. 6748–6759). This magnificent manuscript of the ancient chronicles of England, by Jehan de Wavrin, is in twelve volumes, or rather in six volumes, each containing two parts, separately bound. The *format* in folio maximo, the binding in red morocco. It is written on vellum in double columns, and is illustrated throughout with many very beautiful miniatures, vignettes, and initial letters.

The original proprietor of these sumptuous volumes appears to have been Louis de Bruges, seigneur de la Gruthuyse, and earl of Winchester ; they were doubtless executed expressly at his command. He is known to have been one of the most liberal encouragers of art, and to have chiefly directed his attention to the formation of a collection of superb manuscripts, some by purchase from their former possessors, others executed for him by choice artists under his immediate direction. This copy, begun towards the latter part of

Description of the Manuscripts.

the fifteenth century, was probably not completed until some time after the author's death, even as late as the year 1484.[1] The writer, we may conclude, was Jean Paradis, of Hesdin, the ordinary copyist of the noble collector; and the illuminations, many of which are of great beauty, were doubtless by an artist of Ghent or Bruges.[2]

The arms of Gruthuyse, exhibiting the device adopted by him, a bombard or cannon throwing a stone ball, and the motto "Plus est en vous," at one time were seen throughout the work, traces of which still appear in some parts of the volumes, but they have been generally effaced and covered by the arms of France. Some time after the death of the earl of Winchester, which took place in 1492, all or the greater part of his splendid collection passed into the hands of Louis XII., and formed part of the library of the King of France at Blois, and these volumes were transferred among the rest. In a catalogue of the library of Francis the First, compiled in 1518, these six volumes are mentioned. The copy is now in the Imperial Library at Paris. M. Van Praet has left a detailed description of it in his *Recherches sur Louis de Bruges,*

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[1] Wavrin mentions the circumstance of the collar of the order of the Golden Fleece being sent from Charles, duke of Burgundy, about Easter, 1469, to King Edward. The transcriber has here, by mistake, written King *Richard.* It is very probable that, when this volume was being ingrossed, Richard the Third was on the English throne, and hence the very easy mistake by the transcriber of substituting the name of the reigning sovereign for that of the king to whom the order was sent. (Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. vi. lib. 5, c. 43.)

[2] The illustrations are probably by the hand of one of the two celebrated artists of Ghent or of Bruges (if even they were not both concerned in their production), who finished, for the Gruthuyse collection, the translation of Josephus' Antiquities of the Jews (f. fr. 6706–6711, anc. No. 405). There is a perceptible difference in the finish of the illuminations in different parts of the work. In some of the earlier volumes the art seems to be very indifferent. It is much better in the last three volumes.

No. lxxxxv., and M. Paulin Paris, more recently, has described it in the first volume of his *Manuscrits François*, p. 96. Description of the Manuscripts.

B. (f. fr. No. 6746, 6747). The first two volumes of the Chronicles of England, by Jehan de Wavrin. This copy, unfortunately incomplete, is in large folio, bound in red morocco, written on vellum in double columns, with the arms of France on the sides. The writing is of the fifteenth century, of somewhat earlier date than A., probably about the year 1475 or 1476, and many spaces have been left for the ornaments and illuminations, which have never been executed. It came from the library of the counts of La Marche. The probable possessor of this copy, Jacques d'Armagnac, duke de Nemours and count of La Marche, was beheaded, and all his goods confiscated to the king of France on 4th August 1477.[1]

C. (f. fr. No. 6761). This manuscript is the second volume of the Chronicles of England, by Jehan de Wavrin. It is in folio maximo, bound in red morocco, with the arms of France on the sides, written on vellum, towards the latter part of the fifteenth century, in double columns, with fine illuminated miniatures, vignettes, and initial letters. It is now preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, but it is not known who was its former possessor. On the greater number of the vignettes is a shield of arms bendy *gu.* and *or*, on a chief *az.* three stars *or*, surmounted with a marquis's coronet and the motto "Priere. Valle."

C. 2. (Manuscript in the British Museum, King's Library, 15 E. iv.) This volume is in large folio, written on vellum in double columns, of the latter part of the fifteenth century. It is the first volume of the chronicle by Jehan de Wavrin, entitled *Anciennes et nouvelles croniques d'Angleterre.* The name, however, of Wavrin is carefully suppressed by the pseudo-author in his

[1] Art de Vérifier les Dates, ix. 359.

Description of the Manuscripts.

prologue. It does not contain the preface prefixed to the copies in the Imperial Library, A. and B., but in lieu thereof is substituted a prologue in which the author states that the entire work consists of seven volumes. This volume, however, and the third volume of the same work, 14 E. iv., are all that are now known. In these two volumes are found several very beautifully illuminated leaves, miniatures, vignettes, and initial letters, and the copy was probably executed for the use of King Edward IV., who is represented in the first miniature [1] seated on a throne, clothed in a mantle of purple powdered with lions and fleur-de-lis, having a collar of ermine, and wearing round his neck the order of the Toison d'Or, which he received, in 1469, fron his brother-in-law, Charles, duke of Burgundy. The author, or pseudo-author, habited as an ecclesiastic,[2] is kneeling before him and presenting his book. At a little distance are courtiers. A large border of flowers surrounds the page, at the foot of which are the arms of Edward, namely, France and England quarterly, encircled with the garter, having for supporters two white lions, and surmounted by a royal helmet and the cap of maintenance, on which there is a lion passant, and above that a fleur-de-lis *or*.

After this miniature immediately follows the "Prologue de l'Acteur," *sur la totalle recollation des sept volumes des anchiennes et nouvelles croniques d'Angleterre a la totale loenge du noble roy Edouard de . . . v^e de ce nom.*[3]

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[1] This miniature is engraved in Strutt's *Royal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England*. London, 4to., 1793, p. 91.

[2] It cannot now be known who was the author of the prologue, what the subsequent volumes may have contained, nor whether the work was ever really completed in seven volumes, as mentioned in the prologue. If this were the case, we may yet conclude that it must have been a pirated copy from Wavrin's chronicle.

[3] See Appendix of Documents, num. III.

The miniature which follows the prologue represents the marriage of King Diodicias with a daughter of Albana, king of Cyrenia.[1]

Description of the Manuscripts.

C. 3. (Manuscript in the British Museum, King's Library, 14 E. iv.)

This MS. is the third volume of the series, the first of which (15 E. iv.) has just been described. It is ornamented with several miniatures and initials magnificently painted. At folio 10 is a large and splendid miniature representing the young king (Richard the Second) seated, with the crown on his head; on his right stands the duke of Lancaster, and on his left the duke of Britany. A crowd of nobles occupies the other side, and in the foreground is an archbishop carrying the cross with the sacred oil. Behind him is a monk bearing relics, and after him a bishop, cross in hand; and in the last place another monk with an ink-horn and an alms purse at his girdle. On the side of the margin is the figure of an angel holding a banner with the arms of England and France quartered. Above and beneath is the escutcheon of Edward the Fourth, with a white rose in a sun encircled with rays, and the device, *Dieu et mon droit.* In the centre of the lower margin are repeated the arms of France and England quarterly on a shield surmounted with a royal helmet and a crown, out of which issues a lion. The Garter encircles this with the motto, *Honny soit qui mal y pense.*

It will be necessary to add a few words on the mode that has been adopted with reference to the

[1] For a description of this and the next MS. (C. 3), see Illuminated Ornaments selected from MSS. and early printed Books, from the sixth to the seventeenth Century, drawn and engraved by Henry Shawe, with Descriptions by Sir F. Madden. London, W. Pickering, 4to., 1833; and also Rapports au Ministre de l'Instruction Publique sur les Anciens Monuments de l'Histoire et de la Littérature de la France qui se trouvent dans les Bibliothèques de l'Angleterre et de l'Écosse, par M. Francisque Michel. Paris, 1838, pp. 140–144.

Description of the Manuscripts.

formation of the text of the volume now in course of editing.[1] For this the manuscript A. has been rigidly adhered to, except in cases where the reading was manifestly corrupt, and the correct word could be supplied from B. or C. 2. In such circumstances the corrupt reading has been transferred to the foot note, and the amended reading retained in the text, taking care in all cases to notify the substitution at the foot of the page. The MS. has been carefully followed in all the

[1] After nearly the whole of the text of the present volume had been printed off two manuscripts in the Imperial Library at Paris (No. 2806, olim anc. f. fr. 8387, and No. 5621, olim anc. f. fr. 10210–3. 3) were found to comprise the same matter as that contained in this volume. The discovery of these manuscripts appeared to throw a new light upon the value of the materials presented in the following pages, and made it of great importance that some explanation should be given of the variations that were found to exist, so material in enabling us to form a correct judgment of the sources of the Chronicle, and particularly to note some of the various readings by which the present text could be advantageously amended. This might have been effected, with respect to the various readings, by foot notes in the ordinary way, but it was too late, the text having been printed off. The preservation of these emendations might yet have been carried out by noticing in the Preface or Introduction the various readings, and their application in illustrating and explaining the text. After much consideration it was deemed a more convenient plan to throw the result of this examination into a separate sheet, forming an Appendix to the Introduction. There appeared to be no other way so convenient for reference, and which would at the same time secure the opportunity, not again likely to occur, of illustrating the Chronicle about to be edited by viewing the two versions in conjunction, and explaining the one by the light of the other, and yet without obstructing the general course of these prefatory remarks, which are intended as an introduction to Wavrin's entire chronicle, and not merely to the portion now to be published. The result of the observations thus necessitated will be found therefore in the shape of notes in a separate Appendix to this Introduction, with the title of "Notes and Emendations."

Such an appendix being so found necessary for the object premised it was thought that it would also be desirable to transfer from the Introductory remarks a great portion of the observations applicable only to the subject of the volume now printed; and the throwing all such observations into the form of notes has avoided an increase in the length of the general introduction, and the constant recurrence of foot notes.

peculiarities of orthography, whether with reference to the spelling of common words or the proper names of places and of persons. No accents have been employed in the text, and none are used in the manuscript. In like manner is omitted the apostrophe used to express the elision of the final vowel before another vowel in the article and preposition. Description of the Manuscripts.

Duchy of Lancaster Office,
29th September 1864.

LA TABLE DES RUBRIQUES.

LA TABLE DES RUBRIQUES.

Premier Volume. Livre Premier.

Cy commence la table des rubrices du premier volume des anchiennes[1] cronicques Dengleterre, lequel contient vi. livres particuliers, dont le premier comprent en soy cinq chapitres.

Le Prologue.—Sensieult le prologue general de lacteur de ceste presente euvre du recueil des cronicques et anchiennes istoires de la Grant Bretaigne, a present nomme Engleterre . . . . . p. 1

Et premiers sensieult un petit prologue pour plus clerement donner a entendre ceste euvre sequestre. Chapitre Ier. p. 5

Cy sensieult un preambule convenable a maniere de theume.[2] Deuxieme Chapitre . . . . . p. 6

Cy parle du cruel et enorme conseil que Dame Albine donna a ses seurs. Troizieme Chapitre. . . . p. 15

Comment Albine et ses seurs coperent les gorges a leurs maris, excepte la plus josne delles qui pour lors les racusa. Quatriesme Chapitre . . . . . p. 24

Cy devise comment Dame Albine et ses seurs arriverent en une isle laquelle elles nommerent Albion pour Albine, et depuis par Bructus, qui la concquist, eult nom Bretaigne la Grant et a present se nomme Engleterre pour Englist. Chincquisme Chapitre. . . . . p. 30

Et atant fine la table du premier livre et commence la table du second.

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[1] *anchiennes et nouvelles*, B. | *Thernne*, in MS.

Premier Volume. Livre Deuxieme.

Cy commence la table des rubrices du second livre, lequel contient en soy soixante (lix.) chapitres.

Le premier chapitre parle des proprietes de Lisle de Grant Bretaigne. Premier Chapitre. . . . . p. 36

Cy commence un petit preambule par maniere de thernne sur la translation du livre de Brust Dengleterre. Second Chapitre. . . . . p. 40

Comment troys generations principaulx se partirent de Troye apres la destruction dicelle et peuplerent pluiseurs royaulmes et habiterent en maintes terres et diverses regions. Troisieme Chapitre. . . . . p. 44

Comment Eneas arriva au port de Carthage et comment la roine Dido le rechupt, et comment il se parti sans prendre congie delle, pour quoy elle sen occist de dueil. IIIIe Chapitre. . . . . p. 46

Comment Eneas et sa compaignie arriverent en Cecille et la fist une cite ou il laissa grant partie de sa gent, et comment apres il se parti de la et naga tant quil vint en Ytalie, au port du Tibre, pres de Laurence ou demouroit le roy Latin. Ve Chapitre. . . . . p. 47

De la premiere bataille qui fust entre Eneas et Turnus, et comment Eneas ala querir secours au roy Evander contre ledit Turnus qui le vouloit bouter hors d'Ytallie. VIe Chapitre. . . . . p. 50

Comment Turnus demanda treves de douze jours a Eneas, comment ilz acorderent bataille corps contre corps, comment Eneas loccist et la cause pourquoi. Chapitre VIIe. p. 52

Comment apres ce que Eneas eut espousee Lavine ne demoura pas gramment que le roy Latin morut, et puis Eneas, apres ce quil ot tenu le royaulme quatre ans. Chapitre VIIIe. . . . . p. 54

Comment Bructus fut nesz, comment il tua son pere et sa mere, sy fut exillie et senfui en Grece, et comment il vint depuis a grant honneur. Chapitre IXe. . . p. 56

Comment le roy Pandrasus sesmerveilla de ce que les Troyens se vouloient rebeller contre luy, sy manda ses barons, et comment Bructus le desconfist, Le Chapitre X^e^. . . . . p. 59

Comment Bructus et les siens destruisirent la seconde foiz le roy Pandrasus ; et fut prins par Bructus dedens sa tente devant le chastel de Separentin quil avoit assegie. Le Chapitre XI^e^. . . . . p. 60

Comment Bructus departi tout le gaing a ses compaignons, et comment le roy Pandrasus sacorda a Bructus par teil condicion quil habandonna a tous les Troyens qui estoient en son pays daler ou ilz voldroient, et avec ce bailla a Bructus troix cens nefz bien garniez avec grant foyson dor et dargent. Le Chapitre XII^e^. . . . p. 62

Comment apres ce que Bructus et Corineus avec leurs gens eurent sejourne huit jours au bout de Loirre se misrent en leurs nefz et nagerent contremont leaue tant quilz trouverent un lieu convenable pour eulx aizier, ou ilz ficherent leurs herberges, et comment ilz desconfirent le roy Gauffier d'Acquitaine. Chapitre XIII^e^. . p. 68

Comment le roy Gauffier ala querir secours en France, et comment il fut derechief desconfi par les Troyens Chapitre XIIII^e^. . . . . p. 71

Comment Bructus se parti de la terre du roy d'Acquitaine et sen ala en Albion, sy descendi illec a terre lui et ses gens et occirent tous les geans quilz y trouverent fors Geomagon auquel Corineus le fort luitta. Chapitre XV^e^. p. 72

Comment Bructus et Corineus departirent ensamble la terre dAlbion, et comment aprez ce que Bructus ot rengne xiiii. ans et ediffye la cite de Londres avec pluiseurs chasteaulz il morut et laissa troix filz qui aprez lui regnerent grandement. Le Chapitre XVI^e^. . p. 74

Comment Corineus aprez la mort Bructus vint parler au roy Lotrin et lui fist espouser sa fille voulsist ou non, et comment Lotrin laissa sa femme aprez la mort de Corineus son beau-pere, et comment depuis elle le desconfist p 2

en bataille ou il morut et aprez rengna grandement et desconfist en son temps le roy Cesius dIrlande. Le Chapitre XVII. . . . . p. 78

Comment Maddam, filz du roy Lotrin, fut couronnez, comment il gouverna le royaulme et de sa mort. Comment Malvis son filz rengna mauvaisement et tua son frere, et comment il fut devourez de lous esragiez en la forest ou il chassoit. Le Chapitre XVIIIe. . . p. 83

Cy parle du rengne du roy Ebrot et de ses faiz. Le Chapitre XIXe . . . . . p. 85

Des rengnes de quatre roys, cest a scavoir de Bructus Vert-Escu, de Leir, de Rahudibras et de Bladus. Le Chapitre XXe. . . . . p. 86

Cy parle du rengne du roy Leir, comment il esprouva ses trois filles, et comment Agornorille et Reguault le deceuprent et Cordeille lui dist verite. Le Chapitre XXIe. p. 87

Comment le roy Belinus desconfy son frere Brenius et prinst le roy Gurlat de Dannemarce et la femme de son frere Brenius en Northumberlande, et comment Brenius eschappa, sy sen ala en Gaulle, et des chausses que le roy Belinus fist faire. Le Chapitre XXIIe. . . . . p. 97

Comment Brenius espousa la fille au duc de Sens et puis passa en Engleterre avec grant ost pour recouvrer son pais et fist la pais sa mere de lui et de son frere Belinus qui tout le royaulme tenoit. Le Chapitre XXIIIe. p. 99

Comment les deux freres Belinus et Brenius mysrent en leur obeissance toute Gaulle jusques aux monts de Mont-Senis, et comment ilz passerent oultre en Lombardie. Le Chapitre XXIIIIe. . . . . p. 101

Comment aprez ce que les deux princes et les Rommains furent accordez ensamble les Rommains rompirent leurs aliances ; comment Belinus desconfist les consulz, et par consequent comment ilz firent pendre les hostages des Rommains, puis prindrent et destruirent toute la cite de Romme. Le Chapitre XXVe. . . . . p. 103

Comment aprez ce que les deux freres eurent Romme de struite, et departi le gros bustin, Belinus retourna vers Bretaigne et Brenius demoura ; et comment Camillus le desconfist, puis repara la cite de Romme. Le Chapitre XXVI^e^. . . . . p. 106

Comment apres la mort Belinus, Gragius son filz rengna puissamment, car il desconfist le roy de Dannemarce et constrainst de lui paier tribu, et comment il peupla Irlande, et de la mort de Brenius. Le Chapitre XXVII^e^. p. 108

Comment Guicelin et sa femme rengnerent apres Gragius, et du regne Silius, Romarus et Danus, et comment le roy Morbidus fut transglouti du monstre marin qui Belue estoit appellez. Le Chapitre XXVIII^e^. . . p. 111

Des royaulmes Gorboman, Argal et Helidus, et comment Argal fut depposez et Helidus son frere couronnez, et comment Helidus se deposa pour la pitie quil ot de son frere Argal. Le Chapitre XXIX^e^. . . . p. 114

Comment depuis la mort du bon roy Helidus tous les roys qui apres lui regnerent jusques ou temps du roy Lud qui Londres ferma ne firent chose qui riens ou pou vaillist. Le Chapitre XXX^e^. . . . . p. 117

Comment le roy Lud fist clore Londres de tours et de fortes murailles devers les parties dorient, occident et septentrion. Le Chapitre XXXI^e^. . . . . p. 119

Comment Julle Cesar fut envoies en Gaulle pour la conc-querre et mettre soubz la seignourie des Rommains et toutes les parties doccident, et comment icellui Cesar envoya en la Grant Bretaigne et de la responce que les Bretons lui firent. Le Chapitre XXXII^e^. . . p. 122

Comment Julle Cesar passa en Bretaigne avec son ost, et comment il fut desconfi et chassie hors par le roy Cassibellant et ses aidans. Le Chapitre XXXIII^e^. p. 125

Comment Neminus, frere du roy Cassibellant, morut de la plaie que Cesar lui avoit faitte, et comment les Francois se volrent rebeller contre Julle Cesar. Le Chapitre XXXIIII^e^. . . . . p. 129

Comment Cesar retourna une seconde foiz en Bretaigne, ou il fut derechief desconfi et chassiez hors plus honteusement que la premiere fois navoit este. Le Chapitre XXXV. . . . . p. 132

Comment le roy Cassibellanus apres ce quil ot victorieusement reboute les Rommains la seconde fois fist faire un solempnel sacrefice a ses dieux, et du discord qui sesmeust entre lui et Androgenez son nepveu. Le Chapitre XXXVI. . . . . p. 135

La teneur de la lettre tramise par le duc Androgenes a Julle Cesar, Empereur Rommain. Le Chapitre XXXVII. p. 139

Comment Julle Cesar respondy au messagier, et comment par le moyen Androgenes il subjuga les Bretons et fist tributaires aux Rommains. Le Chapitre XXXVIII. p. 140

Comment la paix fut faitte entre les Rommains et les Bretons par laide et moyen de Androgens et comment Cesar sen retourna en Gaulle et emmena le duc Androgens avecq lui. Le Chapitre XXXIX. . . . . p. 145

Comment lempereur Claudien ala en la Grant Bretaigne contre les Bretons qui lui avoient refuze a paier treu, et de la mort du roy Guider. Le Chapitre XL. p. 149

Comment Maurius filz de Arviragus desconfist le roy des Picz que Rodrit avoit a nom, et de la perche quil fist drechier ou champ en signe de la victoire. Le Chapitre. XLIe. p. 155

Comment Luces fut le premier roy Crestien ou royaulme de la Grant Bretaigne. Comment il fist baptisier les Bretons, et des grans biens que il leur fist. Le Chapitre XLIIe. . . . . p. 156

Comment Aeller et Gallus furent envoyez de Romme en Bretaigne pour gouverner, et comment les Bretons firent roy Asclepidos et desconfirent les Rommains. Le Chapitre XLIIIe. . . . . p. 163

Comment Constant vint en Engleterre et espousa Helaine la fille du roy Choel, de la nativite Constantin, comment il enchassa lempereur Maxence, et comment Helaine trouva la croix. Le Chapitre XLIV. . . . p. 166

Comment le roy Ostones envoya querir Maximien pour espouser sa fille, et comment il gaigna le royaulme de Armorique, dont il fit roy Conant. Le Chapitre XLV^e^. p. 170

Comment Conan, roy de la Petite Bretaigne, envoya a Ajonet, roy de la Grant Bretaigne, de par lempereur Maximien, pour avoir Ourselle sa fille en mariage, et aussy pour avoir grant nombre de pucelles du rengne pour donner a ses hommes et peupler son pays. Le Chapitre XLVI^e^ p. 174

Comment Gauianus et Melga retournerent en la Grant Bretaigne et casserent le fort mur que les Rommains avoient fait, et comment les Rommains ne volurent plus aidier aux Anglois. Le Chapitre XLVII^e^. . . . . p. 179

Comment le tirant Vortigier fist copper les testes aux Picz qui de son propre consentement couvert avoient le roy Constant occys, et usurpa le royaulme, et comment il retint les Saxons de sa court, par la puissance desquelz il obtint victoire alencontre des Picz et Escotz. Le Chapitre XLVIII^e^. . . . . p. 188

Comment Englist deceupt le roy Vortigier par sa malice ; comment il se fist donner par le roy une forte place en laquelle il ediffia le chastel de la Couroye, et des Saxons quil fist venir, et comment Vortigier espousa sa fille Ronixe qui estoit payenne. Le Chapitre XLIX^e^. p. 193

Comment Saint Germain dAuxerre et Saint Leu de Troyes vindrent en la Grant Bretaigne, et de la multiplication des Saxons en icelle, et comment le roy Morchimer fut couronne. Le Chapitre L^e^. . . . . p. 202

Comment la roine Ronixe fist empoisonner le bon roy Vorcimer, et comment il comforta ses barons au lit de la mort, et de ses ordonnances. Le Chapitre LI^e^. p. 207

Comment Vortigerius fut reslevez en la dignite royal et comment par ladmonnestement de sa femme Ronixe il remanda Englist, par lequel les Bretons furent destruis. Le Chapitre LII^e^. . . . . p. 211

Comment le roi Vortigier prinst conseil a ses devineurs de sa miserable vye et de la tour quilz luy conseillerent a ediffyer pour soy saulver. Le Chapitre LIIIe. p. 219

Comment les messages du roy Vortigier emmenerent Merlin quon disoit lenfant sans pere, et des choses quil dist au roy Vortigier, au grant reproce de ses devinneurs de lestablete des fondemens de sa tour. Le Chapitre LIVe. p. 222

Comment maistre Gauffroy Monemutensis, qui cestui livre compila de langue Brete en Latin, sexcusa sur la translascion des propheties Merlin Ambroise, disant en ceste maniere. Le Chapitre LVe. . . . . p. 226

Cy apres parle des propheties Merlin quil denoncha au roy Vortigier, et parle premierement de la signiffiance des deux dragons qui issyrent des pierres du lacq expuissie comme dist est cy-dessus. Le Chapitre LVIe. p. 229

Cy apres sensieult la seconde cause des propheties de Merlin le prophete. Le Chapitre LVII.e . . . . p. 251

Comment Merlin prophetiza au roy Vortigier ladvenement des deux filz du roy Constant et la fin de sa miserable vye et aussy la mort de Englist le Saxon. Le Chapitre LVIIIe. . . . . p. 286

Comment tous les Bretons de la Grant Bretaigne nobles et non nobles qui eschappes estoient des mains des Saxons, sceu ladvenement des enffans du roy Constant, leur vindrent au-devant en leur portant grant honneur, et comment ilz assegerent Vortigier et lardirent en sa tour, sy comme Merlin lavoit divine paravant. Le Chapitre LIXe. . . . . p. 290

Cy fine la table des chapitres du second livre de ce premier volume.

Cy commence la table des rubrices du tierch livre, lequel contient en soy liii. chappittres.

Comment le Saxon Englist garny ses forteresses, quant il sceut la mort Vortigier ; et comment le noble roy Aurelien le desconfist avec tout son ost ou il avoyt bien deux cens mille Saxons. Le Premier Chapitre. . . p. 294

Cy parle de la mort et condempnation de Englist le tyrant, et comment Cocta son filz et tous les nobles jovenceaulx des Saxons atout chascun une chaine en leurs mains se misrent en la mercy du roy Aurelien, et est le Chapitre IIe. . . . . p. 304

Comment le roy Aurelien reforma son royaulme en bonnes meurs et fist rediffyer les eglises, cites, villes, et forteresses destruites par les Saxons, et de la cause pour laquelle il tramyst querre Merlin, et du conseil que le dit Merlin le prophete luy donna sur sa demande. Le Chapitre IIIe. . . . . p. 307

Comment le duc Uther Pendragon, apres ce quil fut atout Merlin et son ost arrive en Hybernye, desconfist Gillomith le roy de celle region, et comment Merlin par sa soubtillite fist emporter les pierres en Bretaigne, ou il les drescha en leur ordre par le commendement du roy Aurelien. Le Chapitre IIIIe. . . . . p. 311

Comment Pascent, filz du roy Vortigerius, exista les Germaniens contre le bon roy Aurelian a moult grant ost et furent desconfits, et comment apres il se ralia au roy Gillomith de Hybernie, lequel il fist passer a grant ost en Bretaigne, et comment par venin et trayson fist finer le crestien roy Aurelien. Le Chapitre Ve. . p. 319

De lexposition que fist Merlin au duc Uter-Pendragon, et comment il desconfist ses ennemys Gillomith et Pascent, puis retourna a Guintonye pour celebrer les obseques du roy Aurelien son frere. Le Chapitre VIe. p. 325

Du couronnement du duc Uther, qui surnommez fut Pendragon, et des deux batailles quil ot a lencontre de Cocta, filz de Englist, et Orsus, son cousin, lesquels le

desconfirent en la premiere bataille, mais apres furent ilz destruis en la seconde assamblee. Chapitre VII^e^. p. 328

De la court que tint le roy Uther Pendragon en la cyte de Londres, et comment il meut la guerre au duc Gorlois a cause de sa femme, de laquelle il fut amoureux. Le Chapitre VIII^e^. . . . . p. 333

De la mort du duc Gorlois et prinse de sa forteresse assegie par lost britonnicque en labsence du Roy Uther Pendragon, et comment il espousa Igernie, et de la venue de lost saxonnicque a lesmouvement de Cocta et Orsus, quy senfuyrent ou eschapperent de la prison. Le Chapitre IX^e^. . . . . p. 339

Comment le roy Uther Pendragon tres griefment malade se fist porter en lost, ou il blasma moult aigrement ses princes, et comment il fut portes en sa litiere en la bataille, ou les Saxons Cocta et Orse furent mors et tout leur ost desconfit. Le Chapitre X^e^. . . p. 345

Comment les tirans Saxons proditoirement firent morir le roy Uther Pendragon par la fontaine dont il beuvoyt leaue quilz empoysonnerent. Le Chapitre XI^e^. p. 350

Du couronnement de Artus, filz de Uther Pendragon, par Dubritius, arcevesque de Legionne, et comment il desconfist Colgrinus, duc des Saxons, et tout son ost, et lassega a Eboracle sa cyte. Le Chapitre XII^e^. p. 353

Comment le roy Artus laissa le siege de Ebroich et ala a Londres pour soy conseillier et tremyst messages en Armoricque au roy Hoelus son nepveu pour querre secours. Le Chapitre XIII^e^. . . . . p. 357

Comment le roy Artus desconfist les paiens Saxons a Kaerlindeoch, la cyte quilz avoyent assise, et comment ilz luy jurerent en la forest de Calidonnienne de luy rendre treu, et en baillerent hostages, mais ilz se parjurerent, sy furent leurs hostages cruellement acraventez. Le Chapitre XIIII^e^. . . . . p. 358

Comment Dubritius enhorta les Bretons deulz fierement combatre contre les paiens, et comment ilz les desconfirent par la proesse de leur roy Artus. Le Chapitre XV^e^. . . . . p. 361

Comment le duc de Cornubie tua le duc Thederic et prinst ses nefz et ses gens en dedition. Le Chapitre XVI^e^. p. 364

Comment le noble roy Artus desconfist les Escotz en lysle dun estang, et le roy de Hybernie aussy qui les vint aydier et secourir. Le Chapitre XVII^e^. . . p. 365

Comment le noble roy Artus de Bretaigne fist refaire les eglises que les mauldis paiens avoient inhumainement destruites. Chapitre XVIII^e^. . . . . p. 367

Comment le roy Artus myst le pays dEscoche en son anchienne liberte, et comment il espousa Geneviere, quy estoyt de noble lignage de Romme et la plus belle de tout le royaulme de Bretaigne. Le Chapitre XIX^e^. p. 369

Comment le roy Artus, apres ce quil ot repose longtemps en grant felicite, passa la mer et concquist Norguegye, Dace, Neustrie, et tous les pays de Gaulle. Le Chapitre XX^e^. . . . . p. 371

Cy parle de la grant feste que celebra le noble roy Artus en la cyte de Legionne, et comment il y vint moult de grant princes et barons. Le Chapitre XXI^e^. . p. 377

Comment les princes qui venus estoient a la court que tint le roy Artus furent festoyez, et comment lui et la royne sa femme porterent couronne le jour de la solempnite. Le Chapitre XXII^e^. . . . . p. 379

Comment le roy Artus crea pluiseurs archevesques et evesques, et de ladvenementz des legatz envoyez de Romme. Le Chapitre XXIII^e^. . . . . p. 383

Sensieult loroyson que fyst le roy Artus a ses princes sur la sentence de la lettre a luy tramyse par lempereur Rommain. Le Chapitre XXIIII^e^. . . . p. 386

Sensieult loroyson du roy Hoelus de Armoricque en persuadant la guerre contre les Rommains. Le Chapitre XXV^e^. . . . . p. 388

La deliberation Agnoleseth aultrement dyt Angelus, au roy dAlbanye. Le Chapitre XXVI^e^. . . . p. 389

De la response que fist le roy Artus aux legatz Rommains, et comment ses barons sappareillierent atoute diligence. Le Chapitre XXVII^e^. . . . . p. 391

Cy devize comment le proesceux roy Artus se combaty vaillamment a ung grantz geant a la roche du Mont Saint Michiel. Le Chapitre XXVIII^e^. . . . p. 394

Comment le roy Artus ala au-devant des Rommains, et comment les legatz commencerent premiers la bataille. Le Chapitre XXIX. . . . . p. 400

Comment les Bretons qui conduissoient leurs prisonniers vers Paris a quinze mille hommes armez desconfirent vingt mille Rommains qui les guettoient en une embusce. Le Chapitre XXX^e^. . . . . p. 410

Comment lempereur Rommain deguerpy ses tentes pour aler a Ostum, et comment le roy Artus lui vint audevant en une vallee ou il ordonna ses batailles. Le Chapitre XXXI^e^. . . . . p. 413

Comment Artus admonesta sagement ses chevaliers de bien combatre pour deffendre leur pais et leur liberte. Le Chapitre XXXII^e^. . . . . p. 415

Comment lempereur rommain ordonna ses batailles apres une oroyson exortative faitte a ses chevaliers pour les encoragier. Le Chapitre XXXIII^e^. . . . p. 418

De la bataille merveilleuze dentre les Bretons et les Rommains, et de la noble victoire que obtint le roy Artus. Le Chapitre XXXIV^e^. . . . . p. 422

Comment le noble roy Artus apres ce quil ot eue victoire des Rommains fist ensepvelir les corps de ses barons et de ses hommes. Le Chapitre XXXV^e^. . . p. 433

Comment le noble roy Artus se combati la premiere fois au desloyal tyrant Mordreth et le desconfist a grant perte des siens. Le Chapitre XXXVI^e^. . . . p. 436

Cy parle des deux batailles que ot le roy Artus a lencontre de Mordreth et la maniere de la fin deulx deux. Le Chapitre XXXVII^e^. . . . . p. 442

Comment le roy Constantin occyst les deux enfans Mordreth, et comment son nepveu le tua, qui fut couronnez apres lui. Le Chapitre XXXVIII. . . . . p. 450

Des fais du roy Vortiporius et Malgo-le-Bel qui succederent lun apres laultre ou royaulme de la Grant Bretaigne. Chapitre XXXIXe. . . . . p. 451

Des gestes au roy Cathericus et des guerres civilles qui par sa cruaulte vindrent en son temps en Bretaigne, et des grans maulx que les Saxons y firent. Le Chapitre XLe. . . . . p. 453

La complainte de lacteur sur la destruction du royaulme de Bretaigne, par quoy les Saxons en furent premierement seigneurs, dont les Anglois sont issus. Le Chapitre XLIe. . . . . p. 456.

Comment les Bretons esleurent a roy Caduanth et de la paix que il ferma avec le roy Eldefride. Le Chapitre XLIIe. . . . . p. 462

Du parlement que firent faire les deux compaignons royaulx sur le fleuve du Glas, et du conseil que donna Brianus a Cadualus, son oncle. Le Chapitre XLIIIe. p. 465

Comment le roy Cadualus fut desconfi de Eduinus, a qui il avoit faulse compaignie, et comment il senfui au roy Sallemon. Le Chapitre XLIIIIe. . . . p. 467

La responce que fist le roy Salemon de Armoricque-Bretaigne au roy Cadualus qui son ayde lui requeroit. Le Chapitre XLV. . . . . p. 471

Sensieult loroison regratiatoire que fist le roy Cadualus au roy Salemon, et comment Brianth passa en la Grant Bretaigne, ou il occyst Pellicus lingromantien de Eduinus. Le Chapitre XLVIe. . . . . p. 473

Comment le roy Caduale leva le siege de devant Exonie, ou il desconfist lost du roy Peandath, et comment il occist Eduinus, Offride son filz, et Godboth, avec tout leur grant ost. Le Chapitre XLVIIe. . . p. 480

Comment le roy Caduale occist le roy Offrid en bataille avec tout son ost, et de la victoire Ozuuath contre le roy Peandath, qui aprez aussi desconfist le roy Caduale depuis. Le Chapitre XLVIIIe. . . . p. 482

Comment par ladmonestement de Alfiird, filz du noble roy Ozuuath, le roy Peandath pria au roy Caduale par fraude quil esmeust guerre contre le roy Ozuuath, son oncle. Le Chapitre XLIXe. . . . . p. 483

Comment le roy Peandath fut desconfit par le roy Ozuuath apres ce quil ot fait foizon de maulx en Northambrie, et de la fin du roy Caduale de Bretaigne. Le Chapitre Le. . . . . p. 488

Comment Caduualladreth, filz du roy Caduale, fut couronnez, et de la guerre civille des barons de Bretaigne, par laquelle il sourdy grant famine et mortalite tres horribile. Le Chapitre LIe. . . . . p. 489

Comment Alain, roy de Armoricque-Bretaigne, receupt benignement le roy Caduualladreth, et comment les Saxons obtindrent paisiblement le royaulme de la Grant Bretaigne. Le Chapitre LIIe. . . . . p. 494

Comment langele saparut au roy Caduualladreth pour le faire desister de la guerre quil vouloit commencier, et des propheties quil lui denuncha. Le derrenier Chapitre, LIIIe. . . . . p. 496

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RECUEIL

DES

CRONIQUES ET ANCHIENNES ISTORIES DE LA GRANT BRETAIGNE, A PRESENT NOMME ENGLETERRE,

PAR JEHAN DE WAURIN.

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Sensieult le prologue general de lacteur de ceste presente euvre du recueil des cronicques et anchiennes istoires de la Grant Bretaigne, a present nomme Engleterre.

Comme il soit notoire que par toutes escolles se lisent de jour en jour acteurs composes en metres des vyes et fais des Troiens, Grecz, Rommains, Affricains, et aultres nations, par quoy il est et sera perpetuelment diceulx memoire ; comme pareillement en France et regions voysines y ait eu et a encores de present roys et princes de grant renommee ou proesse desquelz les vyes et fais sont dignes destre mys en memoire perpetuele :

Hault et puissant, mon treshonnoure et doubte seigneur, monseigneur Waleran,[1] seigneur de Waurin,

[1] Walerand, seigneur de Waurin, son of Beatrix de Waurin, only surviving legitimate child of Robert seigneur de Waurin slain at the battle of Agincourt, was appointed by Philip duke of Burgundy in

de Lillers, Malannoy et Saint Venant, comme il soit ainsy que apres vostre retour que darrainement feistes, de Constantinoble ou vous aviez este commis et envoyes comme capitaine general de pluiseurs galees et navires armees et garnies de grant nombre de gens darmes et de trait, par lordonnance et commandement de treshault et tresexellent et puissant prince Phelipe, duc de Bourgoingne, de Brabant et de Lembourg, conte de Flandres, dArtois et de Bourgoingne &c, es mers du Levant et de Grece, pour obvier et resister alencontre des entreprises des infideles Turcs; par pluiseurs fois vous pleut prendre voz devises a moy, touchans de pluiseurs belles et anchiennes hystoires entre lesquelles encommenciastes a parler de ce tresnoble et anchien royaulme de la Grant Bretaigne, paravant nomme lisle dAlbion, qui a present se nomme Engleterre, ou par cy devant a eu de treshaulx, tresxellens et puissans roys et princes, par lesquelz icellui noble royaulme a este gouverne puissamment jusques aujourduy, et aussi a este tousjours bien garny de noble chevalerie qui en leur temps ont entreprins et acheve maintes haultes besongnes par leurs grans proesses, dont en vous devisant a moy ne poviez estre asses esmervillies comme nulz clercs dicellui royaulme ne sestoient avanchies a descripre les vyes et fais diceulx roys et princes fors seulement en aulcuns petis livres de chascun roy a par[1] soy: moy doncques, aiant le bon voloir de vostre

April 1444, to take the command of the ships sent out against the Turks. It was on Walerand's return from Constantinople, related by Waurin in the first book of his sixth and last volume, that this work was first contemplated, the design being to comprise it in four volumes. The two last volumes were added after the Prologue was written.

[1] *part.* B.

noble desir, moiennant davoir vostre bonne ayde et conseil, qui a ceste matere ma este bien seant, ay oze entreprendre ceste paine et labeur de recueillier, adjouster et ramener en quattre volumes de livres, au plus pres que jay sceu[1] ne peu, tous les haulx fais diceulx roys, de leur proesses et de leurs vyes, et comment par leur noble chevalerie, le temps de chascun durant, le dit royaulme a este gouverne. Pourquoy, mon tres honnoure seigneur, moy Jehan[2] de Waurin, chevalier, seigneur du Forestel, filz inlegitisme de vostre grant pere, monseigneur Robert de Waurin, jadis chevalier et seigneur des terres et seignouries de Waurin, Lillers et Malannoy, lequel morut en la bataille dAsincourt, ou a ce jour jestoye, sentant en moy que fort approchoye de viellesse, et que plus ne povoye sievir ne frequenter les armes ne faire longs voyages comme aultreffois ay fait avec vous et aussy en la compaignie daultres plueseurs princes et chevaliers, dont, par le plaisir de Dieu nostre Seigneur, suis party sans affolure ou villaine reproche; et aussy adfin de fuir huyseuse, mere de tous vices, environ lan mil quatre cens chincquante et chincq me ingeray de vouloir emprendre et achever ceste euvre jusques au couronnement du Roy Edouard[3] V^e^ de ce nom. Doncques, mon tres

[1] *j'aypeu.* B.

[2] The father and brother of Waurin were both slain at the battle of Agincourt, 25 October 1415, as recorded on the monument erected to their memory in the abbey of Han near Lillers by Beatrice his sister, the daughter and sole heir of the seigneur de Waurin.—(MSS. Bibl. Imp.: Epitaphes, vol. 23.)

[3] All the MSS. read *Edward*, but this is manifestly a mistake for *Henry*. The fourth volume, the limit assigned by Waurin to his work as originally designed, concludes with the death of Henry the Fourth. Moreover, the year 1455, in which this Prologue purports to have been written, was six years before there was any such king as Edward IV.

honnoure et doubte seigneur, je vous supplie humblement et a tous ceulx qui liront ou oront lire ce recueil de cronicques et histoires du royaulme dEngleterre que si fluite et trop grant habondance de langaige y est trouve ou que aulcunement par trop petite diligence je laye peu a plain declaree, leur plaise supleer mon ygnorance, et avoir regard a lentendement de lystoire plus que a lordonnance et fachon de ceste euvre. Et aussi se en ce mon treshonnoure seigneur comprendez ou trouvez chose qui puist tourner ou pourfiter a lamplication et recommandation de vostre noble personne, il le vous plaise retenir a la loenge de nostre seigneur Jhesu Crist, en aiant, par vostre grace memoire de vostre treshumble serviteur.

Cy commence le premier volume des anchiennes cronicques dEngleterre, lequel contient en soy six livres particuliers, desquelz le premier prent son commencement a dame Albine. Et dure ce present volume jusques au vaillant roy Edouard de Windsore, auquel roy le Second volume se commence, comme[1] vous orez et verrez en poursievant ceste matere.

Et premiers sensieult[2] *un petit prologue pour plus clerement donner a entendre ceste euvre sequestre.*
Premier Chapitre.

Or doncques pour ceste matere plaisant entammer et mettre a effect, il est a scavoir que ce premier livre, qui contient en soy v. chapitres, est comme ung preambule et prologue pour lentendement et instruction de toute ceste presente euvre, cest a entendre des quattre volumes des cronicques dEngleterre jadis appellee la Basse Hibernie, et depuis par diverses guerres et concquestes de gens elle a sorty pluiseurs nons, cest a scavoir Albion pour dame Albine et ses seurs, filles du roy Diodicias, desquelles est faitte mention en ce premier livre, pourcequelles y habiterent premierement comme vous orez. Et lui dura ce non

[1] *ainsi que vous verrez.* B.

[2] *sensieut un prologue a lesclaircissement de leuvre sequente.* B.

dAlbion jusques au temps dun prince appelle Bructus qui la conquist sur les geans qui furent procreez et issus de la ditte Albine et ses seurs, lequel lappella Bretagne-la-Grant doultre mer a la difference de Basse-Bretaigne. Et depuis un grant prince de Saxone nomme Englist ot acointance a Vortigier, conte de Vincestre, lequel fist morir par traison Constance, filz de Constantin pour estre roy et succeder au royaulme apres lui, et espousa la seur du dit Englist lequel le secouru de xi^{m} hommes contre ses ennemis. Et pour ceste cause le roy Vortigier lui donna la terre de Kent et la seignourie de tout le pais entierement, dont il le fist roy, et nomma son dit royaulme Engleterre de son non, lequel nom cest a scavoir Engleterre luy dure encoires jusques aujourdhuy, comme il est evident.

Cy sensieult un preambule convenable a maniere de theume.[1] IIe Chapitre.

Jadis pour le temps que le preu Hercules et Theseus rengnerent en Grece et estoit juge du peuple dIsrael un nomme Jahir qui fut le troisieme apres Josue alors rengna en Sirie, ung moult puissant roy[2] nomme Diodicias qui[3] tenoit soulz[4] luy et en sa seignourie la pluspart de Perse, de Mede, et Mesopotamie, et ny avoit pour ce temps roy es parties orientales dont il ne feust cremu et doubte plus que nul aultre, car par sa grant puissance et par la grant[5] chevalerie qui estoit en sa personne il avoit concquis

[1] *Theume.* B. *Thernne*, in the table of rubrics.
[2] *royaulme.* A.
[3] *lequel.* B.
[4] *soubz sa seignourie.* B.
[5] *noble.* B.

et subjuguie[1] pluiseurs royaulmes et pais tellement que jusques en la haulte et basse Ermenie[2] ses commandemens estoient fais et adcomplis.[3] Or advint que un jour lui[4] estant en sa cite dAnthioce fut[5] forment oppresse et requis de ses barons adfin que il se volsist marier[6] pour avoir lingnie et hoir[7] qui apres son trespas[8] maintenist se royaulmes[9] et seignouries. A ceste[10] requeste a luy faicte par ses barons senclina le roy Diodicias assez legierement, pourceque la ditte supplication estoit raisonnable. Or avoit Diodicias ung sien oncle qui estoit roy de Cirenne lequel avoit a non[11] Albana et avoit une fille que pour lors on tenoit la plus belle, la plus sage,[12] la plus humble et la plus courtoise que feust en tout le monde, de laquelle se sa beaulte et toutes ses vertues voloye escripre[13] trop y poroie mettre. Le roy Diodicias sachant ceste damoiselle estre tant belle et bien adreschie la desira moult a avoir sur toutes aultres, nonobstant ce quelle feust sa cousine germaine, fille son oncle. Il envoia[14] ses messages par devers le roy Albana, les quelz esploitairent telement au roy Albana que de son gre et consentement, en grant et riche appareil ilz emmenerent avec eulx la demoiselle sa fille a leur seigneur le roy Diodicias qui en eult moult grant joye. Sy les recupt[15] moult honnourablement et espousa la damoiselle a la loy paienne et eult de celle noble dame xiiij. moult belles filles dont

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[1] omitted in B.

[2] *es fins de Hibernie la basse et la haulte.* B. *Ermenye la basse et la haute.* C.

[3] *estoient obeis.* C. 2.

[4] *ledit roy.* C. 2.

[5] *fut il moult oppresse et requis par.* C. 2. *Fort oppresse.* B.

[6] *quil se volsist marier.* B. *de soy marier.* C. 2.

[7] *adfin quil eust lignie.* C. 2.

[8] *lui.*

[9] *ses seignouries.* B.

[10] *a ceste request senclina le roy Diodicias.* B. *a laquelle.* C 2.

[11] *apele.* B.

[12] *et mieulz moriginee.* B.

[13] *se toutes ses bonnes meurs et vertus voloye raconter.* B.

[14] *toutesfois il envoia.* B.

[15] *la recheupt.* B.

laisnée et la première d'elles eut[1] nom Albine. Ce[2] Diodicias eut depuis et avec ceste espeuse aultres troix femmes desquelles lune eut nom Manatrie, lautre Meralis,[3] et lautre Canapile. De ces troix femmes eut il xix. filles et troix filz. Et toutes ces quattre roines tenoit il en quattre grans cites, lesquelles il aloit veir quant bon lui sembloit, mais sur toutes estoit la mieulx amee du roy la fille Albana roy[4] de Cyrenne. Sy advint ung jour que le roy Diodicias lui estant en sa cite de Tharse avec la roine[5] sa premiere femme volente lui prinst de mander[6] et assambler illec toutes ses filles, et[7] avec ce fist escripere ses lettres et mandemens par lesquelz il mandoit tous ses roys,[8] princes et admirauls que ilz venisent vers luy et que la[9] il voloit celebrer une feste a ses dieux. Les lettres envoiez partout ce receuptes par les princes, sans ozer faire quelque refus vinrent au jour qui leur estoit mande par le roy Diodicias en la cite de Tharse Et pareillement y vindrent ses aultres troix femmes et avecques elles toutes leurs filles lesquelles furent receutes du roy et de la royne en grant leesse et jubilation, et ainsi a ceste journee[10] se trouverent ensamble les quattre roynes et leurs xxxiii. filles qui toutes estoient en eage[11] de marier. De la beaulte qui en elles estoit nest ja besoing de faire long compte, fors tant seulement de Albine laisnee de toutes, car il se treuve[12] en listoire que en son temps ne fut veue la pareille, de grandeur,

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[1] Here occurs a transposition of the leaves of MS. A. observed throughout the first book.

[2] *ce roy Dyodicias eut depuis ancores vivant ceste espouse autres trois dames.* B.

[3] *Menalis.* B.

[4] C. 2.

[5] *icelle roine sa femme.* C. 2.

[6] *denvoyer querrer.* C. 2.

[7] *et fist escripre lettres.* C. 2.

[8] *roys* omitted in B. and C. 2.

[9] *que la.* A.B. car en la dite cite de Tharsse. C. 2.

[10] *feste.* C. 2.

[11] *eage competent pour estre maries.* B.

[12] *listoire raconte.* C. 2.

de beaulte et de forche, fors[1] seulement quelle avoit ung regard tres felon. Mais quant est au demourant de plus belles faitures de corps et de menbres, nen estoit nulle alors vivant qui de beaulte la[2] passast; pourquoy elle fut desiree de pluiseurs princes et roys. Toutes ces damoiselles qui estoient seurs sentracointierent lune de lautre par une vraie amour qui adche faire les henortoit.[3] Et toutes se tierrent[4] vers Albine comme[5] a celle qui estoit leur aisnee seur, laquelle courtoisement et bien les sceut recuellier. Toutes ces damoiselles furent sages, courtoises et bien moriginees selon lapparence exteriore, sycque[6] au roy Diodicias leur pere en sorti et multeplia joie et plaisir en grant habondance pourquoy il proposa en sa pense de les marier, pourveu[7] quelles estoient en eage asses competent, considerant[8] que en icelle feste et assamblee estoient de moult haulx princes plus que long tempz paravant on navoit veuz. Ceste[9] feste fut moult noblement ordonnee et conduite, durant laquelle le roy Diodicias exploita tant bien sa besongne que toutes ses filles il maria a roys et princes de grant exellence qui là estoient venus, lesquelz se tindrent a bieneureux destre parvenus par ce moyen si prochains du roy Diodicias que davoir ses filles a femmes,[10] de laquelle adventure ilz regratierent les

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[1] *mais elle avoit le regard tres felon et sambloit estre moult fiere, mais quant au demourant de plus belles faitures de membres nen estoit nulle vivant; pourquoy.* B.

[2] *le.* A.

[3] *qui a ce faire les enhortoit.* B.

[4] *trairent.* B.

[5] *comme a leur aisnee.* C. 2.

[6] *Si en multiplia au roi Diodicias leur pere joie et plaisir.* B.

[7] *puis que elles estoient en eage asses competent.* B. Omitted in C. 2.

[8] *Le roi doncques considerant que en icelle feste et assemblee.* B. *icelle assemblee.* C. 2.

[9] *Celle.* C. 2.

[10] *espouses, de laquelle adventure ilz regratierent leurs dieux.* B. *femmes, si regratierent les dieux.* C. 2.

dieulx moult haultment. Alors[1] ces noepces faittes commenca la feste parmi le palaix et aussy par toute la cite sy grande et sy plentureuze que long tempz paravant la pareille navoit este veue. Ce roy Diodicias perchevant[2] que la divine providence lez dieux lavoient ainsy pourveu et accepte ses prieres, leur celebra et fist grans sacrefices, en les humblement remerciant de ce que ainsy en sa plaine vie[3] laxaucerent par deseure tous les aultres roys terriiens, especialment a la deesse Fortune quil avoit en especiale recommandation, laquelle a son advis lui avoit este amyce, en tant que il veoit toutes ces filles sy grandement aliees. Toute ingratitude contempnee, les dieux selon la faculte a lui prestituee les dieulx, comme dessus est touchie, humblement regratia. Ceste[4] grande feste accomplie et parfaitte tous les princes[5] et les beaulxfilz du roy Diodicias qui avoient ses filles espousees prindrent congie de luy et des quattre roynes leurs meres qui moult grant duel en demenèrent pour cause du departement de leurs filles. Les princes

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[1] *Alors commenca la feste par le palaix et parmie la cite.* C. 2.

[2] *perchevant que par la divine providence ceste provision lui estoit venue, il celebra et fist a ses dieux grans sacrefices en les remerciant.* B. *doncques voyant que les dieux lavoient ainsy pourveu et ses requestes ainsi exaulcies leur celebra sacrifices en les remerciant.* C. 2.

[3] *vie . . . . . si noblement mariees. Doncques toute ingratitude contempnee les dieux selon la faculte a lui prestituee humblement regratia.* B. *vie au dessus de tous roys terriiens il se veoit exaulcie, especialment la deese Fortune qui lui avoit este amye, cest assavoir que en son vivant il veoit toutes ses filles si noblement assenees. Toute ingratitude contempnee, les dieux selon sa faculte humblement regratia.* C. 2.

[4] *Ceste tres solempnele feste accomplie.* B. *Ceste feste et solempnite adcomplie.* C. 2.

[5] *princes, beaulz filz du roi Diodecias, et les autres qui venus estoient a son mandement, prindrent congie . . . . . roynes ses femmes qui . . . . . departement de leurs filles.* B. *Roys, beaulx fils . . . . . congie de luy et de leurs meres qui en demenerent grant doeul au departement.* C. 2.

emmencrent chascun sa femme en sa contree ou elles furent recheues[1] chascune en droit soy comme roynes et dames de tout le pais ou elles estoient colloques et la furent une espace avec leurs maris. Or advint que ung jour dame Albine molt desplaisant[2] et tristre de soy veoir eslongie[3] de la court du roy son pere ou chascun jour on veoit de sy grans estas et sy belles festes tenir, et si grant habondance de biens et de ricesses, et tant de nobles princes y venir chascun jour et que ore[4] se veoir au regard delle et hault lieu dont elle estoit issue si bassement mariee, elle conchupt en soymeismes ung couroux mervilleux en desdaignant son mari par tel fachon que en riens ne lui voloit obeir ne faire ses commandemens. En oultre, pour parseverer[5] en sa mauvaiste envoia lettres par[6] secres messages devers toutes ses seurs, esquelles lettres estoit contenu la maniere et comment elles se debvoient maintenir[7] avec leurs maris. Lesquelles lettres par elles veues et regardees legierement senclinerent a faire le commandement de leur seur aisnee et par la maniere que elle leur avoit mande. Et en especial dame Albine voult du tout user a sa propre volente, car selon

[1] *feurent recheues, chascune en son endroit comme il apartenoit, aux magnificences de elles. Et la furent une espace avec les roiz leurs maris.* B. *si emmenerent leurs femmes en leurs contrees ou elles feurent receues chascune a par soy comme dames et roynes des pais ou elles estoient collocquies, ou elles furent une espace avecq leur maris.* C. 2.

[2] *doulente.* B.

[3] eslongi due roy son pere ou chascun jour elle avoit acoustume de veoir si grans estas et tant de belles festes tenu. C 2.

[4] *que ores se veoit . . . . . que en riens. B. que ore au regard delle et du hault lieu dontelle estoit issue elle se veoit si bassement mariee, elle conceut en soy un courroux merveilleux, en desdaignant son mari le tenoit en despit tellement que en riens.* C. 2.

[5] *vouloir perseverer.* C. 2.

[6] *par ses secrets messaiges a chascune de ses soeurs.* C. 2.

[7] *maintendroient avecques leurs maris. A le teneur desquelles quant elles les eurent veues, senclinerent legierement, especiallement dame Albine.* C. 2.

son propre arbitre voloit deduire ses operations et maniere de vivre en divers malices et enormites. Et ses seurs pareillement[1] a lincitement et enhortement delle qui de ce faire les admoneste et pareillement et a conduite trangressans les termes de raison et justice. Si mal se gouvernerent toutes en orgueil, fierete et voloir trop soudain devers eulx et tant cruelement que merveilles. Et la cause pourquoy il se faisoit ainsy fut pourceque leurs maris nestoient point de sy haulx lieux[2] procrees comme elles estoient. Les princes et roys maris des devant dittes dames moult troublez en cuer des manieres que leurs femmes tenoient vers eulx souvent les chastierent par dons et promesses, les admonesterent cordialement en bien et en amistie adfin quelles se amendassent de leur orgueil et follie, mais ce fut pour neant car elles volrent de plus en plus adcomplir leurs dampnables et enormes volentes en toutes manieres a leur pooir au prejudice et controversie de leurs seigneurs. Pour quoy les[3] xxxiii. princes, maris dicelles dames, les battirent cruellement, cuidans que par telles corrections apertes elles se deussent convertir et amender.[4] Mais leurs

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[1] *pareillement . . . . . fierete et vouloir soudain devers leurs dis seigneurs maris, et si cruellement que merveilles. Et la cause qui a ce faire les mouvoit fut.* B. *Aussi a lincitement et enhort delle, transgressans les termes de raison, sy mal se gouvernerent toutes en orgueil et en malice devers leurs maris que cestoit merveilles a veoir. Et la cause qui a ce faire les meut fut.* C. 2.

[2] *hault lieu comme doit le roy Dioditias leur pere, or doncques les roys et princes dessusdits, maris des dites dames, perchevant les manieres que leurs femmes tenoient envers eult, furent mouet troubles en cuer, si les enchastoierent souvent par dons et promesses, primerement les admonestant cordiallement et en admistie, en intencion de leur retirer de leur orgueil.* C. 2.

[3] *les ditz xxxiii. princes, maris dycelles, voians que par bel ne les pourroient seduire, les battirent cruellement.* B. *les xxxiii. . . . . maris dicelles dames seurz les battirent cruellement.* A. *les ditz maris dicelles seurs, les battirent par pluiseurs foiz.* C. 2.

[4] *convertir et amender. Mais leur coustumes . . . . leurs commandemens de leurs dessus dis maris. Or*

coustumes furent telles que par quelquez beaulx admonestemens ne par riguers nen volrent en riens changier ne amender leurs meurs, ains senforcerent de plus en plus de transgresser les commandemens de leurs dessus dis maris. Or doncques ce veant le roy que Albine avoit espousee rescripsi et manda en secret au roy Diodicias son beau-pere les manieres que tenoit sa femme vers lui, et semblablement firent tous ses serouges. Lequel roy Diodicias oiant les complaintes et doleances que ses beaulxfils faisoient a luy de toutes leurs femmes ses filles, sa face com-

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doncques . . . despiteusement disant ainsy. A. *convertir et amender. Mais ce fut pour neant, car oncques pour quelque chastisement namenderent leurs meurs, anchois sefforcerent de faire pis, transgressant tous leaulx commandemens diceulx leurs maris. Or doncques . . . furent venus au jour inspire, la feste commenca grande et sollempnele, laquelle . . . toutes ses filles venir en sa chambre . . . despiteusement disant en telle maniere.* B. *corrigier et amender.* Ains sefforcoient de contineur de transgresser les commandemens deulx. Laquelle chose voyant le roi qui avoit espousee Albine laisnee des soeurs rescripsuy ces affaires au roy Dioditias son beaupere. Et pareillement en firent les autres roys qui les autres soeurs avoient espousees. Le roy Dioditias oyant ces nouvelles, comment tous les roys maris de ses filles sans nulz excepter se complaingnoient delles, il en eut grant merveille et en fut grandement corroucie. Sy pensa en soy comment il pouvoit faire secretement pour son acquit, en son honneur gardant, et elles corriger et habituer de qualitez vertueuses, produites de bonnes operations. Puis quant il eut ung pou pensse il se delibera quil envoyeroit lettres au dits maris de ses filles quils venissent vers lui et amenaissent avecques eulx leurs femmes a un certain jour quil leur manda ; car il se vouloit acquiter de les chastoier de leur erreur, se il pouvoit par quelque maniere. Iceulx princes ainsi mandes par le roy leur seigneur en bref terme vindrent a Thir, ou il estoit a son mand, car le jour fut brief. Et le roy Dioditias a fait quilz venoissent sans moustrer nul signe de courroux, les receut liement, et fist un jour apres ce que tous furent venus une moult grante feste et plentureuse, a laquelle y eut moult resjoissement se esbatirent. Apres que la feste eut dure trois jours le roy Dioditias manda toutes ses filles que elles venissent parler a lu dedens, ou il les attendoit. Et quant elles y furent venues il les arraisonna en elles blamant de leurs follies moult despiteusement disant en telle maniere. C. 2.

menca de soy embraser et devenir vermeille par lair et indignation que il heult vers ses filles. Sy pensa en soymeismes par quel maniere secretement il poroit icelles corrigier a son honneur et elles habituer de qualitez vertueuses, produites de bonnes operations. Diodicias doncques apres pluiseurs pensees et imaginations eues en soymeisme se delibera adce que il manda aux dis maris de ses filles que tous venissent devers lui et ameneissent leurs femmes avecques eulx a certain jour dont les lettres faisoient mention. Et sapensa que ilz les chastiroit de leur erreur par aulcune bonne maniere se nulement faire le pooit. Or vint le jour preduit par le roy Diodicias que les maris de ses filles, emmesnant avec eulx leurs femmes, devoient venir devers lui, pour laquelle cause il estoit ale en la cite de Thir, adfin de leur estre plus prochain. Ouquel lieu tous les princes vinrent et sy amenerent leurs femmes, ainsy comme il leur estoit ordonne par le roy Diodicias leur beaupere, lequel sans leur moustrer a nulle quelque sygne de couroux ne mautalent les recupt toutes assez liement et en moult grant honneur. Quant tous les princes et les dames furent venus et le jour preduit inspire la feste commenca grande et notable, laquelle dura trois jours, et au quatriesme jour le roy Diodicias manda toutes ses filles venir en sa chambre devers lui, ou tout seul il les atendoit. Et quant elles y furent venues il les araisonna en les blamant de leurs folies, et reprenant despiteusement disant ainsy: " Veue la noblesse paternelle et maternele " dont vous estes issues et procreees, laquelle en vous " doibt resortir et soy demoustrer par haulte preminence, " et comme il soit ainsy que noblesse est vertu,[1] laquelle " est ou doibt estre vertu conjointe, humilite, courtoisie,

[1] *Et comme il soit ainsi que noblesse est vertu, a laquelle doit estre conjointe humilite.* C. 2. | *Pourveu que noblesse est vertu, a laquelle doit estre conjointe humilite.* B.

" debonnairete et leal corage, je mesmerveille[1] dont il " vous vient a estre ainsy soullies, maculees dorgueil, " cruaulte, discorde et presumption contre vos maris. " Et ja soit ce que par la disposition fatale[2] des " planettes de aournement influentes es parties inferiores " vostre inclination naturele tendist adce, toutesfois " vous possessez franche liberte qui vous donne plain " pooir de y resister et produire vos[3] operations contre " telle influences celestes. Pourquoy je vous jure sur les " dieux que[4] se vous ne vous chastiies et amendes, a " tousjours perderez lamour de moy, et en prendray[5] " pugnition si horible que jusques en la fin des siecles " il en sera perpetuele memore."

Cy parle du cruel et enorme conseil que Dame Albine donna a ses seurs. Troizieme Chapitre.

Quant les dames oirent leur pere ainsy parler elles furent moult espoventez pour la honte[6] et crainte de leur pere auquel elles promisrent de elles amender, en lui criant mercy ; et atant se partirent de la[7]

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[1] *je mesmerveille grandement.* B.

[2] *fatale des planettes de aournement.* B. *and* C. 2. *fatale de aornement.* A.

[3] *vos œuvres ou operations contre ces influences.* C. 2.

[4] *que jaoure que se.* C. 2.

[5] *prenderay vengeance on pugnition tant cruelle que.* C. 2.

[6] honte, et crainte de leur pere . . . . mercy. Et atant se partirent. B. *honte et la cruaulte de lui. Si lui crierent mercy en lui promettant amendement de leurs vies, puis se partirent.*

[7] *de la chambre de leur pere . . . . lui distamment advisee de parler, dist.* A. *de sa chambre. Alors dame Albine . . . . les emmena toutes en sa chambre secretement ou nulz nestoit fors elles, puis fist fermer les huis, si sassist et fist asseoir toutes ses seurs entour elle, et lors distamment advisee de parler, leur dist.* B. *de la chambre. Alors dame Albine, enflee de doeul et de courouz merveilleux, emmena toutes ses soeurs en sa chambre, et fist retrare tous ceulx qui estoient ceans fors entre elles seullement, puis fist fermer et verroullier lhuis de la chambre, puis fist seoir ses seurs autour delle, et leur dist.* C. 2.

chambre de leur pere. Alors dame Albine qui estoit enflee de dueil et de couroux plus que nulle de ses seurs se les emmena toutes en sa chambre, puis fist cercier et regarder par leaus si nulz y estoit fors elles. Quant elle vei quelles etoient illecq a prive, elle fist fermer luis de sa chambre, sy sasist et fist seoir ses seurs entour delle. Puis lui distamment advisee de parler, dist : " Mes seurs,[1] bien scavez comment " le roy nostre pere nous a cruellement reprinses et " sy nous veult constraindre de obeir a nos maris, mais " ce ne feray durant ma vie, et la cause sy est pourceque " nous sommes de plus noble sang issues que il ne sont. " Et daultre part poons veoir et congnoistre que ilz " se sont complaindz de nous au roy nostre pere, " cuidans que par quelque maniere nous deust faire " incliner a leurs commandemens et obeissances. Quant " est de ma part ja ne plaise aux dieux de me tant " abaisser jusques la soye menee, car si ainsy estoit quil " me convenist la venir, je esliroye anchois la mort " que vivre en tel estat. Et pourtant, mes seurs, se " en ceste servitude ne voulies estre et que veuillez " doresenavant vivre en franchise et liberte, se croire " mon conseil voliez a laide des dieux nous serons les

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[1] " *Mes seurs vous avez oy comment* " *. . . vivre en franchise et liberte, je* " *le vous aprenderay bien a layde* " *des dieux, se croire voulez mon* " *conseil qui nous fera estre les plus* " *cremues et doubtees dames dOrient.*" B. " *Mes belles seurs, vous avez ouy* " *comment nostre pere nous a aigre-* " *ment reprinses et menassees adfin* " *de nous constraindre a obeir a noz* " *maris, mais ce ne feray je durant* " *ma vie, et la cause je le vous diray,* " *car moi et vous toutes sommes de* " *plus hault lignage et sang royal* " *procrees que nos maris ne sont;* " *de aultre part asses avez peut cong-* " *noistre et apperchevoir que nos* " *dicts maris se sont complainz de* " *nous au roy nostre pere, cuidans* " *que par telles manieres de langaiges* " *ou menasses il nous deust faire* " *. . . . menee, car se la me conve-* " *noit venir ou morir, plus tost je* " *esliroie la mort que ainsi vivre* " *serve . . . . vivre en liberte et* " *franchise je vous conseilleray telle-* " *ment que se mon conseil voules* " *croire nous serons les dames plus* " *cremues et doubtees de tout Orient.*" C. 2.

" plus cremues et doubtees dames dOrient. Ja[1] avez
" assez oy dire par pluiseurs foiz comment les dames de
" Scicie que nous disons les Amazonnes ouvrerent devers
" leur pais maris; elles les dechasserent et bouterent
" hors du royaulme de Sicie et ont[2] attribue a elles
" le dit royaulme, lequel a lencontre de pluiseurs
" roys et princes elles ont defendu et garde par leur
" forche et grant hardiesse. Ne vous souvientil
" aussy comment Hercules et Theseus compagnons
" furent portez jus de leurs destriers par la forche et
" vigeur de Ypolite et Menalipe, nonobstant ce que
" en la fin elles fuissent subjuguies. Sy convint le
" dit Hercules et Thezeus faire traitie avec la royne
" Orthia[3] laquelle fut mere de la royne Phantafilee,[4] sur
" aulcunes promesses que ilz eurent ensamble. Sy ont
" depuis acrut et augmente[5] grandement leur royaulme.
" Pourquoi nest il en nous de ainsy faire? Nous
" sommes xxxiii. seurs et toutes filles dun seul pere,
" qui avons espouse xxxiii. roys[6] lesquelz si nous
" les poons tous mettre a mort nulz ne sera tant
" oze de nous atouchier ne faire chose dont nous
" puissons[7] avoir desplaisir, pour crainte de courou-
" chier le roy nostre pere. Et ceste chose ainsi
" advenue et executee nous assamblerons et esluerons
" toutes les dames et princesses et toutes les femmes

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[1] *Ja avez assez oy dire par pluiseurs foys comment . . . ouvrerent devers leurs maris.* B. *Et adfin de vous moustrer par experience ja aves assez sceu et pluiseurs foiz ouy dire comment . . . . ouvrerent a lencontre de leurs maris.* C. 2.

[2] *lequel elles atribuerent a elles, et a lencontre de pluiseurs puissans roys et princes tout deffendu et garde par leur force et grant hardiesse. Doncques mes soeurs ne vous souvient il comment le preu Hercules et Theseus compagnons darmez furent portez jus de leurs destriers par la vertu et hardement de dame Ypolite et sa compaigne Menalippe.* C. 2.

[3] *Orithyia.*

[4] *Panthafillee.* C. 2. (*Penthesilea.*)

[5] *augmente leur royaume, et eslargy moult grandement.* C. 2.

[6] *maris.* C. 2.

[7] *puissons douloir, pour la grant crainte du roy nostre pere. Et lors quant il seront mors nous esluerons.* C. 2.

" de nos royaulmes qui moult volentiers nous aideront
" adfin destre mises hors de servitude de leur maris.
" Sy ocirons tous les viellars et ceulx qui nous pouroient
" nuyre, puis bouterons hors tous les jeuvenceaulx aus-
" quelz nous baillerons terres et possessions pour
" vivre aupres de nous. Et quant nous les voldrons
" avoir, nous en userons a la maniere que font et ont
" fait jusques a present les Amazones ; puis yrons
" concquerir royaulmes et empires et tant ferons que
" nul prince tant soit grant ne puissant qui sozat
" eslever alencontre de nous ne nous faire guerre.
" Et quant est que davoir doubte du roy nostre pere
" se la chose estoit advenue, il le passeroit legierement,
" car desia viellesse lapproche moult qui seroit la cause
" de refraindre[1] son yre, et aussy jamais ne trouveroit
" homme qui conseil lui donnast de nous destruire.
" Et quant ainsy seroit que a ceste cause[2] il nous
" voulsist courre sus, sy avons nous asses puissance
" de resister alencontre de lui."

Alors[3] toutes ces dames oiant Albine leur seur aisnee ainsy parler sacorderent a son conseil et voulente comme a celle que sur toutes riens cremoient a courouchier pour la grant cruaulte quelles sentoient estre en elle. Sy[4] prinst lune des seurs la parolle et demanda a Albine quant et comment ceste chose se pouroit faire. Sur quoy elle respondy et dist: " Mes
" chieres seurs, desoremais convient que chascune de
" nous face a son mari toute la chiere et honneur que
" bonnement faire lui pora[5] en obeissant du tout a leur

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[1] *restraindre.* C. 2.

[2] *cause, nous prendroit en hayne, si avons.* B. *cause il nous vouldroit courir sus assez avons.* C. 2.

[3] *Lors toutes icelles dames soeurs oyant le conseil et ennort de Albine aisnee delles si accorderent, car elles le doutoient et cremoient a corrouchier sur toutes riens pour la grand cruaulte quelles sennoient estre et elle.* C. 2.

[4] *Si demanda lune des dictes soeurs a Albine.* C. 2.

[5] *pourrons.* C. 2.

" voulentes durans le temps que nous serons en ceste " cite. Sy cuideront[1] que ce procede de la correction " du roy nostre pere ; pourquoy[2] en brief temps vous " les verrez monter[3] en orgueil et nous vouloir tenir " en grant subgection. Or doncques se ainsy le veulent " faire alors aurons nous juste cause de adcomplir noz " voulentes et sy en aurons par ce moiien legierement " le pardon au roy nostre pere. Et pourtant face " chascune de nous pourveance dun[4] fort coutel bien " trenchant adfin que une nuyt quant noz maris seront " endormis nous les coppons a tous les gorges. Mais[5] " avant premierement ce que furnissons nostre emprinse " nous convient il estre venues a Damas dont je sui " dame et roine ou[6] je ferai pour la venue de vous[7] " feste en ung palaix bel et spacieulx que jay seant " au mylieu des gardingtz de Damas audehors de la " cite, ou nous leur ferons la meilleure chiere que " porrons adfin que de nous ne se prengnent[8] garde. " Sy sachies pour certain que apres la chose adcomplie " ny aura homme en la cite tant soit hardi qui " alencontre de nous se oze eslever ne faire chose qui " nous doye tourner a desplaisir."

Quant dame Albine eut ainsy incite et admonneste ses seurs a destruire leurs maris elle fist chascune delles solempnellement jurer et promettre sur leurs dieux[9] de

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[1] *Sy cuideront les chetifs que.* C. 2.

[2] *puis en brief terme vous les verres eslever en orgueil, contendant de nous tenir en leur subjection. Et alors se ainsi le vuellent faire auront nous.* C. 2.

[3] *enorguillir.* B.

[4] *dun couteau fort et trenchant affin que quant lheure sera venue nous en coppons les gorges de nos maris en leur dormant. Mais premierement aincois que furnissons.* C. 2. *coustel.* B.

[5] *mais anchois que furnissons.* B.

[6] *Et la feray pour la venue de vous et de voz maris une moult grant feste en ung mien pallaix qui la est grant et somptueux scitue ou milieu des jardins dehors la cite.* C. 2.

[7] *vous et de voz maris.* B.

[8] *ne se prendent quelque garde.* B.

[9] *dieux de non jamais reveler leur emprinse, ains la parsievuir ainsi comme conclut lavoient, la quelle chose elles promirent toutes et jurerent de ladcomplir ; puis apres ce conseil prins et fine se partirent.* C. 2.

ceste chose adcomplir ainsy quelle lavoit en leur presence[1] propose et de jamais lemprinse reveler. A quoy toutes sacorderent et jurerent et promisrent de le ainsy faire, puis apres leur parlement fine se partirent de la chambre et vinrent[2] ou pallaix ou le roy leur pere et leurs maris estoient assamblez. Quant la furent venues le roy Diodicias leur pere leur moustra signe de tres grant amour et aussy firent leurs maris quant ilz les veirent estre par semblant sy humbles. Pensant que par ladmonnestement de leur pere elles estoient du tout entierement amolies, dont[3] ilz furent moult joieux, sy se penserent[4] que ainsy leur conviendroit entretenir subjettes et que se ainsy leussent fait du premier, jamais ne se fussent eslevees en orgueil.[5] Cette premiere nuyt furent moult debonnairement avecques elles leur dits maris, sans leur moustrer aulcun[6] signe de rigeur, mais en briefs jours apres changerent[7] de propos et maniere, sy les commencierent a tenir plus court et plus serves que jamais navoient fait, laquele chose leur venoit moult a rebours, mais[8] elles le souffrirent par leur malice adfin de avoir cause de achever leur emprinse dampnable. Or doncques les maris veans que leurs femmes estoient changies de fierete a humilite en furent moult joieux, cuidans estre du tout audeseure[9] delles. Sy[10] advint que ung

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[1] *en leur presence revele et propose sans ce rompre ne en caser.* B.

[2] *vinrent en le salle.* B.

[3] *de quoy.* C. 2.

[4] sy sappensa chacun en soy meismes. C. 2.

[5] tel orgueil. C. 2.

[6] *quelque rigeur.* C. 2.

[7] *changerent ils tous leurs propos et les commencerent de tenir.* C. 2.

[8] Combien quelles le souffrirent par malice adfin de trouver le temps plus convenable de achever leur dampnable emprinse. Sique les dits seigneurs voyans quelles estoient changies.

[9] *audessus.* B.

[10] Sy advint que ung jour ilz proposerent ensamble de leur ramentevoir la grande rudesse que autreffoiz faite leur avoient, et ainsi le firent, la quele chose Albine endura a grant paine, si respondy fierement a son mary qui le frappa du poinc au visage. B. Pourquoy ilz proposerent ensamble de un

jour ilz proposerent ensamble de leur ramentevoir la rude voye et maniere que aultresfois a lencontre de eulz elles avoient tenu, et ainsy le firent, dont Albine souffrit a moult grant paine, sy respondi fierement a son mari, lequel incontinent le feri de la main au visage dont elle fut moult dolente et eust a ceste heure bien voulu avoir acheve son emprinse ; mais ceste fois se tient atant sans ung seul mot respondre. Et pareillement [1] firent tous les roys maries des aultres seurs car ceste nuyt nen yeult nulle qui eschappast que de son mari nen eust autant ou plus.

Ceste nuit doncques se passa jusques a lendemain [2] que tous raconterent au roy Diodicias leur beau pere comment ilz avoient besoingnie ceste nuyt passee, lequel en fut moult joieulx et leur enjoinst expressement que ainsy les entretenissent jusques adceque tout lorgueil qui en elles estoit fust abatu. Ceste [3] chose fut tantos noncie a dame Albine et a ses seurs qui en furent [4] moult tourblees sy nen penserent pas moins mais en souffrirent lespace dun mois entier que la furent sejournantz. Puis apres prinrent congie du roy Diodicias leur pere, qui a leur departement leur donna de beaulx dons.

Ainsy comme [5] vous oez se departirent celle noble compaignie, sy monterent en mer et sen tira le roy

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jour leur ramentevoir le voye que autreffois . . . . . le firent ce que dame Albine endura a grant paine, ains respondy rudement a son mary, et il le fery incontinent de la main au visage. C. 2.

[1] Et pareillement en firent tous les roys maris des aultres seurs. Ceste nuit doncques se passa. B. Et pareillement en firent les autres roys, car tous ensamble lavoient ainsi propose de faire, ne en celle nuit nen eut nulle qui eschappast que de son mary ne fust ferrie autant ou plus comme elle. Ceste nuit se passa. C. 2.

[2] *lendemain que les dis roynes racompterent au roy Dyoditias leur beau pere la maniere comment ilz avoyent leurs femmes chastiees, lequel en fut moult joyeulx.* C. 2.

[3] ceste chose fut tantos nunchie a dame Albine. B. Et ceste chose fut racomptee a Albine. C. 2.

[4] *furent moult troublees.* B. *eurent le coeur grandement trouble.* C. 2.

[5] comme vous oez se departirent . . . et les rois ses beaux filz aveques

Diodicias en cite de Tharse dont il estoit sire, et les aultres roys et leurs femmes sacheminerent vers Damas dont le mary de Albine estoit roy, et elle dame et roine, laquelle fut moult joieuse de ce que le roy son pere sen aloit vers Tharse et lui sembla que trop mieux [1] et plus secretement poroient furnir leur emprinse que sy leur estoit plus prochain. Ainsy [2] doncques cheminerent ensamble les princes et leurs femmes et la roine Albine, qui mie [3] ne dormoit ains toujours ymaginoit a son emprinse. Quant ilz vinrent a demi-journee pres de Damais, elle par samblant faintif a chiere moult joieuse se trayst vers son mari et lui dist: " Sire, " noz seurs et nos freres qui sont yci venus avecques " nous, avant leur departement convient [4] quilz soient " festoyes car dedens longtempz nay esperance de les " ainsy veoir tous ensamble; sy conseilleroye, se bon " vous sembloit, que eulx tous et nous avec eulx nous " alons [5] logier ensamble ou pallaix des gardingz [6] sans " aler au pallaix de la cite, et leurs gens et les nostres " logeront leurs corps et leurs chevaulx en la ville; sy

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leurs femmes errerent vers Damas . . . . moult joieuse. B. comme vous oues se departy la courte, apres le quel departement le roy Dioditias fist apprester son oirre si entra en mer et sen alla en sa cite de Tharse, dont il estoit seigneur. Et les aultres roys avec leurs femmes apres le congie prindrent leur chemin vers la cite dont Albine estoit dame a cause de son mary, la quelle fut moult joyeuse. C. 2.

[1] mieulx et plus secretement et seurement poroient. B. mieux et plus secretement en pourroient. C. 2.

[2] Ainsy doncques cheminerent ensamble les princes et princesses leurs femmes et la royne Albine qui mie ne dormoit . . . . et lui dist. B. Sy chevaucherent tout les seigneurs et dames des susdis que a un giste sez se leverent a demije lieue pres de Damas. Alors dame Albine par samblans faintifs a chiere moult joyeuse vint a son mary et lui dist. C. 2.

[3] pas. A.

[4] convient festoyer en nostre terre car possible est que de cy a long temps ne nous trouverons ainsi tous enssamble comme maintenant nous commes, si conseilleroie au moins se bon vous sembloit. C. 2.

[5] allissons. C. 2.

[6] jardins de ceste noble ville de Damas sans entrer dedens la cite et leurs gens et les nostres sen yront logier leurs corps. C. 2.

" les festoirons illec et ferons avec eulx bonne chiere. " Et pour ce, sire, se bon vous semble, on envoiera " vostre seneschal et vos fouriers devant pour faire " ordonner[1] et preparer chambres et salles, et pourveir " tout ce quil sera besoing pour eulx recepvoir." Alors[2] le roy Sardicia de Damas, mari de Albine, moult liement lui respondy que de ce faire estoit dacord[3] que elle disoit, et luy scavoit grant gre de cest advertissement. Adonc Albine aiant lottroy de son mary appella ung sien feable serviteur auquel elle commanda que il sen alast a Damas devers un sien apoticaire auquel elle avoit grant confidence,[4] et lui escripvi que il feist beuvrages mestionnez de pluiseurs herbes et de diverses espices confites de sucre et de sinamonne, lequel beuvrage estoit tant dilicieux a boire que on ne sen pooit sauler[5] mais tantost aprez que on lavait beu on ne desiroit que dormir. Le serviteur desirant dadcomplir le commandement de sa maistresse, nen sachant la cause[6] ne pourquoy il aloit, fors ce quil pensoit que cestoit pour aulcunes besoingnes comme

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[1] *ordonner chambres et parer salles et pourveoir tout ce que mestier sera pour les recepvoir.* C. 2.

[2] Adonc le roi Sardacia, mary de Albine. C. 2.

[3] *estoit dacord ainsi que propose lavoit, et lui scavoit grant gre de ceste son advertence. Adonc Albine . . . . a Damas. B. estoit content, et que grant gre lui scavoit de cest advisement. Ainsi que propose fut ilz le firent. Et lors Albine appella un sien secret serf serviteur lequel elle ordonna a aller a Damas.* C. 2.

[4] *confidence, et lui escripvi quil mestionnast beuvrages.* B. *confidence, en lui priant que il lui feist bivraiges mistionnes.* C. 2.

[5] *sciouler, mais tantost quon en avoit beu un pou largement on ne desiroit que dormir.* B. *sciouller, mais dedens une heure que on lavoit beut on ne desiroit que a dormir.* C. 2.

[6] cause qui le mouvoit de ce faire si non a bonne equite pour conjouyr et festoyer ses freres et soeurs. Car ainsi lavoit on acoustume de faire es grans convives es souppers des princes, et ainsi elle bailla dudict fait lettres scelles au dit serviteur adreschant a son apoticaire de Damas lequel les letres leues tout au long dist au messagier que le commandement de sa dame seroit acomply sans nulle faulte. C. 2.

confitures ou estranges beuvrages [1] que alors on avoit acoustume de faire es grans convives, dignerz, soupers et banquetz que les roys et princes faisoient pour festoyer leurs amis. Mais Albine, qui moult subtille estoit, le faisoit pour son dampnable pourpos et voulente mettre a fin et effet. Quant le dit apoticaire eut receu les lettres de sa dame,[2] il froissa la cire, si les visita tout au long, puis dist au messager quil le recommandast a sa dame et lui desist que sans faulte nulle son commandement seroit adcompli.

Comment Albine et ses seurs coperent les gorges a leurs maris, excepte la plus josne [3] *delles qui pour lors les racusa.* QUATRIESME CHAPITRE.

APRES le departement du messagier dame Albine et ses seurs eurent une congregation ensamble ou de rechief leur fist jurer et promettre dentretenir le conseil [4] devant dit, et nen y eult nulles delles qui au contraire voulsist aler [5] et le promirent encoires de rechief a lentretenir. Puis quant ce vint lendemain les princes et leurs femmes se mirent a chemin vers Damas ou ilz furent receuz par les citoyens et bourgois en grant honneur ; sy sen alerent [6] descendre au pallaix qui lors estoit assiz ou milieu des gardings de Damas. Quant la furent arrivez ils trouverent leurs chambres prestes et pareez moult ricement et chascun a par soy. Sytost

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[1] beuvrages dont on uzoit plente en ce temps es grans convives disners soupers et banquetz. B.

[2] dame, et ycelles visitees tout au long il dist au messagier, " re- " commandez moy humblement a " madame et luy dites que." B.

[3] *jeune.* C. 2.

[4] *conseil paravant entre elles prins.* C. 2.

[5] *aler, ains dirent toutes que bien feroient leur devoir. Lendemain apres messe et boire se misrent les princes et princesses a chemin vers Damas.* B.

[6] vindrent ou pallaix. C. 2.

que le diner fut prest ilz sassirent. Puis quant ce vint apres diner quilz furent levez de la table,[1] ilz prindrent tous a deviser chascun endroit soy et passerent ainsy le temps jusques il fut tempz de soupper, lequel fut grant et plentureux, et y furent servis de pluiseurs mets et divers entremetz. Le soupper adcompli,[2] se leverent de la table et sen alerent esbatre et deporter es gardingz. Puis Albine, qui moult estoit subtille, fist aporter le beuvrage[3] quelle avoit fait ordonner a lapoticaire pour les princes auquelz il sembla si bon et dilicieux a boire quilz en prinrent tous si largement que plus desirent[4] dormir et reposer que aultre chose faire, telement que chascun deulz fut constraint de soy aler couchier.

Dame Albine, qui assez tost perceust lestat ouquel ilz estoient, enjoint bien expressement a ses seurs quelles toutes au premier somnie de leurs maris achevassent chascune endroit soy ce quelles avoient entreprins. Et atant sen departirent lune de lautre, sy sen alerent chascune en sa chambre couchier avec[5] leurs maris, lesquelz elles trouverent ja dormans si tresfort que merveilles. Quant dame Albine, qui grant desir avoit de son emprinse achever, vey que heure estoit de ce faire, et qu'elle nooit[6] plus personne

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[1] de table, chascun deux se mist a devises et passerent le temps jusques a leure du soupper. C. 2.

[2] *apres soupper ilz.* C. 2.

[3] *Et aprez lespice prinse dame Albine, qui moult estoit soubtille, fist aporter aux princes le beuvrage mestionne, ausquelz il sembla.* B. *Puis Albine, qui moult estoit soutille, fist apporter le buvrage quelle avoit fait ordonner aux barons qui estoient aux jardins, sy en burent tous les roys et princes ausquelz il sembla.* C. 2.

[4] quil ny eut cellui qui plus ne desirast daler dormir que soy deduire avecq sa femme, tellement que tous furent constrains dalers couchier. C. 2.

[5] *avec son mary* desquelz les aucuns dormoient si tresfort que merveilles : et les autres sendormirent tantost apres. Quant. C. 2.

[6] *noioit.* B.

par[1] le pallaix, elle, garnie dun coutel bien trenchant, vint au roy Sardacia son mari sy li coppa la gorge. Et pareillement firent toutes ses aultres seurs excepte la plus josne delles qui[2] le mieulz amoit son mari; laquelle quant elle vint vers son lit neut oncques puissance de faire comme ses seurs, par une grant compunction de pite qui la[3] surmonta; sycque toute vestue elle se laissa ceoir[4] a traverz de son mari comme femme desolee et esperdue. Son mari nonobstant quil dormoit moult fort toutesfois de la grant choite quelle avoit fait sur luy se prinst a esveillier moult effraetment[5] lequel sailli sus, cuidant que sa femme euist aulcun inconvenient ou maladie, pourquoy il l'embracci et la trouva moult fort tramblant, sy voult scavoir delle la cause de sa doleance. La dame pour la grant amour quelle avoit a son mary ne lui oza celer, mais lui raconta tout au loncq lemprinse a quoy dame Albine leur seur aisnee les avoit constraintes, cest a scavoir de jurer la mort a tous leurs maris. " Sy sachies, sire, que se " nullement[6] ma seur Albine eust eu en moy quelque " soupechon de ce descheler elle meust estranglee ou fait " morir; mais par la voulente[7] des dieux oncques en " ma vie neuch volente de vous malfaire. Et en " tant que ceste chose vous ay celee laquelle[8] pour paour " de mort, et aussy pour les grans sermens dont je fus " contrainte de jurer, ne le vous ay oze dire ne reveler. " Sy vous emprie le pardon humblement." Et en ce disant, piteuzement, les yeux plains de larmes se

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[1] *parmy.* B.

[2] *qui moult chierement amoit son mari, car quant.* C. 2.

[3] *le sourmontoit. A. la sourmonta. B.*

[4] *cheoir.* B.

[5] *effraeement.* B. and C. 2. *estraement.* A.

[6] *Se ma seur . . . . en moy nulle soupechon de son emprinse dacouvrir.* C. 2.

[7] *le divin vouloir des dieux.* B.

[8] *ce a este.* C. 2.

getta aux piez de son seigneur, lequel lui pardonna. Hastivement se leva, chaussa et vesti, puis prinst son epee et sen ysirent lui et sa femme du palaix le plus coiement quilz puerent pour la grant paour et crainte de dame Albine et des seurs lesquelles il congnoisoit estre mervileuses.[1] Quant ilz furent descendus les degrez du palaix ilz se prinrent a coure parmy les gardins tant quilz vindrent en la cite ou ilz trouverent toutes leurs gens dormans, lesquelz ilz firent hastivement lever. Daultre part ceulx de la cite sesferoient[2] quant ainsy soudainement oirent le bruit et noize des estrangiers, pourquoy ilz sen coururent armer, cuidans que aulcun debat se fust esleve alencontre de ceulx de la ville par les gens des roys et princes qui y estoient logies ; mais ilz furent tantost advertis de ce qui estoit advenu. Sy commencerent de toutes pars a courir vers le palaix armez et desarmes, ou ilz vindrent sy tres a point quilz trouverent dame Albine et ses seurs dedens la salle toutes prestes pour partir, car tres bien avoient oy le bruit et la noize de ceulx de la cite qui estoient moult fort esmeuz pour la inhumaine[3] cruaulte quelles avoient commis. Lesquelz citoyens se hasterent le plus tost quilz peurent de monter les degres du pallaix,[4] car se les chevaliers et gens qui estoient aux roys leurs maris y fussent venus premiers ils les eussent toutes occises. Or doncques a ceste heure prindrent les citoyens leur dame Albine et toutes ses seurs pour paour que iceulx estrangies en leur fureur ne les occesissent pour la doleur quilz auroient davoir ainsy perdu par elles leurs seigneurs. Sy les emmenerent en la cite ou elles furent bien et saulvement gardees. Et les estrangies, quant ilz furent de ceste

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[1] *de mauvais couraige.* C. 2.
[2] *seffraierent.* B.
[3] *grant.* C. 2.
[4] *pallaix et venir a elles, car.* C. 2.

male adventure advertis, vindrent es chambres de leurs maistres ou ilz les trouverent piteusement murdriz. Alors encommencierent les pleurs et cris moult hault a eslever pour la mort des princes, mais ilz ne les peurent[1] ravoir. Sy misrent a point les corps et les embasmerent; les aulcuns furent emportes en leurs contrees et les aulcuns furent illec ensepvelis,[2] et leur fist on obseques et funerailles a la loi paienne et puis a grans cris, regretz et lamentations les mirent en leur sarcus.[3] Tantost[4] apres par seurs messages le firent scavoir au roy Diodicias pere des dames, quy de ces nouvelles demena grant doleur et fist serment que toutes les feroit ardoir[5] se il les povoit tenir. Lors envoia par ses messagiers lettres a tous ses amis et aliez que ses filles fussent toutes prinses[6] ou quelles fussent, et amenees a lui. Quant ceulx de Damas eurent leu les lettres du roy Diodicias, pour paour de le courouchier, se preparerent et ordonnerent; sy prindrent toutes les seurs et emmenerent en la cite de Thir, ou ilz trouverent le roy Diodicias; lequel ne voult pas veoir ses filles pour la grant mauvaistie et mortel trahison quelles avoient fait aux personnes de leurs maris, ains commanda quelles feussent mises en prison bien estroitement. Puis assambla son conseil, roys,[7] princes et barons pour scavoir et enquerir deulz quel justice ou pugnition[8] il leur sembloit quelles deussent porter; mais quant est a luy il dist tout hault en audience quelles estoient dignes de morir par feu. La chose fut

[1] *peurent mie pourtant ravoir. Si sapaiserent au mieulz quils peurent, embausmerent les corpz dont les aucuns furent portez en leurs contrees et les autres illec ensepvelis, ou on leur fist.* B.

[2] *enterres a Damas.* C. 2.

[3] *sarculz.* B. *Sarrecus.* C. 2.

[4] *Puis incontinent.* C. 2.

[5] *ardoir en feu. Lors.* C. 2.

[6] *prinses, et amenees a lui comment quil feust.* B.

[7] *rois, ducs, princes.* B.

[8] *pugnition justiciale.* B.

moult fort debatue en conseil tant que ilz sacorderent ensamble pourcequelles estoient de sang royal issues et aussy toutes filles de leur seigneur les jugierent[1] finer leurs vyes en perpetuel exil, exepte la plus josne qui avoit a son mari revele et descouvert la trayson: laquelle[2] lui fut rendue. Et dame Albine avec toutes les aultres seurs furent condempnees[3] estre mises en un batel sur mer sans mast[4] et sans voille, garnie de vivres pour un demi an entier.[5] Quant le jugement fut fait, les xxxii. seurs furent menees en la nef qui leur estoit appareillie, mais au partir du pallaix elles getterent de moult haulz cris, sicque le roy[6] Diodicias qui estoit pere fut constraint despandre larmes de ses yeulx qui en grant habondance lui couroient parmy la face ; pourquoy il se traist en une tour adfin de non plus oir les piteux regretz de ses filles. Le roy Diodicias doncques sachans ses filles estre dedens le batel sur la mer encommenca en soy moult doulereusement a complaindre et lamenter, et dist: " O dure predestinacion ! o fortune tres miserable " et cruaulte innarrable ![7] o perdicion irreparable ![8] " las ! moy qui eust cuidie les dieux avoir dispose " aulcunes mauldites passions et qualitez tant vicieuses " pour supediter et subjuguier corage royal procrée de " noblesce tellement[9] quil en conviengne en moy estre " causee privation de tout bien, plaisir et resconfort " a tousjours ; mais, o fortune impermanente, incon-

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[1] *leur seigneur les jugierent quon ne les feroit pas morir honteusement, ains seroient condempnees de uzer leurs vyes en perpetuel exil.* B. *leur seigneur que pas nappartenoit delles faire morir, mais ils les jugierent finer . . . . exil.* C. 2.

[2] *laquelle lui fut rendue.* A. Omitted in B. *Cest fut laissie a son mari.* C. 2.

[3] *furent condempnees.* B.

[4] *mast.* B. and C. 2. Omitted in A.

[5] *seulement.* B.

[6] *le roy leur pere, qui les oyt.* B.

[7] *innarrable.* B. and C. 2. *innumerable.* A.

[8] *irreparable.* C. 2. *irrecomparable.* A.

[9] *tellement.* C. 2. Omitted. A.

" stante, et trop muable, par lespace daulcunes revo-
" lutions[1] firmamentales, tu mas este doulce et assez
" favorissant en toutes mes besongnes, mais mainte-
" nant jus de ta volumble roe[2] tu mas tourne sy a
" cop de hault en bas et moustre la face totalement
" olumbree de fummosite, sicque je ne cuide[3] pas que
" par ta puissance totale au centeple multiplie tu me
" peussez restituer en lestat[4] procedent. O meschans
" femmes qui vous a peu mouvoir dainsy voloir con-
" tumuler[5] vostre condempnation eternele et la mienne
" et labregiation[6] de mes jours!" Ainsy le roy Dio-
dicias, pere de ces cruelles femmes, se lamentoit, soy reputant estre le plus maleureux roy qui oncques rengna soulx le firmament. Or vous laiserons de parler de ce chetif roy[7] qui uza le demourant de ses jours en dolereuses complaintes et lamentations.

Cy devise comment dame Albine et ses seurs arriverent en une isle laquelle elles nommerent Albion pour Albine, et depuis par Bructus qui la concquist eult nom Bretaigne la Grant et a present se nomme Engleterre pour Englist. CHINCQUISME CHAPITRE.

APRES ce que dame Albine et ses seurs furent mises sus la mer en un bateau, un vent souef se leva venant et naissant entre Grec et Levant qui les espanit et eslonga les terres tellement que en peu deure ceulx qui estoient sur le rivage, sur les tours et bretesches de la

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[1] *revolutions.* B. and C. 2. *irrevolutions.* A.
[2] *voluble roe.* B. and C. 2.
[3] *pense.* B.
[4] *en mon estat precedent.* B.
[5] *accumuler.* C. 2.
[6] *avec labreviation.* B. and C. 2.
[7] *Or vous laisons de parler de lui qui uza.* B.

cite de Thir pour les regarder, en perdirent la vue ; sy les commanderent au dieu Neptunus. Et atant nagerent a vent et a fortune ainsy comme Dieu le voult consentir quelles passerent la mer jusques aux destroix de Maroch. Quant la furent arrivees, moult bien cuiderent perir pour les grans vens et tempestes qui ou destrois des mers de Levant et Ponent sassambloient, et especialement de pluiseurs monstres marins qui illec les assaillirent, car pour lors oncques homme vivant ne sy estoit oze trouver fors le preu Hercules qui environ vi. ans paravant les avoit passez. Mais finablement icelles dames corageuses et bateilleresses les passerent par force et tant exploitierent quelles entrerent en la grant mer Occeane moult lassees et traveillies. Alors elles aiant souvenance du pais [1] quelles delaissoient ou elles avoient este si souefment nouries et eslevees, et daultre part, aiant en elles recordation des contrees dont elles estoient dames et roines, commencerent a elles doloir et complaindre de leur infortune en reclamant les dieulx, car elles qui se veoient dedens la mer, en peur, en crainte [2] et en peril sans quelque resconfort se prindrent a dementer et faire ung dueil sy grant que merveilles, en decirant leurs cheveux et decordant leurs poings, disant lun a lautre : " Helas ! " qui nous fist estre si petitement conseillies [3] et " advisees que de ainsy piteusement murdrir noz " maris,[4] pour quoy le demourant de nos vies nous " convient user a tous jours mais en paine pardurable, " eslongies et enchassies [5] de noz parens et amis, de nos " terres et seignouries, ou tous biens nous habundoient " en tant grande felicite et plentureuze comme nous ' euissons sceu en ce monde demander ne souhaidier.

[1] *bon pays.* B.
[2] *en crainte de perir.* B.
[3] *avisees.* B.
[4] *seigneurs.* B.
[5] *dechassies de nos parens et nos seignouries.* B.

" Or sommes nous les plus infortunees femmes que
" jamais langue tant soit facondieuze sache dire ou
" racompter ; assez mieulx nous vauldroit non jamais
" avoir[1] esté nees ou[2] nous estre noiies en ceste mer que[3]
" de user nos vies en teil peril." Adonc dame Albine oyant leurs clameurs et piteuses complaintes les prinst doulcement a resconforter et leur dist : " Mes belles seurs
" ne vous tourbles[4] de choses que les dieux permettent,
" mais toutes voz resconfortez ; je scay certainement que
" par election divine nous est preduite,[5] au voloir[6] des
" dieux, aulcune terre ou region laquelle sera par
" nous conversee et habitee et dicelle serons dames
" et princesses car en ceste nuyt il mest venu
" en advision[7] que briefment le dieu Neptunus nous
" mettera a bon port et salutaire.[8] Aiies toutes en
" vous regard et congnoissance comment les dieux nous
" ont fait grand aide de nous avoir garde lespace de
" quattre moix sans aborder a terre et eschappe les
" grans undes et debatemens des vens et de la mer
" perilleuze dont nous avons par pluiseurs fois este en si
" grant peril et adventure, sy que il nest pas a
" croire que ja piecha ne feussions perdues si[9] les haulx
" dieux par leur innumerable puissance ne nous eussent
" de ce preserveez et gardees, et qui plus est eslevez
" pour aulcuns biens especiaulx par eulz a nous promis.
" Et mest advis que dedens briefz jours trouverons la
" terre par les dieux a nous ottroye laquelle sera par
" nous habitee." Ainsy[10] et par tele maniere aloit dame Albine resconfortant ses seurs tant que pour ceste

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[1] *avoir.* B. Omitted in A.
[2] *ou estre desia noiees.* B.
[3] *que de atendre ladventure du peril ou nous sommes.* B.
[4] *troublez.* B. and C. 2.
[5] *predestinee.* B.
[6] *par la provision.* C. 2.
[7] *ja eu vision.* B.
[8] *sauvement a bon port.* C. 2.
[9] *silz ne nous eussent eslevees et gardees pour aulcuns . . . . . nous promis.* C. 2.
[10] *Ainsi comme vous oez, aloit.* B.

heure les appaisa et contenta. Et les mena le vent si longuement waucrant[1] ca et la a son plaisir quelles choisirent ung jour terre vers laquelle fortune[2] les conduisy et mena tant quenfin elles y arriverent et descendirent, sy trouverent que cestoit une isle toute deserte en laquelle oncques homme navoit habite. Quant elles se veirent descendues a terre molt haultement elles regratierent les dieux, et puis dame Albine[3] laisnee delles qui avoit este la premiere metant piet a terre dist a ses seurs: "Pourceque je suis laisnee de " vous toutes, mes tres chieres seurs, et aussy que jay " premier ceste terre pourprinse, se vostre vouloir sy " consent il me plaist[4] que de ce jour en avant ceste " region soit pour lamour de moy et de mon nom " appellee Albion." Et[5] toutes ses seurs dun corage liet et joieux lui accorderent volontiers.

Or doncques quant elles eurent tire hors de leur vaissel ce qui pour ceste heure leur besongnoit de ce qui y estoit, elles commencerent a cerchier et querre lieu le plus convenable pour elles amasser, et tant alerent aval et amont[6] tant quelles trouverent lieu a leur semblant ydone et propice, ou elles firent leur habitation en fueilles[7] et en aultres lieus, comme sont cavernes, ou bon leur sembla. Sy departerent la terre et en eurent chascune sa portion. Sy vesquirent en ceste isle quelles nommerent Albion par la maniere[8] que vous avez oy une grant espace de temps, et y trouverent fontaines,[9] prez, bois et rivieres delitables. Puis trouve-

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[1] *waucrant cha et la.* B.

[2] *le vent.* C. 2.

[3] *Albine qui la premiere avoit mis pie a terre dist a ses seurs Tres chieres seurs, pourceque.* B.

[4] *plaist.* B. & C. 2. *planist.* A.

[5] *La quele chose toutes ses seurs luy accorderent de bon corage.* B.

[6] *aval et amont.* B. *avalt et amoult.* A.

[7] *fueillies et cavernes ainsi comme il leur pleut le mieulx.* B. *Mes fueilles at cavarnes et autres lieus ou bon leur sembla.* C. 2.

[8] *maniere merveilleuse une grant espace de tempz.* B.

[9] *fontaines doulces.* B.

rent maniere de faire feu par leur subtilite, car elles cueillerent boiz secq, avecques linge[1] toute eschauffee du soleil, puis prinrent en leurs nefs bende de fer lesquelles elles hurterent sur gros cailleaux tant et si longement que feu en sailli et satacha sur le boiz et linge secq, sycque elles eurent feu a volente. Puis quant Albine vey quelles estoient pourveues de feu qui estoit la chose a elles plus necessaire et de quoy elles avoient le plus grant besoing, humblement et haultement elle en regratia les dieux, puis fist[2] ung commandement general et une constitution merveilleuze. Ensement vesquirent longuement entre elles et trouverent engin et maniere de prendre bestes saulvages et oiseaux par leur subtilite et science dont elles se vivoient au mieulx quelles pooient, car des cordes et habillemens qui sur leur nef estoient elles firent lacz et aultres instrumens dont elles prindrent et prenoient[3] les dittes bestes et oyeaulx.[4] Or advint que de ces dames assez petit temps apres ce quelles furent illec amassees et par les fortes[5] chars et fors vivres dont elles se gouvrenerent[6] plainement et largement et aussy par huizeuse[7] et bon temps quelles avoient, le desir de concupiscence charnelle tant durement les surmonta que trop plus desireirent plaisir charnel[8] que nulle aultre chose qui fust au monde. Quant le deable, qui est malicieux et soubtil sceut et perchupt le desir delles, il vint en Albion sy prinst

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[1] *linge quelle portoient, puis hurterant bendes de fer sur gros cailleaux.* C. 2.

[2] *Puis fist entrelles une constitution et commandement general, cest ascavoir que chascune a son tour garderoit le feu, et se par la negligence daucune il estaindoit elle en devoit par lordonnance des autres recepvoir pugnition merveilleuse.* B.

[3] *dont elles prenoient.* B.

[4] *oiseaulz.*

[5] *chauldes chars et fortes vyandes.* B. *nourrissans.* C. 2.

[6] *governerent largement.* B.

[7] *la huiseusete.* B.

[8] plaisir charnel. A. B. compaignie dhomme. C. 2.

corps dair et recueilli natures dhommes espanchies, sy habita en icelles malvaises et parverses femmes, de quoy[1] elles conchuprent et a juste terme enfanterent geans grans et horribles, malles et feumesles, qui depuis crurent et multiplierent en grant nombre, lesquelz pourprinrent[2] la terre une longue espace de tempz, cest ascavoir jusques a la venue de Bructus qui les concquist. Et pour le temps quil y arriva y estoient deux geans[3] les plus mervilleus de tous les aultres, lesquelz estoient chiefz et seigneurs du pais; et estoit lun appelle Gomago et laultre Lancorigam qui par avant la venue du noble prince Bructus firent moult de maulx et doppressions aux Escots et Yris leurs voysins. Et atant prent fin le premier livre des cronicques dAlbion qui depuis par Bructus eut non Bretaigne la Grant, et encoires depuis par le prince Englist eut non Engleterre qui jusques a present lui a dure, comme cy-apres en poursievant ceste matere en la cronicque de Brutus sequente vous le porez plus amplement veoir.

Cy prent fin le premier livre de ce premier volume des Cronicques d'Engleterre.

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[1] *tellement quelles.* C. 2.
[2] *lesquelz occuperent.* C. 2.
[3] *geans qui estoient chefs et seigneurs de tous les autres, desquels estoit lun.* C. 2.

Cy commence le deuzieme livre des Cronicques d'Engleterre qui contient en soy lx. chapitres ouquel comme vous orez il traitte des Bretons qui regnerent en la Grant Bretaigne depuis le temps Bructus, le nepveu Ascanius filz de Eneas, jusques long temps apres lincarnacion de Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist.

Et parle ce premier chapitre des proprietes de lysle de la Grant Bretaigne.

Tout ainsy comme se en moy je estimoie science avoir avec faconde de povoir souffire escripre et revocquier a lumiere tous les fais vertueuz, haultez proesches et industries darmes des roys et peuples tant puissans et memorables par merites dignes de loenges qui des exilliez et transfuges de Troyes, celle tres-ancienne et renommee cite, laquelle semble a peu avoir este deserte par benefice de divine providence, adfin de ramener les exilliez dicelle a commencemens de choses trop plus haultes que en son estat tant florissant, en affluence de choses terriennes et morteles ne reluisoient, prindrent doncques leurs naissances par genealogie, et furent revocquiez des tenebres et sustrais de servitude a la resplendiseur de vraie liberte et franchise, moiennant le suffrage bellicque et pericie de leur recordable duc Bructus, comme plus plainement il sera cy-apres declairye, filz de Silinus procree[1] de Ascanius filz de

[1] *qui fut frere.* C. 2.

cellui duc tant divin Eneas a qui les divines puissances destinerent estre seul aucteur et fondeur de ce peuple tres puissant de Romme, de qui les forches ont prevalu dessus tout le monde et envers tous peuples, lequel Bructus, adcompaigne des Troyens qui de totes pars lui affluoient, mate par lui le roy Pandrasus de Grece, qui les Troyens tenoit soubz jouc servile, avec la fille du dit roy quil prinst a femme, naga tant par la mer Occeane ainsy comme fortune lui destinoit, quil entra en la mer Adriaticque et finablement arriva en lisle dAlbion, comme cy-apres sera devise, laquelle en faveur de son nom fut appellee Bretaigne, en laquelle succederent ses hoirs par grant vertu et concquyrent pluiseurs grans et nobles royaulmes, mest doncques[1] en procedant venue volonte de au commencement de ce second livre declarier les nobles virtus et proprietes de lisle britonicque, laquelle habiterent Bructus et ses Troiens, et les aultres roys qui deulx sortirent leur commencement et qui tant furent redoubtez par la rondesse du monde.

Bretaigne doncques est une isle assize es parties dOccident, es fins de la terre, meilleure et la plus souveraine de toutes les isles du monde ; situee entre Gaulle et Hibernie, laquelle contient de long huit cens milles et deux cens milles de large, laquelle admenistre a tout homme mortel quancques[2] il lui peult estre necessaire pour sa vie continuer, car elle est fertille sans en elle avoir sterilite jamais ; et sy est ennoblie de toutes manieres de metaulx qui en elle naturelement se procreent ; les champs arrables, dignes de humaine cultieure, a elle en grant habundance, qui par la nature de leur terre et atemprance de lair sont plaines de copieuse fretilite.[3] Et que dirai-je des montaignes qui

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[1] *doncques prestament en procedant.* B.

[2] *tout ce que.* C. 2.

[3] *fertilite.* B.

tant son pollies et habilles naturelement par la verdure dicelles joieuses et plaisant a tout humain regard, de porter fruit par habundant mesure, car elles sont de terre grasse et forte, non mie seches, desertes et areneuses sy comme soullent estre montaignes communement; et se paradventure aulcunes telles en y a, sy ne sont elles mie pourtant inutilles ains y a herbes et aultres fourages dont les bestes sont soustenues et gouvrenees[1] comme elle a es boiz et forestes dont elle est fructueuze merveilleusement. Car la peult on veoir les delicieux fourages et herbes de diverses especes et les grains dicelles, medicinables a humaine nature et utilles pour disformite, des salvemens composer et ordonner adfin de provocquier lappetit en divers[2] delicieux des viandes. Et laquelle aussy pareillement distribue et admenistre copieusement les fleurs sur lesquelles sespant la doulceur de la manne celestienne es mousches vollans qui delles engendrent celle licqueur tant delitable que nous appelons miel. Hee et na elle mie coppit des praieries quy[3] soubz la doulceur de lair montain verdoient par siege si convenable en provocquant les pensees humaines a toutes delices corporelles. Mais oultre ce, est de trop plus amiable le cours des cleres fontaines reluisant comme fin argent par leur savoureuse[4] et belle clarete, lesquelles decourans sans quelque murmure, mais par son[5] plain darmonicque melodie, existent par leur pleur melodieux les corps humains a repos sommeilleux plain de toute joye et soulaix[6]; sy chient en la fin[7] es las[8] et es estangz où les poissons savoureux de diverses especes se presentent a nature humaine pour lui sub-

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[1] *gouvernees.* B.
[2] *en diverses delices des vyandes.* B. & C. 2.
[3] *quy.* B. & C. 2. *quilz.* A.
[4] *favoureuse.* B.
[5] *son darmonique plain de melodie.* C. 2.
[6] *soullas.* B.
[7] *en fin.* B. & C. 2.
[8] *lacs.* B.

venir a sa vye. Et aussy en aultres petis fleuves moult delictables pour leurs claretez, quilz constituent dont certainement elle est fructueuse sans le bras de mer par lequel on sceut[1] passer à navire en Gaulle. Trois fleuves moult notables, grans, larges et parfons[2] es quelz de tout le monde on peult, depuis quon est arrive es lieux ou la mer, les devoir,[3] nagier a grans nefz et mener marchandises par tout Engleterre ; lesquelz sont appellez Tamise, Sabrine et Hombre. Sy sont ces trois rivieres a maniere de troix bracz ou courouz[4] en Bretaigne, sicque ilz la divisent en trois angles. Et soulloit ceste noble isle estre aornee de vingz huit moult nobles citez dont les unes, leurs murs destruis, sont relencquies desertes et desolees par guerres et depopulations des inhabitons coulons dicelles et les aultres encorres au jour dhuy par grant exellence de tours, de pallaix et deglises moult solempneles sont ennoblies, es queles par hommes plains de religion et par femmes, vierges sacrees est fait le service divin,[5] selon les sacremens et ordonnances de la sainte loy crestienne de Nostre Sauveur Jhesu Crist, par grant devotion. Sy a este ceste isle finablement habitee par cincq manieres de peuples, cest ascavoir des Bretons, des Northmans, des Saxons, des Escots et des Pictz. Mais les Bretons furent ceulx qui premierement dune mer jusques a lautre dominerent, sycque ceulx eslevez par longue propriete sont escheus[6] au vice dorgueil, par quoy la puissance divine a permis iceulx ceder de leurs terres et estre mis soubz les Saxons et Picz vaincqueurs. Or reste a present veoir leurs naissances et comment ilz applicquerent en Bretaigne, ditte Albion[7] pour les pieres

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[1] *sceult.* B.
[2] *parfondz.* B.
[3] *ou la mer les devore.*
[4] *conrores.* B. *inhabitacions.* A. C. 2.
[5] *est fait.* C. 2. Omitted in A.B.
[6] *encheuz.* B.
[7] *Albion.* Compare the preceding history of Albina.

blances qui sur la mer de Bretaigne se moustrent, et aussy a desclairier leurs fais et batailles quilz orent des le commencement que Bructus fut leur duc jusques au roy Carduvaladrech, filz du roy Caduwale qui regna en la Grant Bretaigne apres lincarnacion de Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist viii^{c} iiii^{xx} et viii ans. Sy parlerons presentement pour advertence des fais de Brust.

Cy commence un petit preambule par manière de thernne[1] *sur la translation du livre de Brust d'Engleterre.* SECOND CHAPITRE.

TOUS ceulx qui ont voulente et desir de scavoir, soient clers, chevaliers ou bourgois, la genealogie des roys d'Engleterre, salut en Nostre Seigneur, dont tout bien vient! Sachent tous[2] que ou temps que Abdon estoit juge sur les Hebrieux, fut la noble cite de Troyes destruite deux foys par les Grigois. Ou tempz du roy Laomedon la premiere foiz par Hercules, Jason, Peleus, Thalamon, Castor et Pollus, pourceque le dit roy Laomedon ne voult recepvoir ne laissier sejourner en son pays les dessuz nommes Hercules, Jason et leur compaignie, quant ilz aloient en lisle de Colcos conquerre le toison dor par le commandement du roy Pelus. Secondement apres ceste destruction et la cite fut reparee et refaitte par le roy Priant, filz du dit roy Laomedon, plus grant et plus noble quelle navoit este paravant. Priant doncques considerant linjure et la detestable mort de ses parens et le ravissement de sa seur Exione que le roy Thalamon tenoit comme concubine, luy aussy asseure par la puissance de ses nobles enfans cest a scavoir Hector, Paris, Helenus, Deyphebus

[1] *theume.* B.

[2] *tout* in all the MSS.

et Troylus et des bastars, luy aussy advisant pluiseurs nobles et puissans roys, ducs, contes et marquis estre de son sang et de son alianche ; et aussy considerant la grant force, noblesse et puissance de sa cite garnie de jouvente innumerable, bien armee et batailleresse, eue deliberation de conseil envoia aux roys de Grece un sien prince appelle Anthenor, qui leur requist toutes choses passeez et oubliees et pardonnees, que sa seur lui feust renvoyee. Or doncques ceste alegacion faitte par Anthenor a tous les roys de Grece, et par luy-meismes racontee au Roy Priant et a son conseil, la mervilleuse responce et intollerable a lui faitte par les roys Gregois, le roy Priant malcontent de ceste responce, courouchiez et dolent aussy des injures et vilainees parolles quilz avoient dit a son message commanda a son filz Paris quil alast en Grece a tout grant armee et sestudiast de grever les Gregois en toutes manieres quil pouroit. Paris doncques adcompaignie de Deyphebus, son frere, de Eneas, Anthenor, et pluiseurs aultres nobles hommes bien armez et garnies de toutes choses en guerre necessaires, entra en mer, et avoit en sa compaignie douze nefz bien garniez, puis entrairent en mer ou ilz nagerent tant que par la voulente des dieux ils arriverent en Grece en lisle de Chitaree, qui estoit du royaulme du Roy Menelaus ; et auprez du port ou ilz estoient arrivez estoit le temple de la deesse Venus. Et furent la sy a point que lendemain devoit estre la feste de cette deesse, a laquelle feste estoit venue la royne Helaine[1] veillier et faire ses offrandes. Ceste chose[2] sceue de Paris et ses compaignons ilz orent conseil quilz ne poroient mieulx faire que de, la nuit venue, aler ou temple de prendre la royne Helaine avec tout le tresor qui la estoit, et occire tous ceulx qui rebeller se voldroyent contre eulz. Laquelle ordonnance myse a fin, la

[1] *Helaine.* B. Omitted A. | [2] *chose.* B. Omitted in A.

royne ravie, le temple viole et despoullie de ses riches joiaulx avec les nobles aournamens et aussy pluiseurs nobles prins et occis et detrenchies ou emmenes chetiz par le dit Paris et ses compaignons en ses vaisseaulx avec la ditte roine. Paris a toute sa navire parti de la sans plus atendre, et lui donna fortune sy bon vent que luy et toute sa compaignie arriverent sains et saufz a Troyes ou[1] ilz trouverent le roy Priant, et tous les nobles qui les recheuprent a grant joye. Et espousa Paris Helaine par le vouloir de son pere, mais Helenus son frere, et Cassandra sa seur, en furent moult dolens, car ilz estoient tenus comme prophetes entre les Troïens, et avoient dit ou prophetizie que par ce ravissement Troyes seroit destruite. Ces choses ainsy faittes et advenues, Menelaüs, mari de Helaine, et son frere Agamenon seurent assez tost apres comment le fait estoit ale. Sy en cuida bien le Roy Menelaus morir de dueil, mais son frere et tous les aultres roys de Grece lui promisrent ayde et confort, et firent aliance ensamble quilz yroient a toute leur puissance a Troyes pour vengier sa honte et la leur. Ainsy doncques sappresterent tous de tout ce quilz peurent et que mestier leur fut, sy sassamblerent au port dAthenes et firent Agamenon prince et empereur de tout leur ost qui grant et plentureux estoit, puis se partirent dicelluy port dAthenes et tant nagerent par la mer quilz vindrent au port de Troyes ou ilz eurent moult a souffrir a prendre terre. Finablement eulx descendus a terre et le siege forme[2] devant la cite de Troye, demourerent dix ans six mois et dix jours continuellement illec sans en partir, durant lequel temps, es batailles qui fuerent entre les Gregoys et les Troyens moururent

[1] *ou ilz furent recheuz du roy Priant et de touz les Troyens a grant joye.* B.

[2] *ferme.* B.

tant de nobles gens dun coste et daultre que sans nombre selon listoire. Toutesvoies a la parfin Anthenoir qui estoit caut et malicieux, et Pollidamas son fils, sacointerent secretement du roy Ulixes et de Diomedes, son compagnon, sy pourpenserent ensemble la trahyson et fist tant quil ot le Paladion qui estoit au temple de Minerve, lequel il bailla a Ulixes. Et quant il ot toute la trayson accordee au Gregois, il le dist a Eneas et a son pere Anchises, lesquelz regardans le peril ou ilz et les leurs estoient sacorderent legierement a Anthenoir et ordonnerent ensamble la maniere, leure et le temps pour livrer la noble cite troyenne aulx Grecz. Le temps venu, les Grecz mis et recheus par nuit dedens la ville, le feu boute en pluiseurs lieux, la noize, le cry et le ulement des femmes et des enfans fut lait et hideux a oir. Helas ! quant le roy Priant se vit ensement trahy, sa noble cite prinse, ses notables citoiens occire et destrenchier, helas ! quant il se remembroit de la perte de ses nobles enfans, cest a scavoir Hector, Paris, Deiophebus et le preu Troÿlus ou dieu et nature avoient [1] mys de biens tant que riens navoient oubliet a parfaire, dieux ! quel doleur sentoit il, et aussy quant il lui souvenoit de ses aultres enfans naturelz qui furent sy preux et sy vaillans en armes que a paines est-il creable ce que on list deulx. Dieux ! quelle doleur et angoisse soustenoit il, quant il se veoit trahy de ceulx quil avoit nouris et qui [2] le deussent deffendre, helas ! il plouroit amerement en recordant piteusement loccision de viii^{cz} lxxvi^{m} hommes quil avoit perdus en celle guerre, entre lesquelz il avoit tant de nobles roys, ducz, contes et marquis, et de la noble royne Phanthasilee, qui luy estoyent venus en ayde pour achever sa guerre contre les

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[1] *avoient tant mis de biens, quel douleur sentoit il.* B.

[2] *quil.* A.

Gregois. Et derechief, quant il veoit destruire le remanant et ardoir et demolir sa noble cite, quel constance pooit il avoir ! je ne scay. Toutesfois prinst il cuer en soy-meismes, sy sen ala au temple dApolin ou il fist maint piteux regret, mais il fut illec occis par Pirus, le filz dAchilles, et la belle Polixena, sa fille, sacrifiee sur la sepulcre du dit Achilles par icelluy Pirus ; la noble royne Hecuba, femme du roy Priant fut lapidee des Gregoys, Troye arse destruite et despoullie de ses nobles ricesses, lesquelles toutes saisies par les Grecz, ilz entrairent en leurs nefz sur intention de retourner en leurs contrees, mais la plus part deulz fut perie dedens la mer, et tous ceulx qui eschaperent vindrent a mauvaise fin, car les aulcuns furent tuez tantost quilz vindrent en leurs hostelz, sy comme Agamenon, lequel sa femme fist estrangler ; les aultres furent exilliez et dechassiez de leurs pays, si comme Diomedes ; les aultres morurent povres, malheureux, sy comme Menelaus. Et telle comme vouz oez fut la fin des Gregois qui avoient sy faitement destruite et demolie la noble cite troyenne.

Comment troys generations principaulx se partirent de Troye apres la destruction dicelle et peuplerent pluiseurs royaulmes et habiterent en maintes terres et diverses regions. Troisieme Chapitre.

Pourceque tous ne scevent mie la genealogie de pluiseurs gens, il est a scavoir que apres la destruction de Troye se partirent dycelle trois generations principaulx, comme la generacion du roy Priant, la generacion de Eneas, la generacion de Anthenoir, et en oultre une grant quantite de menu peuple. Cheve-

taine Helenus, filz du roy Priant emmena avecq lui un sien petit frere nomme Priant comme son pere que une nourice avoit saulve; et aussi emmena ses deux nepveux, enffans de Hector, son frere et une grant quantite de ses parens et amis qui sestoient saulves tant par fuite comme par renchon.

Cestui Helenus et sa compaignie arriverent en une partie du royaulme de Machedoine ou il fist faire une cite quil appella Servothion, et furent ce peuple en peu de temps sy multiplyes quil convint que une quantite deulx se partissent et alaissent querir nouvelle habitacion sur le fleuve de Ladimoe[1] et la edifierent une cite quilz appellerent Sycambre et de ceulx-icy descendirent les Franchois. Le menu peuple, qui sestoit parti sans chief, arriva ou port de Venice ou il navoit riens fors leaue de la mer et illec firent une motte de terre a la maniere de une isle dedens la mer, et la se logerent adfin quilz ne feussent subgets a nul homme vivant. Et ne demoura gueres que Anthenoir et sa compaignie arriverent illecq pour prendre terre, et ceulx qui premiers y estoient venus deffendirent leur lieu bien et vaillamment; mais ainsy comme ilz se combatoient ilz se recongnurent par leur langue, sy sentrefirent grant feste et firent de Anthenoir leur chief et leur seigneur, puis fortifierent et fermerent leur cite, laquelle ilz appellerent de son nom Anthenoridein et maintenant est nomme et pour le present appellee Venice. Puis fonda le dit Anthenoir Jennes[2] et pluiseurs villes, cites et chasteaulx en Lombardie, et principalement il fist la cite de Pade ou il fut mys en sepulture, et la appert encores une partie de son monument. Et de ceste generation yssi une grant quantite de Lombards. Eneas, qui estoit demoures a Troyes, se parti loncg temps apres et navoit

[1] *La Dunoe* in B.

[2] *Jennes, Gênes, Genoa.*

en sa compaignie que xxii. nefz tant seullement, et cestoient proprement les nefz que Paris avoit menees en Grece quant il ravi Helaine. Le dit Eneas avoit en sa route son pere Anchises et son filz Ascanius quil avoit eu de sa femme Creusa, fille du roy Priant, laquelle estoit morte de doleur pour la mort de ses parens et amys. Eneas fist entrer en ses dictes nefz tous ses gens de sa compaignie qui estoient environ de quatre mille hommes, sans les femmes et les enfans, et ala tant nagant par mer quil arriva au port de Carthage.

Comment Eneas arriva au port de Carthage et comment la roine Dido le rechupt, et comment il se parti sans prendre congie delle, pour quoy elle sen occist de dueil. IIII^e^ CHAPITRE.

NOUVELLES vindrent tantost a la royne Dido que ung grant navire de Troiens estoit arrive au port de sa cite de Carthage sy fist enquerir diligamment qui estoit leur chief et quel besoing les amenoit la, sicque tantost lui fu rapporte que cestoit un prince de Troyes nomme Eneas. Sy tost quelle oy parler dEneas, elle, adcompaignie de chevalliers, dames et damoiselles a grant plente lui ala audevant et le recheupt honnourablement avecques toute sa compaignie, sy lui offri sa noble cite et tout son tresor, dont Eneas eût grant joye, sy len remercia grandement et lui fist present rices et beaulx lesquelz la roine Dido receupt liement. Ainsy sejournerent Eneas et sa compaignie a Carthage avec la roine Dido par aulcun temps, sicque ilz sennamourerent forment lun de lautre, et ce fut la cause pourquoy il sejourna illec si longement. Or advint ainsy, comme Eneas se dormoit une nuit en son lit, quil lui fu advis

que les dieulx quil avoit apportez de Troyes avec lui ladmonnestoient de soy partir de Carthage, et[1] sen aler en Italie concquerre la terre qui lui estoit promise. Doncques, lui esveillie, il appella ses compaignons secretement et les fist tous entrer en leurs nefz et lui-meismes y entra le premier et se parti du port de Carthage, avec lui toute sa compaignie, sans prendre congie de la roine Dido, dont il advint que la ditte roine soccist de grant doloir quelle ot quant elle sceut quil sen estoit ainsy partis.

Comment Eneas et sa compaignie arriverent en Cecille et la fist une cite ou il laissa grant partie de sa gent, et comment apres il se parti de la et naga tant quil vint en Ytalie, au port du Tibre, pres de Laurence ou demouroit le roy Latin. V^e^ CHAPITRE.

ENEAS et sa compaignie nagierent tant parmy la haulte mer depuis quilz furent partis de Carthage que ilz vindrent en la terre dont Axerces estoit roy, lequel estoit issus de la lingnie des Troyens, pour quoy sy tost quil sceut que Eneas et sa compaignie estoient arrives en sa terre il lui ala au-devant, sy les recheupt et festoya grandement. Mais Anchises, le pere Eneas, morut tantost quilz furent la arrivez, pour la grant traveil quil avoit heu sur la mer. Eneas et Axerces le firent richement atourner et mettre en sepulture, sy lui firent noble anniversaire ou il ot jeux et esbatemens seloncg lanchienne maniere. Illec fist et fonda Eneas une ville ou cite quil nomma Troye-la-Restoree, en laquelle il laissa tous ceulx de sa compaignie qui

[1] B. ; *en* A.

estoient enhabilles en armes et non convenables[1] a bataille, sy comme sont femmes, enfans et vielles hommes, car moult en y avoit de lasses pour les grans travaux quilz avoient souffert en vii. ans quilz avoient ja vacguie depuis leur partement de Troyes. Quant Eneas eult bien adcompli tout ce quil voult en Cecile, il prinst tous les jovenceaulx de sa compaignie habilles a porter armes avec aulcuns que le roy Axerces, son cousin lui bailla, puis entra en mer et sen ala singlant droit vers Ytalie, sy lui vint sy bien quil arriva proprement ou Tybre[2] qui chiet en la mer, et est assez prez du lieu ou a present Romme est assize. La getterent ilz leurs ancres et prindrent port, car la terre et le pays leur pleust mervilleusement. Sy descendirent a terre et demanderent aux paysans qui estoit le roy[3] de ceste contree, lesquelz respondirent que cestoit le roy Latin, qui moult estoit vieux, et sy navoit hoir nul que une seulle fille et demouroit illec prez en une sienne cite appellee Laurence pour un laurier qui estoit creu sur une tour dicelle cyte, et sy avoit paravant eu une aultre nom, cest a scavoir Lavine pour Lavinus[4] qui avoit este filz du roy Latin. Quant Eneas entendi ceste nouvelle il en ot grant joye, sy sen ala adviser prez de la une forte place laquelle il fist fortefyer de fossez et de bretesches pour soy retraire se mestier en avoit. Puis envoya ses messages au roy Latin à tout beaulx presens en lui requerant que de sa grace lui voulsist ottroyer que lui avec sa compaignie se peussent logier en un anglet de son pays sans mal faire a nullui; et que ilz estoient la arrivez et venus de la noble cite de Troyes, dont ilz estoient nez, par le commandement des dieulx, pourceque Dardanus qui fut

[1] *nonconvenables.* B.; *non* omitted in A.
[2] *ou le Tybre chiet en la mer.* B.
[3] *seigneur.* B.
[4] B. *Laurine pour Laurinus.* A.

le premier roy de Troyes avoit este nez de ceste contree[1] et de ce pays meismes. Quand Eneas eut chargie son message, les ambassadeurs se partirent et vindrent au roy Latin, portans en leurs mains ramseaulx dolliviers, sy senclinerent humblement et saluerent reveramment le roy Latin de par Eneas leur seigneur et lui conterent bien et bel leur message. Le roy Latin aiant oy leur legacion respondy courtoisement aux Troiiens en disant: "Bien soiies vous " venus, puisque paix demandes; le pays est bon[2] " et la contree, bien me plaist que vous y prendez " voz aizes, et sy aves bon droit car Dardanus qui " premier tint le royaulme de Troyes fut de ceste " contree." Puis pensa un pou en son ceur, non pas pour les presens que Eneas lui avoit envoiies, mais pour le mariage de sa fille, car il lui souvint du respons quil avoit eu de ses dieux, cest a scavoir quil donnast sa fille a un estrangier; sy lui sembla que cestoit cestui qui maintenant venoit et estoit[3] arrives en sa terre. Lors respondy seconde fois aux messages en disant ainsy: "Beaux seigneurs, les dons que vous " maves apportez de par vostre maistre je ne refuse " mie, anchoys les rechoy volentiers, et sy vous dy " que je sui moult liez de sa venue en mon pays et " sil lui plest il peut prendre hostel avecques moy en " ceste cite[4]. Sy le saluez de par moy et lui dites que " jay une belle fille laquelle les dieux veullent que je " la donne a ung homme estrangie, dont il doit issir " royal lingnie et grant nom par tout le monde." Quant le roy Latin ot fine sa parolle il donna a tous les messages dons et envoya a Eneas cent beaulx chevaux richement appareilliez. Et puis ces messages

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[1] *ceste contree et de.* A. Omitted in B.
[2] *bon.* A. *moult bon.* B.
[3] *et estoit.* Omitted in B.
[4] *ma cite.* B.

prindrent congie du roy qui moult les avoit honnourez, sy sen retournerent liez et joieulx devers Eneas leur seigneur, sy lui conterent tout la besoingne ainsy quelle estoit alee, de quoy il eut grant leese. Il est a scavoir que les roys d'Engleterre et tous les Englois sont descendus et ont prins leur commenchement de la generacion de Eneas et de ceulx de sa compaignie, et aussy firent les Rommains, sy comme vous orez cy-apres en listoire de Brust.

De la premiere bataille qui fust entre Eneas et Turnus, et comment Eneas ala querir secours au roy Evander contre ledit Turnus qui le vouloit bouter hors d'Ytallie. VI[e] CHAPITRE.

LA nouvelle fut tost[1] espandue par tout le royaulme que Troyens estoient arrives au port de Tybre et avoit le seigneur deulx a non Eneas auquel le roy Latin avoit habandonne sa terre et lui vouloit donner Lavine[2] sa fille a mariage. Quant Turnus[3] entendy ces nouvelles elles ne luy furent mie agreables, car la royne Amatha, femme du roy Latin voloit que Turnus eust[4] sa fille en mariage et dez[5] il lavoit fianchie. Or estoit ce Turnus riches homs et puissans et avec ce estoit bon chevalier et preu aux armes, sy sen vint tantost a Laurence devers le roy Latin et lui demanda pourquoy il vouloit donner sa fille a un estrangies exillie de son pays, que on ne congnossoit ne ne scavoit qui

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[1] *tost.* B. *tantost.* C. 2. *toute.* A.

[2] *Lavine.* B. C. 2. *Laurine.* A. *avoit habandonne Lavine sa fille a mariage et aussi toute sa terre.* C. 2.

[3] *Turnus, quy estoit duc et seigneur de Toscane, entendi.* B. C. 2.

[4] *eust Lauvine sa fille.* B.

[5] *de fait.* B. C. 2.

il estoit. Le roy Latin luy respondy que il ne pouvoit aler contre la voulente des dieux ; a laquelle responce Turnus se parti et assambla grant gent pour guerroier.[1] Eneas ne le doubtoit si pau[2] non, car il lavoit ja bien enclos et ferme sa fortresse, mais nonobstant ce envoia il querre ayde au roy Evander qui estoit son amy et heoit Turnus ; car il lui faisoit guerre, et demourait assez pres dillec en une cite quon appelloit Palante laquelle il avoit ediffiie sur le mont Palatin. Ce roy Evander avoit un filz appelle Pallas qui moult estoit bon chevalier. Et Eneas en la fin ala veoir Evander qui le rechupt honnourablement car il avoit bien congnu Anchises, le pere Eneas, et scavoit bien comment les Gregois avoient Troye destruite ; toutesvoies demanda il a Eneas apres pluiseurs parolles par quel besoing il estoit la venus ; et il respondy quil estoit la venus a lui pour avoir conseil et ayde contre Turnus, le duc de Toscane, qui le vouloit chasser hors d'Ytalie. Adonc lui bailla le roy Evander son filz Pallas atout quattre cens hommes darmes ; et ce fait Eneas et Pallas prindrent congie du roy Evander et sen vindrent au chastel Eneas ou Ascanius et les aultres les attendoient. Lendemain fut grande la bataille devant la cite de Laurence entre les deux ostz de Turnus et d'Eneas ; et avoit Turnus en sa compaignie une royne puissant en armez qui merveilles faisoit de son corps appellee Camille, et avoit avec ce un duc puissant en armez et en richesses nomme Merencius lequel fist moult de travaulx a Eneas, mais en la fin il fut vaincqu par son filz Ascanius. Grande fut ceste bataille et en y eult plusieurs mors dun coste et daultre ; Turnus occist Pallas le filz du roy Evander, sy lui osta un anel quil portoit en son doy, moult riche et aussy fist

[1] *Eneas. Maiz Eneas.* B. C. 2. | [2] *pou.* B. C. 2.

il sa chainture, dont Eneas et tous ceulx de sa partye furent moult courouchiez, car bon chevalier et preu estoit. De la partye Turnus fut occise la roine Camille et le filz du duc Merencius, de quoy fut faitte grande criee parmy la bataille, sicque la roine Amatha, femme du roy Latin qui estoit aux murs de Laurence cuida que Turnus feust mort, pourquoy elle se parti coiement de la place, sy sen ala toute seule en une chambre ou elle se pendy. Eneas et ses gens firent reculer Turnus jusques aux murs de sa cite et bouterent le feu aux portes et bretesches sicque Turnus et tous ceulx qui lui estoient demoures en vye furent constrains de rentrer en la cite et Eneas et les siens les sievoient de sy prez que se le jour ne feust sy tost failli il eussent gaignie la porte et en la fin la cite ; mais quant Eneas vey le jour finer, il sonna sa retraite, sy se retrairent tous en sa fortresse et emporterent avec eulx le corps de Pallas, filz au vaillant roy Evander.

Comment Turnus demanda treves de xii. jours a Eneas, comment ilz acorderent bataille corps contre corps, comment Eneas loccist et la cause pourquoi. CHAPITRE VII[e].

QUANT ce vint lendemain Turnus envoia ses messages a Eneas demander treves de xii. jours, lesquelz furent ottroiies ; durant les treves tous les corps mors dun cote et daultre furent materielement ars. Les corps de la roine Amatha et de la royne Camille furent honnourablement mys en sepulture ou temple de la cite de Laurence. Eneas fist noblement conroiier[1] et en-

[1] *couronner.* C. 2.

sepvelir le corps de Pallas, puis lenvoya au roi Evander, son pere, qui grant dueil en fist. Quant les treves furent faillies les deux ostz furent[1] aux champs de cha et de la, sy commenca lestour fel et cruel des deux costez: Turnus aloit parmi lestour criant: "Eneas ou " es tu, vieng avant." Quant Eneas lentendy il brocha des esperons celle part, et firent[2] a chascun traire en sus ses gens puis vindrent lun contre lautre tant comme chevaux les peurent porter, sy rompirent leurs lances et se hurterent tellement et si rudement quilz verserent tous deux a terre, puis saillirent sus et tirerent leurs espees. Tant se combatirent que en la fin Turnus fut vaincus et cria mercy a Eneas adfin quil ne loccyst point: finablement lui eust Eneas pardonne son maultalent se ce ne feust quil appercut lannel Pallas que Turnus portoit en son doy et sa chainture quil avoit chainte pourquoy il lui souvint de Pallas, sy lui accrut son yre telement quil loccyst Turnus, sy fut la guerre finee. Adonc prindrent les amis Turnus son corps, sy lemporterent en son pays ou il fut mys en rice sepulture, si comme a tel prince appartenoit. Quant les amis Turnus se furent partis du roy Latin moult courouchiez et dolens pour la mort leur seigneur, le roy Latin vint lendemain bien adcompaignie de ses barons devers Eneas, sy lemmena avecques lui en la cite de Laurence et lui donna sa fille Lavine en mariage avec tout son royaulme a prendre apres son dechez et fist promettre a tous ses barons que bien et loyaument ilz serviroient et obeyroient a Eneas comme a leur seigneur. Lesquelles choses ainsy faittes et adcomplies[3], Eneas espousa Lavine, et fut la feste grande[4]

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[1] *furent.* A. B. *vindrent aux champs tant dun coste comme de laultre, se commenca lestour fel et cruel: Turnus alloit.* C. 2.

[2] *et comme homme fourseves firent en sustraire leurs gens.* C. 2.

[3] *et adcomplies.* Omitted in B.

[4] *et solemnelle et la joie grande entre tous les barons du royaume, et les Troyens furent tous dun accort, Latins.* C. 2.

entre les barons du rengne et les Troyens et la joye grant demenee et furent fais tout un ensamble Latins, Rutelliens et Troïens, et paix perpetuele entreulx.

Comment apres ce que Eneas eut espousee Lavine ne demoura pas gramment que le roy Latin morut, et puis Eneas, apres ce quil ot tenu le royaulme quatre ans. CHAPITRE VIII[e].

NE demoura gueres apres que le roy Latin trespassa de ce present et mortel monde, et lors tint Eneas tout le royaulme en sa main. Sy parfist[1] son chastel quil avoit encommenchie auquel il mist nom Lavinon pour lamour de sa femme, et y mist tous ses dieulx quil avoit apportez de Troyes. Cestui royaulme de Laurence avoit dure ains quil venist a Eneas cent chincquante ans par chincq roys qui tenu et rengne y avoient : le premier fut appelle Janus, le second[2] Saturnus, le tierch Picus,[3] le quart Phanus, et le quint fut le roy Latin, pere a Lavine, femme de Eneas. Cest Eneas ot assez guerres et meslees car Maxentius qui estoit moult puissans le guerroia, lequel Eneas ne vaincquit pas pourceque la mort lui sourvint trop tost, mais son filz Ascanius le concquist apres sa mort corps contre corps et loccist. Quant Eneas ot mise la terre et tout le pays en paix et que il navoit mais nulle guerre fors seulement a Maxentius, la mort qui nespargne personne[4] lui courut sus telement que nul ne sceut de vray comment il morut. Les ungz dient quil fut fourdroiet, comme Ovide; les aultres dient quil fut ravi des dieux, comme Virgille ; les aultres dient quil

[1] *parachieva.* C. 2.
[2] *deuxieme.* C. 2.
[3] *Piccus.* B. *Putris.* C. 2.
[4] *homme vivant.* C. 2.

fut noye en ung estang qui est pres du Tibre et que la fut trouve son corps ; mais Titus Livius dist aultrement, car il dist que la derreniere des batailles Eneas fut en Lombardie laquelle fut moult grande ; toutesfois par la proesse de lui et de son filz Ascanius et de sa gent il ot la victoire de ses ennemis, mais il y morut. Cellui qui fist listore de Bructus[1] ne dist riens de la mort Eneas ; il avoit rengne ou royaulme des Bretons Latins quattre ans quant il morut et sy laissa Lavine sa femme enchainte. Ascanius rengna en Itallye apres son pere et tint le royaulme xliiii.[2] ans, moult sages et preux aux armes, qui bien et bel gouvrena la terre et le pais en paix tant quil vesqui. La roine Lavine se doubta moult de[3] Ascanius son fillastre que il ne la feist occire pour convoytise du royaulme, sy sen fui secretement aux bois et logis des pastoureaulx, sy emmena avec elle trois ou quattre personnes de son amyste et fut la tant quelle enfanta un beau filz qui eult non Sylenus[4] Postmus.

Quant Ascanius sceut la nouvelle que sa marastre estoit es forests et que elle avoit enfante un filz, il en fut moult lies et lenvoia querir, sy la tint avec lui a grant honneur et fist nourir son frere Silenus[5] Postmus a grant cure et diligence et donna a sa marastre et a son frere la cite de Laurence avecques toutes les appartenances pour eulx entretenir. Apres il ediffia la cite d'Albane ou il tint son siege royal xxxviii.[6] ans et y fist par pluiseurs foys mettre ses dieulx lesquels Eneas son pere avoit fait mettre ou temple de Lavinion, mais iceulx dieulx ne volrent oncques demourer illec en Albane, ains senretournoient tousjours en leur temple

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[1] *cestui qui fist lystoire de Brutus.* C. 2.
[2] *xliiii.* B. C 2. *xiiii.* A.
[3] *que Ascanius son fillastre ne la.* B.
[4] *Sylvius.* C. 2.
[5] *Sylvius.* C. 2.
[6] *xxxviii.* B. C. 2. *xxviii.* A.

ou Eneas les avoit premierement mis. Quant Ascanius morut il laissa le rengne a Silenus Postmus filz de Lavine quelle avoit eu de son mari Eneas car il navoit nul plus prochain hoir fors un filz qui estoit trop jeune pour terre tenir, lequel avoit Julius a non, sy le laissa en la garde de Silenus, son frere, qui moult estoit vaillans et bien maintint le royaulme, et pour sa bonte eurent non tous les aultres qui apres lui vindrent et rengnerent Silenus, comme ont les empereurs de Romme Augustus, pour lonneur du bon Cesar Augustus.

Comment Bructus fut nesz, comment il tua son pere et sa mere, sy fut exillie et senfui en Grece, et comment il vint depuis a grant honneur. CHAPITRE IX^e^.

EN icellui temps advent que Julius, le filz de Ascanius avoit secretement une damoiselle qui estoit la niepce de Lavine et finablement fist tant que il lengroissa et elle enfanta dont il eut moult grant joye et fist demander a ses auguriens que nous appelons maintenant devineurs ou sorciers quelle destinee les dieux donroyent au filz de ceste femme. Ces divineurs prindrent certain delay de respondre de celle demande laquelle dilation leur fut baillie ; pendant lequel temps ilz firent leurs sors et sy alerent a leurs dieux faire oblations et demander respons sur cela ; sy leur fut respondu que le filz de la damoiselle occyroit son pere et sa mere et seroit exilliez de son pais, puis passeroit la mer ou il seroit sy preux quil en venroit a grant honneur et isseroit de luy grande et noble lingnie ; et lors vindrent ces sorciers a Julius leur seigneur, sy lui dirent ce quilz en avoient trouve ainsy et par la maniere que oy avez. Laquele chose advint tout ainsy comme ilz le sortirent car la damoiselle morut a enffanter son filz qui fut

appelle Bructus lequel son pere fist bien[1] nourir, et quant il ot xv. ans advint ung jour quil ala chassier au boiz avecques son pere a male heure, car il trouva une beste saulvage, sy enteza son arc et laissa aler la saiette cuidant ferir le chierf mais le corps[2] se tourna vers son pere, sy lataint au ceur et locyst.[3] Pour ceste meschante fut il chassie du pays, sy sen ala en Grece en la terre du roy Pandrasus, en laquelle terre avoit pluiseurs des exiliez de Troyes ou ilz estoient en grant servitude desoulx la seignourie de ce dyt roy, sy sacointa aussy a ceulx de la lingnie Helenus, le filz Priant de Troyes, qui la sestoient arrestez aprez la destruction dicelle. Tant se fist amer par sa bonte et par sa largesse que les Troiens, qui estoient oppressez des Gregois, luy prierent quilz meist conseil et diligence a leur delivrance et quilz estoient assez de bonnes gens qui bien luy ayderoient sy voloit emprendre la besoingne. Daultre part un jovenceau qui estoit filz dun grant seigneur du pays et dune dame troienne lequel estoit appelle Assairacus, lui offry tout son pooir; il avoit un frere Gregois de pere et de mere qui lui vouloit tolir trois fors chasteaux que son pere lui avoit donnez quant il deut morir et pour ce se tiroit-il devers les Troyens pour avoir leur ayde a recouvrer ce que son dit frere lui voulait tollir et dist a Bructus quil lui bailleroit ses trois chasteaus sil vouloit mettre la main a ceste besongne et oultre plus luy ayderoit de toute sa puissance. Adonc emprint Bructus la besongne et garni moult bien les Troyens et les trois chasteaux et y mist bonnes et fortes garnisons, puis atout ce quil lui demoura de gens ala[4] devers la forest, sy en mist une partie es montaignes et laultre partie dedens les bois. Or

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[1] *treshonnourablement.* C. 2.
[2] *cop,* B. *coup.* C. 2.
[3] *locyst, ja soit ce quil ne cuidast pas faire.* B. C. 2.
[4] *ala.* Omitted in B.

doncques quant Bructus se vey adcompaignie des Troiens qui estoient fors et en grant nombre il escript unes lettres au roy Pandrasus en la forme et maniere qui sensieult.

La teneur des lettres que Bructus envoia au roy Pandrasus.

Ou roy Pandrasus de par Bructus duc et capitaine des povres exillies de Troyes demourans en ce pays.

Roy Pandrasus je te prie pour lamour du noble roy Dardanus jadis roy et seigneur du puissant royaulme de Frige ou sist na pas loncq temps la tres noble cite de Troyes, que tu veulles donner liberte et franchise au peuple troien qui loncqtemps a este en chetivison et servage soubz ta seignourie, dont il me poise. Et ne tesmerville mie se nous demandons franchise daler et venir ou il nous plaira, car meismes les bestes mues aiment mieulx ligement vivre dherbes et de rachines que bonnes et delicieuzes pastures ou vitailles en servage des hommes, et aussy volons nous desore[1] en avant vivre franchement quelque part que nous soyons, car nous amons mieulx estre povres, francs et lieges que estre[2] riches, serfs et tributaires. Et se tu liberte nous veulz donner tu feras bien, car tu en seras plus fort et plus doubte de tes ennemis, et se tu ne veulz faire nostre vouloir nous te deffions de par nos dieux ; sy te garde de nous doresenavant.

[1] *doresenavant.* B. *doresnavant.* C. 2.

[2] *estre finablement riches et estre tributaires.* C. 2.

Comment le roy Pandrasus sesmerveilla de ce que les Troyens se vouloient rebeller contre luy, sy manda ses barons, et comment Bructus le desconfist. LE CHAPITRE X^e^.

LE roy Pandrasus sesmerveilla moult quant il eut leu les lettres ; pourquoy il assembla grant gent et manda tous ses barons et leur dist comment les Troyens se vouloient rebeller contre luy, sy ot[1] en conseil daler assegier un des chasteaux que Bructus tenoit appelle Separatin, et il sacorda a ce conseil, car il chevaucha celle part pour le chastel prendre e abatra.[2] Mais Bructus qui sceut sa venue lui vint a lencontre a ung estroit passage, par teile maniere que le roy Pandrasus et ses gens furent si sourprins quil neurent loisir de eulx mettre en ordonnance, ne jamais le roy neust pense que les Troyens eussent assemble sy grant puissance en sy peu despace, et pourcequilz[3] se tenoient estre si asseurs, estoient la plus part deulx desarmez, sicque Bructus et sa gent qui les assaillerent vigoureusement les desconfirent legierement. Et senfui le roy Pandrasus, avec lui aulcuns de ses gens, mais ceulx qui fuir ne peurent furent mors ou prins, et une grande multitude qui senfuioient vers un grant fleuve qui prez estoit, furent tous noiez ou tuez, car les Troiens les sievirent de si prez quil les convenoit saillir des dicques dedens leaue, et ceulx qui ne volrent saillir en la riviere qui estoit grande et radde furent tous mors[4] ou prins. Entre les aultres fut prins Anthigonus, frere du roy Pandrasus et son compagnon. Ces deux princes estoient eschappez de la bataille, lesquelz, quant ilz veyrent que leur seigneur[5] estoit sy

[1] *trouva.* C. 2.
[2] *abatre.* B. C .2.
[3] *pourcequil se tenoit estre sy asceure.* C. 2.
[4] *ou occis.* C. 2.
[5] *roy.* B. C. 2.

honteusement desconfis et que tant de leurs gens estoyent einsamble et de mors et de prins, il se rasamblerent[1] a tout le plus de gens quilz peurent, sy retournerent en la bataille ou ilz firent moult de belles armes et saquiterent loyaulment, mais riens ne leur vailli car ilz furent tous deux prins et tous leurs gens mors ou prins vifs. Lors donna Bructus tout le gaing aux compaignons, puis se retray vers le foresz, sy emmena tous les prisonniers lesquelz il fist bien atachier aux mairiens de bons anneaux de fer rives.

Comment Bructus et les siens destruisirent[2] *la seconde foiz le roy Pandrasus; et fut prins par Bructus dedens sa tente devant le chastel de Separentin quil avoit assegie.* Le Chapitre XI^e^.

Le roy Pandrasus fut moult courouchiez et doullens de ce quil avoit este sy piteusement desconfis et aussy de la prinse de son frére et des aultres prisoniers, et de la grant perte de ses gens, sy dist quil ameroit mieulx a morir quil ne se vengast du dangier et grant dommage que les Troiens lui avoient fait; pour quoy il rasambla trois fois plus grant ost quil navoit fait paravant, sy sen ala assegier le chastel de Separentin pour ce quil cuidoit que Bructus feust dedens a tout ses prisonniers, ou il fist pluiseurs assaulx, mais riens ny fist, car ceulx de dedens estoient bonnes[3] gens et bien garnis de tout ce que mestier leur estoit, fors que de vivres, mais pourcequil navoient point assez vivrez pour eulx longuement tenir ilz firent scavoir leur necessite a Bructus leur seigneur. Quant Bructus

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[1] *ilz se ralierent ensamble.* B. C. 2.
[2] *desconfierent.* B. C. 2.
[3] *bonnes.* B. *hommes.* A. *bonnes gens.* C. 2.

et son conseil oirent ces nouvelles il leur sembla bien quil nestoient pas asses fors pour lever le siege, sy se ala Bructus adviser dune cautele et fist armer ses gens quant la nuit fut venue, desquelz il fist trois parties et les mist en trois embusches, puis sen vint a Anathus, un sien prisonnier, sy le fist desliier et le mena a part, sacha[1] son espee, et lui dist quil estoit mort sil ne faisoit prestement ce quil demandoit. Et Anathus comme cellui qui avoit paour de morir lui respondy que il feroit[2] totalement sa volente. Adonc lui dist Bructus quil alast en lost du roy devant le chastel et desist a ceulx qui faisoient le guet ceste nuitie que Anthigonus et lui estoient eschappes et quil lavoit laissie en une valee dedens le bois, tout ferre danneaux de fer, pourquoy il ne pooit venir sans ayde, sy le convenoit aler querir. Et Bructus lui promist quil le deliveroit son compaignon et lui par sa foy sil voloit adcomplir ce quil lui avoit chargie, laquelle chose Anathus dist quil feroit.[3] Adonc le laissa aler Bructus, et Anathus vint assez tost en lost ou il trouva le guet tout entour des tentes. Tantost fut congnu de ceulx qui veilloient, lesquelz firent grant joye de sa venue, sy lui demanderent des nouvelles du frere du roy, et daultres, et comment il estoit eschappe. Lequel leur conta tout laffaire par la maniere que Bructus lui avoit chargie et leur dist quil venissent avec lui et il les menroit au lieu ou il avoit laissie Antigonus. Ceulx cuidierent que Anathus dist verite,[4] sy le firent monter a cheval et sarouterent ensemble apres lui. La nuit estoit belle et clere; sy chevaucherent tant quilz passerent[5] la premiere et seconde embusche, et quant ilz furent prez de la tierche Bructus leur courut sus sy impetueusement

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[1] *tira.* C. 2.
[2] *accomplira.* C. 2.
[3] *et que lui meismes les y meneroit.* B. C. 2.
[4] *voir.* C. 2.
[5] *tant quilz passerent.* B. C. 2. Omitted in A.

que hastivement furent tous mors ou prins, sicque ung seul nen eschappa. Tantost que ces escarguettez [1] furent ainsy destruitz Bructus et sa compaignie chevaucerent bellement [2] vers lost armez. Quant ils furent prez du chastel il fist troys parties de ses gens et leur dist quil se tenissent tout coy jusques ad che que ilz oroient son cor sonner ou corner et que adonc ilz entraissent soudainement aux tentes et pavillons et meissent tout a mort. Apres ces parolles Bructus prinst douze bons compaignons avec lui et sen ala tout droit a la tente du roy, sy occyst tous ceulx quil y trouva, fors le roy seulement quil prinst tout vyf et lemmena hors de lost sy le bailla [3] a garde a ses compaignons, puis revint en lost sonnant son cor hault et cler. Alors envayrent les Troyens les tentes et pavillons de toutes pars se misrent tout a lespee quancques ilz trouverent, car ilz dormoient sceurement pour leur guet quilz cuidoient estre [4] entour deulx, et par ceste maniere fut le roy Pandrasus totalement desconfi par lengin de Bructus, sycque un seul [5] nen eschappa qui adonc ne feust mors ou prins.

Comment Bructus departi tout le gaing a ses compaignons, et comment le roy Pandrasus sacorda a Bructus par teil condicion quil habandonna a tous les Troyens qui estoient en son pays daler ou ilz voldroient, et avec ce bailla a Bructus troix cens nefz bien garniez avec grant foyson dor et dargent. LE CHAPITRE XII[e].

QUANT ce vint au matin Bructus fist mener dedens le chastel le roy et tous les prisonniers, puis fist

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[1] *escharguettes.* B. *eschauguettes.* C. 2.
[2] *tout quoyement.* C. 2.
[3] *donna en garde.* C. 2.
[4] *avoir.* C. 2.
[5] *ung tout seul.* C. 2.

assambler tout le gaing ou bustin, sy le departi aux chevalliers et commanda a enterer tous les mors. Ce fait, il assambla les plus sages des Troiens ausquelz il demanda leur advis sur ce quil avoit a faire et comment il ouverroit du roy Pandrasus. Sy furent entre eulx de pluiseurs et diverses oppinions, car les ungs disoient quil seroit bon demander au roy une partie de son royaulme ou ilz et toute leur habitacion ou generacion peussent demourer a tousjours, mais francement sans a lui ne a aultre paier quelque tribut ; les aultres disoient quilz ne sentremetoient [1] jamais veu le dhommage quilz leur avoient fait a eulx amer et que mieulx valoit demander aultre chose.

Entreulx avoit un sage chevalier nomme Menbritius qui se leva de son siege et dist en audience quil [2] demanderoit par son conseil au roy sa fille Inogent pour le duc Bructus aveuc une certaine quantite dor et dargent et joiaulz avec aussy un grant nombre de nefz garnies de fourment et de toutes choses necessaires pour vivre ; et oultre que tous les Troyens qui estoient en son royaulme sen peussent aler rancement [3] ou il leur plairoit, et se riens avoit du leur il en feroit a eulx restitution. Ceste oppinion fut loee et accordee de tous, sy fut le roy Pandrasus mande devant Bructus et ses barons, et lors Bructus lui fist toute la demande telle comme vous avez oy que Menbritius lavoit devisee, et que se ainsy le voloit faire il le delivreroit de prison sain et sauf avec son frere Antigonus, et tous les prisonniers Grecz quil tenoit. Le roy Pandrasus soy veant estre audesoubz ottroya au duc Bructus sa demande ; un pou gemy il pour lamour de sa fille quil donnoit a son ennemi mortel, toutesfoiz se resconfortoit il en disant

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[1] *sentreameroient.* C. 2.

[2] *que par son conseil on demanderoit.* B. C. 2.

[3] *francement.* B. *franchement.* C. 2.

que Bructus estoit preu [1] et gentil, sycque encores leur eust il volontiers donne la tierce partie de son royaulme et tenu francs et quittez a tousjoursmais se ilz eusent volu demourer la, [2] mais Bructus avoit advise que *viel pecie* [3] *fait nouvelle playe*, pourquoy ilz demourerent en leur premier propoz. Lors envoia le roy Pandrasus ses messages par tous les ports de Grece pour querre et assambler nefz [4] et tant quil en ot trois cens et quant elles furent bien garniez de tout ce que mestier estoit si comme de fourmens, de vins de chars [5] de pain que on dist bescuit, de chevaux, darmures et de moult grant vitailles, il les delivra aux Troyens et oultre leur bailla or et argent a grant plente ; puis fist [6] il amener sa fille Ignogent laquelle il bailla a Bructus par la dextre [7] et il la receupt liement et honnourablement. La pucelle Ignogent fut moult doulente quant elle vey quil lui convenoit laissier son pere et ses amys, sa terre [8] et son pays. Et sachie vraiement que le roy fist grandement son honneur envers Bructus et les siens, car il leur donna plus assez quilz ne lui avoient demande, car il donna aux Troyens de beaulx dons, a chascun selon quil estoit. Apres ces choses faittes et adcomplies, Bructus et Inogent prindrent congie du roy et des barons, puis sen alerent vers la havre ou leurs nefz estoyent, sy entrerent tous dedens leur navire et leverent leurs voilles, puis singlerent deux jours et deux nuis parmy la haulte mer ; au tierch jour vers le vespre vindrent a une isle que on appelle Leogetie. En celle isle descendirent Bructus et [9] ses compaignons

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[1] *homme preu.* C. 2.
[2] *illecq.* C. 2.
[3] *pechie.* B. C. 2.
[4] *navires.* C. 2.
[5] *de chars, de farine.* B. *de fourment, de chars, de vin, de farine, de pain biscuit.* C. 2.
[6] *puis commanda quon amena sa fille.* C. 2.
[7] *la main dextre.* B. C. 2.
[8] *son pays et toute sa contree.* C. 2.
[9] *et aucuns de.* B. C 2.

pour veoyr queles gens y habitoient, mais ilz ny trouverent personne car elle avoit este gastee et destruite des robeurs et pirates de mer que nous appellons escumeurs. Toutesvoies ilz y trouverent grant foizon de bestes sauvages, sy comme daimz, cerfz, bicez, lievres connins, sy en prindrent et les mirent en leurs nefz qui depuis leur vindrent bien a point. Ilz y trouverent aussy un ymage en un viel temple qui avoit este fait en lonneur de la deesse Dyane la chasseresse ou adevineresse. Le malingne[1] esprit estoit en icellui temps en pluiseurs telz ymages sy comme de Appollo, de Venus, de Ysis[2] et de pluiseurs aultres et decepvoit la gent qui estoit de malvaize creance. Ceste deesse se faisoit nommer Dyane, la deesse des boiz et des veneurs et chasseurs et donnoit respons par signes ou par visions a ceulx qui venoient a elle pour demander de leurs adventures, apres ce quilz lui avoient faittes les ceremonies ordonnees a elle. Et estoit aulcunes foiz cest ymage en guise de femme chasseresse car elle avoit par semblant sa robe rencorsee jusques aux genous et son carquaix plain de sagettes a son coste avec larc turquois en sa main et sy tenoit un dart pour getter a la beste.[3] Ceste deesse se tenoit aulcunes foiz jeune par semblance et aulcunes fois sembloit estre vielle; et tout ce faisoit le deable pour mieulx decepvoir la meschant gent. A ceste deesse vint le duc Bructus, sy amena avecques lui un prestre et douze de ses compaignons. Quant ilz furent entres ou temple Bructus aluma un grant feu jouste lautel et y mist choses oromaticques[4] comme encens et aultres choses souef odourans, puis fist oroison a genoulx devant lymage et offrit vin, lait et miel, sy en arouza limage et son autel, puis avironna le dit autel ix. fois a genoulx

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[1] *mauvais.* C. 2.
[2] *de Ysis, de Jupiter.* C. 2.
[3] *sauvagine.* C. 2.
[4] *aromaticques.* B. C. 2.

en requerant humblement celle deesse quelle lui voulsist donner responce de ce quil lui demandoit, cest a scavoir des adventures et fortunes qui lui estoient a advenir. Or doncques apres ce quelle ot faittes[1] et oyes par Bructus ces offrandes et cerimonies ou[2] sacrefices, Bructus se coucha devant lautel sur une peau de bisse nouvellement escorcie sy bouta hors du temple toux ceulx qui y estoient et la sendormi. Sy lui sembla en son dormant que celle deesse lui disoit quil sarretast en la premiere terre quil trouveroit oultre les royaulmes de Gaulles, vers occident ; la trouveroit il lisle d'Albion qui est bonne et grande et ya bon pays et plaisant pour y habiter et en est la terre bonne a labourer. " Celle terre tendras et y feras une nouvelle " Troye en icelle et de toy istera royal[3] lingnie qui " parmy le monde sera moult renommee et exauchie[4]." Vous devez scavoir quil ot anchiennement en France xii. royaulmes que xii. roys tenoient ou temps que Bructus vint premierement en la Grant Bretaigne. Quant Bructus fut esveillie et[5] lui souvint de son songe ou vision ; il enclina sa deese et lui fist veu que se yl pooit conquerre la terre par elle a lui promyse il lui feroit en icelle un temple ouquel a tousjours elle seroit honnouree. Aprez ce se parti Bructus du temple et raconta a ses hommes sa vision, puis rentrerent en leurs nefz, sy commencerent a nager sy radement que ilz parvindrent au bout de trente jours au[6] royalme d'Aufriques sy passerent oultre sans arester ne a les salins du pays, et les destrois des montaingnes d'Azares ou ilz trouverent pluiseurs escumeurs de mer qui les assallirent et leur firent grant dommage, mais en la fin ilz furent vaincqus par Bructus et sa compaignie

[1] *receues.* C. 2.
[2] *et autres.* C. 2.
[3] *moult noble.* C. 2.
[4] *essaulcee.* C. 2.
[5] *et lui.* A. *et il lui.* B. *aucunement.* C. 2.
[6] *en Auffricque.* B. C. 2.

qui gaignerent beaucop sur eulx, puis singlerent tant quils parvindrent en une isle qui a a non Makanie ou ilz descendirent pour eulx rafreschir et prendre leurs necessitez ; la firent grant dhommage Bructus et sa gent,[1] car ilz pillerent tout le pais et emporterent[2] en leurs nefz tout le bustin. Quant ilz orent sejourne en celle isle par aulcuns jours ilz rentrerent en leurs nefz et tant nagerent quilz vindrent aux bonnes Hercules en la fin d'Auffrique ; la trouverent ilz monstres marins que nous appellons seraines qui ont depuis le nombril en sus[3] fourme humaine, et de la en-dessoubz fourme de poisson. Ces seraines chantent sy doulcement que par la doulceur de leur chant elles endorment les maronniers[4] qui ne sont point instruiz de leur malice, puis entrent en leurs nefz et les occyent, mais Bructus et sa gent,[1] qui bien en avoient oy parler, sen eschapperent[5] a quelque paine et puis alerent tant par mer nagant quilz parvindrent en la mer Tirianne ; la trouverent ilz quattre nations de Troyens qui loncq temps aprez ce que les princes dessus nommes, cest a scavoir Helenus, Eneas, Anthenor et une aultre navire[6] de menu peuple sestoient partis de Troyes, se partirent ceulx cy comme[7] les aultres et tant avoient nagiet parmy la mer une foiz cha, laultre foiz la que en celle isle estoient arrivez par la voulente[8] des dieulx. Ung duc y avoit qui estoit leur chief, grant et fort comme un geant lequel Corineus avoit a non. Quant ce Corineus et sa gent appercurent la navire de Bructus qui moult estoit grande, les aulcuns deulz alerent au-devant pour scavoir quels gens cestoient, et tantost quilz les

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[1] *ses hommes.* C. 2.

[2] *emporterent tout en leurs navires ce quilz avoient butinne.* C. 2.

[3] *en amont fourme humaine de femme.* C. 2.

[4] *marriners.* B. *mariners.* C. 2.

[5] *au mieulx quilz peurent.* C. 2.

[6] *une aultre navie.* B. *une aultre maniere.* C. 2.

[7] *comme avoient fait.* C. 2.

[8] *le vouloir.* C. 2.

oyrent parler certainement ilz sceurent que cestoient Troiens qui queroient nouvelle habitacion ainsy comme eulx[1] avoient fait. Lors eut Corineus grant joye quant il fut de ce adverty, sy leur vint au-devant, et a lassambler y ot mainte larme plouree; mais toutesfois Corineus sacointa de Bructus et de sa gent. Apres ce que Corineus eut grandement festoie Bructus et sa compaignie ilz conclurent ensemble de tous entrer en mer, Bructus et Corineus avec tout ce quilz avoient de gens, sy se partirent des ports d'Espaigne et nagerent vers Armoricque qui a present est appellee Bretaigne-la-Petite, sy laissierent Poitou a dextre et vindrent tout droit au lieu ou la riviere de Loirre chyet en la mer, et entrerent en leaue doulce de la riviere en montant un peu despace, puis ancrerent leurs vaisseaux, sy issirent tous dehors et prindrent terre pour eulx aisier,[2] esbatre et veoyr le pays.

Comment apres ce que Bructus et Corineus avec leurs gens eurent sejourne viii.[3] *jours au bout de Loirre se misrent en leurs nefz et nagerent contremont leaue tant quilz trouverent un lieu convenable pour eulx aizier, ou ilz ficherent leurs herberges, et comment ilz desconfirent le roy Gauffier d'Acquitaine.* CHAPITRE XIIIe.

QUANT il vint a la congnoissance du roy Gauffier de Poitiers que des gens estranges estoient descendus en sa terre sans sa licence il lui en despleut grandement, sy y envoya tantost un sien chevalier appelle Humbert pour scavoir quelz gens cestoient et quilz queroient

[1] *eulx mesmes.* C. 2.
[2] *esier.* C. 2.
[3] *vij.* B. C. 2.

en son pays. Tant chevauca Humbert quil vint prez des logiz des Troyens, sy entra dedens ung bosquet qui estoit la en droit dencoste la riviere de Loirre ou il trouva Corineus et bien deux cens de ses compaignons qui chassoient, sy leur demanda qui ilz estoient et quilz queroient en la terre de son seigneur, et comment ilz estoient sy hardis de chasser illec sans en avoir prins licence au roy. Corineus qui mieulx amoit guerre que paix lui respondy quilz estoient Troyens qui queroient terre pour demourer, quil ygnoroit son seigneur[1] ne que pour lui ne pour son commandement ne feroit il riens. De ceste responce fut Humbert moult courouchiez, pourquoy il cuida berser Corineus, mais il failli, sy fut prins des Troyens, et de son arc meismes leschervela Corineus ; les aultres qui estoient avec Humbert senfuirent a Poitiers, sy conterent au roy tout ce quilz avoient veu, oy et entendu. Quant le roy Gauffier sceut la mort de son chevallier et que cestoient gens Troyens exilliez arrives en sa terre et gastoient le pays, quilz ne tenoient nulle compte de lui, ains le despitoyent ; sil fut mal content deulx ne le faut pas demander. Tantost manda ses hommes au plus efforceement quil polt[2], puis chevauca vers Loirre moult fierement. Bructus qui sceut sa venue par ses espiez fist rentrer dedens ses nefz toute sa menue gent et leur dist quilz ne se meussent jusques ad che quilz oroient nouvelle de lui, et puis myst les aultres en ordonnance, sy ala a lencontre de Gauffier. Sy tost que les deux ostz apperceurent lun laultre, ilz brocherent les chevaux des esperons, sy commenca le cry et la noise moult grande en ceste place, sy en y eult mains mors[3] a lassambler tant dun coste comme de laultre. Grande fut la bataille entre Poitevins et

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[1] *roy.* B. C. 2.
[2] *comme lui estoit possible.* C. 2.
[3] *et y morut maint homme.* C. 2.

Troyens, mais Corineus qui estoit grant, et fort comme un geant se hontoya de ce que les Poitevins duroient si longuement a lencontre deulx, sy prinst une hache a deux mains de laquelle il commenca de ferir a dextre et a senestre et nassenoit nul temps tant feust fort arme quil ny laissast la vye; pourquoy il rompit tous les conrois de ses ennemis, voulsissent ou non; et aussy sy emploioit moult bien Bructus et son cousin Turnus. Quant le roy Gauffier vey le meschief de sa gent et le peril ou il estoit, il fist signe de retraire et prinst la fuite, pourquoy chascun de ses gens qui ce percurent penserent deulx sauver qui mieulx mieulx, mais Corineus les poursievoit et occioit impetueusement.

Ensy[1] le roy et sa gent furent tous desconfis et tournerent en fuite, exepte un noble chevalier, parent du roy quy grant despit avoit de ce que Corineus faisoit sy grant exces de leurs gens, lequel chevalier avoit non Suars ou Thoras selon listoire des Poitevins; cestui ralia entour soy environ trois cens hommes darmes et retourna sus Corineus bien et vigoureusement. La eult grant bataille et eust este le vaillant Corineus mort a celle envaye[2] si Bructus ne leust aperceu qui lui vint aydier, car trop sestoit esseule et eslongie de ses gens. Quant Corineus perchut le secours il sesvertua et fist tant quil vint a Suars et le feri sy durement sur la teste quil le pourfendi jusques au nombril, de quoy ceulx qui ce veyrent eurent si grant paour que oncques puis ne tindrent conroy, mais qui saulver se peult il se tint bien eureux. Or doncques la bataille finee et vaincue, les Troyens prindrent tout le bustin, sy lemporterent en leurs nefz puis fourcrent le païs denviron puissamment, et apres rentrerent en leurs nefz et nagerent amont la riviere jusques au lieu ou maintenant siet Tours en Touraine,

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[1] *Enfin.* B. C. 2.

[2] *envahie.* C. 2.

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lequel leur sembla bel et delitable, sy tendirent illec leurs tentes et pavillons et sejournerent la une grant espace, sy y fermerent une petite forteresse pour eulx retraire silz en avoient besoing.

Comment le roy Gauffier ala querir secours en France, et comment il fut de rechief desconfi par les Troyens. CHAPITRE XIIII[e].

APRES la desconfiture de la bataille sen retourna Gauffier a Poitiers, doulent et courouchiez de la perte quil avoit faitte, sy assambla les barons[1] pour estre conseillie a scavoir mon comment il se poroit maintenir, et il fut regarde entre eulx quil nestoit point assez puissant pour chassier celle estrange gent hors de son pays sans grande ayde et secours, sy conclurent quil estoit necessite que le roy alast en Gaulle querir secours aux douze roys qui tenoient tout le pais de Gaulle. A ce conseil sacorda le roy d'Acquitaine sy se parti de son pays et chevauca tant a petite compaignie quil vint en Gaulle ou il trouva les douze roys, ausquelz il fist sa complainte en leur requerant ayde contre les Troyens qui desconfi lavoient et destruisoient son pays. Tous lui promisrent aide et secours, sy assamblerent grants ostz, et Gauffier sexploita le plus tost quil polt de revenir atout le secours de Gaulle. Quant Bructus sceut que Gauffier venoit contre lui et quil estoit ja prez, il fist armer sa gent sy lui vint au-devant. A lassambler des deux ostz y eut de fieres contenances et dura la battaille longuement, car moult estoient preux et vaillans dune partie et daultre. Bructus avoit illecques un sien cousin qui Turnus avoit non, lequel fist lors merveilles darmes, car selon ce que

[1] *tous ses barons pour avoir conseil.* C. 2.

dist listoire il occist dune espee sept cens hommez de ses ennemis, et aulcuns dient que ce fut dune lance, mais toutesvoies ce Bructus sembati[1] sy avant dedens ses ennemis, et Turnus le sievoit qui[2] en la foule fut occis, dont Bructus fut moult dolent en son cuer, sicque pour vengier la mort de son cousin il se mist en plus grant adventure que devant et fist lors entre ses ennemis maintes belles proesses, et tant quil recouvra le corps de son cousin Turnus. Droit a ceste heure sourvint illecq Corineus dun embuscement ou il estoit, sy envahi sy durement les François en frappant a dextre et a senestre, et Bructus daultre coste, sicque tout ce quilz ataingnoient ilz mettoient a fin et misrent leurs ennemys en desroy et en fuite sans eux plus pooir ralyer. Quant la bataille fut finee, Bructus et Corineus prindrent le corps de Turnus lequel ilz emporterent en leur chastel ou ilz lenterrerent amyablement[3] et honnourablement a grans pleurs et regretz ; par cestui Turnus prinst la cite de Tours son nom et ce chastel que Bructus y fist fut le commencement de celle cite de Tours.

Comment Bructus se parti de la terre du roy d'Acquitaine et sen ala en Albion, sy descendi illec a terre lui et ses gens et occirent tous les geans quilz y trouverent fors Geomagon auquel Corineus le fort luitta. CHAPITRE XV[e].

LES choses ainsy faittes, Bructus et ses compaignons prindrent ensamble conclusion quil estoit bon de eulx partir de la ou ilz estoient pour aler en lisle que les

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[1] *se combaty.* C. 2.

[2] *que le dit Turnus fut occis.* B. C. 2.

[3] *amyablement et.* Omitted in B. C. 2.

dieux leur [1] avoient promise ; sy rentrerent dedens leurs nefz a tout leurs grans avoirs et proyes innumerables quils avoient par pluiseurs manieres concquestees, puis descendirent au loncq de la riviere de Loirre tout a leur plaisir et entrerent en la mer, sy tournerent a dextre et sen alerent nagant parmi la mer tant quilz vindrent au port de Mortaigne, lequel port estoit en une isle appellee Albion, qui a present [2] se nomme Engleterre, en laquelle isle il nabitoit synon geans qui demouroient en cavernes soubz terre. Bructus et ses gens la venus, ilz issirent de leurs nefz [3] et prindrent terre. Sy perceurent bien par leurs sorts que cestoit la terre a eulx promise par les dieulx pour habitter : sylz orent grant joye de ceste adventure nest ja mestier de demander [4]. Or advint un jour [5] quilz sassamblérent selon la coustume du pays dont ilz estoient nesz [6] quilz veirent venir un grant tourbe [7] de geans qui soudainement lor [8] coururent sus, et en occirent a ce commencement pluiseurs de grossez pierrez quilz leur getterent, mais les Troyens prindrent cuer et hardement en eulx, sy les envahirent sy asprement que les geans ne porent endurer leur effort pour cause du trait [9] ; pourquoy il les convint tourner a fuitte, mais Bructus et Corineus avec leurs gens les poursievirent de sy pres quilz furent tous mors de dars,[10] de lances et despees, et de sajettes barbees, puis se retournerent a leurs esbatemens sy mercyerent grandement leurs dieulx des grandes victoires quilz leur avoient donnees, et

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[1] *leur.* B. C. 2.

[2] *maintenant.* C. 2.

[3] *de leurs nefz.* A. B. *hors.* C. 2.

[4] *dont curent grant joye de ceste adventure.* C. 2.

[5] *un jour endementiers quilz sesbatoient.* B. *ung jour entrementes quilz sesbatoyent.* C. 2.

[6] *natifs.* C. 2.

[7] *compaignie.* C. 2.

[8] *leur.* B. C. 2.

[9] *trait que les Troiens avoient, et.* C. 2.

[10] *de cops de dars.* B. *quilz furent comme tous mors de coupz de darts et de lances.* C. 2.

aussy de ce quilz estoient arrives en la terre quilz leur avoient promise. Ne demoura gueres aprez que aultrez geans sassamblerent pour les Troyens grever, de laquelle chose Bructus et Corineus furent advertis, sy leur coururent sus par tel radeur quilz les occirent tous fors[1] un tant seulement qui de tous estoit le plus grant et le plus fort, lequel estoit seigneur et maistre de tous les aultres et estoit appelle Geomagon. A cellui se volt Corineus esprouver a la luitte,[2] car il avoit xii. coustees de hault. Quant ilz se furent prins aulz bracz et orent longuement estrive a la luitte,[3] le geant estraint sy durement Corineus quil lui brisa deux costes dedens le corps. De ce fut Corineus sy yres[4] quil esleva le geant de terre, voulsist ou non, et lemporta sur la faloise qui estoit sus la mer, sy le getta contre-val[5] le rochier par tel vertu quil fut tout debrise et escervele[6] et yssy de sang de son corps de leaue de la mer une toise tout entour de lui en devint rouge, et pour ce est le[7] lieu jusques a present du jour dui[8] appelle le sault Geomagon.

Comment Bructus et Corineus departirent ensamble la terre dAlbion, et comment aprez ce que Bructus ot rengne xiiii.[9] *ans et ediffye la cite de Londres avec pluiseurs chasteaulz il morut et laissa troix filz qui aprez lui regnarent grandement.*[10] LE CHAPITRE XVI^c^.

APRES ces choses ainsy advenues, que vous avez oy, Bructus et Corineus cercherent le pays avant et ariere;

[1] *excepte ung seulement.* B. C. 2.
[2] *luitte . . .* [3] *luitte*—all between these words omitted in C. 2.
[4] *courrouce.* C. 2.
[5] *contre-val par si grant radeur.* C. 2.
[6] *escervele, et issi tant de sang de son corpz que leaue.* B. *eschervelle, car il estoit homme moult pesant, et issi tant de sang de son corps que leaue.* C. 2.
[7] *ce lieu.* B. C. 2.
[8] *aujourdhui.* B. C. 2.
[9] xiiii. A. B.; in the text and C. 2. xxiiii.
[10] *tres grandement.* B. C. 2.

quant ilz orent este partout, ça et la, ilz trouverent que toute la terre estoit au delivre,[1] sy partirent la terre sy justement que Bructus mist Corineus a choix de prendre ou eslire laquelle part quil voloit et au les que mieulx lui plairoit. Corineus sans plente choisir prinst un des cornes de la terre laquelle il appella de son non Corinee ; et prinst Corineus celle part pource-quil scavoit bien que la habitoit plus de géans que en nulle aultre partie de lisle. Bructus prinst laultre partie de la terre et lappella Bretaigne de son nom, et les habitans Bretons ; puis se parti Bructus[2] et sen ala sur le fleuve de Thamise.[3] Corineus qui demourez estoit en Cornvaille avec les frans commença a ediffyer chasteaux, maisons et villes, et fist terres labourer, champs semer, arbrez planter, et commanda a chascun de maisonner au mieulz quil pooit. Aprez ce que Bructus et Corineus eurent partie la terre dAlbion et Corineus vey son peuple acreu, il avec ses compaignons retourna en Armoricque, laquelle il concquesta toute et lappella la Petite-Bretaigne, pour lamour de Bructus son bon amy, sy en fut seigneur et roy ; mais les aulcuns dient quelle ot tousjours nom Armoricque jusques au temps que Maximien la conquesta et la donna a Conan lequel il en fist roy et seigneur et adonc la nomma la Petite-Bretaigne, sy comme il appert ou chapitre qui fait mention de Maximien.

Quant Bructus fut venus sur la riviere de Thamise et il ot regarde ça et la les valees, les montaignes, les bois, les rivieres, les lacz, les estangz, les fontaines, les ruisseaulx, les praieries, et les plains il commanda a tous ses gens que chascun esleust lieu convenable pour soy logier, sy sespanderent dun coste et daultre, et choisy[4] chascun tel lieu que bon lui[5] sembla, puis se

[1] *bien nettoiee.* B. *bien nettoyee.* C. 2.
[2] *Bructus.* A. *de Corineus.* B. C. 2.
[3] *la Thamise.* C. 2.
[4] *choisirent.* C, 2.
[5] *leur.* C. 2.

logerent, chascun en droit de soy au mieulx quil polt, et commencerent a labourer champs, pres, gardings, puis se prindrent a maisonner et machonner, bours et villes fermer, chasteaulx ediffyer, et dedyer temples a leurs dieulx. Quant Bructus vey que son peuple commença bien acroistre et faire la besoigne, il en fut moult liez, sy pensa quil feroit une nouvelle cite; pour laquelle faire il ala regarder sur la riviere de la Thamise un lieu plaisant et convenable, sy fonda illec et ediffya une nouvelle cite quil appella Nouvelle Troye ou Troye-Nove,[1] laquelle fut moult belle et bien assize, et la nomma Troye, adfin que a tousjours feust memore de ses ancesseurs Troiens.

Moult eurent grant joye Bructus et Inogent sa femme, quand ilz veirent leur peuple en peu de temps sy grandement croistre et multiplier par toute la terre et festoia un jour grandement tous ses amys feaulx quant il vey sa noble cite parfaite et fist grans oblacions et sacrificez a ses dieux. Il peupla grandement sa cite de nobles hommes cytoiens et bourgois, ausquelz il donna certaines instructions de loys pour eulx seloncg icellz vivre et gouvrener en eulx doulcement commandant quilz vesquissent ensamble en paix et concorde. Ne demoura gueres apres ces choses achevees[2] que Bructus prinst une maladie dont il morut aprez ce quil ot tenue Bretaigne lespace de xxiiii. ans, sy fut mys en sepulture, moult richement comme a tel prince appartenoit, en Troye-Nove, sa cyte, ainsy que ordonne lavoit a sa femme Inogent, a ses trois filz et a ses aultres amys charnels et ce fut au temps que Saul morut qui fut le premier roy des Ebrieux.[3] Trois filz avoit Bructus de sa femme Inogent quant il morut; laisne ot non Lotrin, lequel tint la moitie de Bretaigne

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[1] *Neufve.* C. 2.
[2] *commandees.* C. 2.
[3] *ce fut au temps . . . Ebrieux*— Omitted here in C. 2., and inserted at the end of the section, after Escoche.

qui Logres de son nom est nommee ; le second ot non Camber, lequel tint la terre oultre le flueve de Sabrine qui de son non fut appellee Cambrie et maintenant a a non Galles ; le tierch ot non Albanacus, lequel ot la terre d'Albanye qui fut ainsy appellee de son droit non, et maintenant est nomme Escoche.[1]

En leur temps advint que un roy qui Humbert avoit non vint a tout grant ostz par mer en Escoche et gasta tout le royaulme, sy occist le roy Albanacus avecques la plus grant partie des siens. Ceulx qui porent eschapper vinrent au roy Lotrin et lui noncherent ceste mescheance dont il fut moult courouchiez, especialment de la mort de son frere, mais pour ce ne laissa mye quil nassamblast toute sa puissance et manda aussy le roy Camber avec tout son pooir. Sy se hasterent tant quilz vindrent en Albanye ou ilz trouverent le roy Humbert auquel ilz se combatirent et le desconfirent tellement quil prinst la fuite et fui jusques a un fleuve lequel il cuida passer, mais il y fut noyes par la radeur et parfondesse de leaue, pour laquelle cause ce fleuve fut appelle Humber et est encorres jusques au jour dhuy ; et devise ceste riviere le pays d'Eschoche de cellui d'Engleterre. Le roy Lotrin et Camber son frere habandonnerent tout le bustin ou la proye a leurs chevaliers et aux aultres compaignons, excepte lor et largent avec trois pucelles quilz trouverent es nefz du dit roy Humbert, lesquelles il avoit ravies en Allemagne quant il exilla[2] le pays. Lune estoit fille de roy qui avoit non Hestrudis, laquelle sormontoit toutes femmes en beaulte, pour quoy le roy Lotrin fut sy prins de son amour quil la vouloit prendre a femme et laissier Guendoline,[3] la fille Corineus que son pere Bructus dez son vivant lui avoit ordonnee pour son espouse.

[1] *See* note [3], p. 76.
[2] *detruisit.* C. 2.
[3] *Geudoline, Guendoline.* B. *Geudorme, Gaudoline.* C. 2

Comment Corineus aprez la mort Bructus vint parler au roy Lotrin et lui fist espouser sa fille voulsist ou non, et comment Lotrin laissa sa femme aprez la mort de Corineus son beau-pere, et comment depuis elle le desconfist en bataille ou il morut et aprez rengna grandement et desconfist en son temps le roy Cesius[1] *dIrlande.* LE CHAPITRE XVII[e].

QUANT Corineus, roy de Cornevaille fut adverti comment le roy Lotrin voloit espouser Hestrude il en fut moult courouchiez, car Bructus en son vivant avoit fait le mariage de son filz Lotrin et de Guendoline la fille Corineus. Or doncques vint Corineus devers le roy Lotrin et lui commenca a fort reprochier les grans services quil avoit faits a son pere en ses creuses batailles, et comment son dit pere avoit fait et accorde le mariage de lui et de sa fille, sy lui dit pluiseurs grosses parolez ou maneces et que sil ne tenoit sa promesse et lordonnance de son pere, quelque chose quil en deust advenir il lamenderoit, sicque pour accorder les deux princes et eschever la desolation du peuple et des pays, les preudhommes sassamblerent et firent tant que le roy Lotrin espousa la fille Corineus, mais pour ce noblia il mye lamour de Hestrude sa mye, ains fist faire a Troye-Nove, sa cite, une maison soubz terre ou il la myst et la la tint vii. ans secretement quoncques[2] sa femme Guendoline nen sceut riens, et sy aloyt le roy le plus souvent quil povoit. Or advint que Hestrude ot du roy une[3] belle fille qui fut appellee Habraym, ouquel temps aussy Guendoline ot ung filz de Lotrin son mari, qui

[1] MSS. ; *Offrin* in the text.
[2] *Sans que.* C. 2.
[3] *une moult belle fille.* B. C. 2.

Maddam fut nommez, lequel sa mere envoya en Cornvaille a son pere Corineus pour le faire nourir et eslever ; mais il ne demoura pas grammant aprez que Corineus morut.[1] Quant le roin[2] Lotrin sceut la mort de Corineus, son beau-pere, il fut hors de doubte et ne creinoit[3] plus personne. Pourquoy il myst Hestrude hors du celier, a laquelle il fist porter plus grant honneur que a sa femme Guendoline, dont elle eut grant desplaisir. Quant ella vey la honte et villonnye[4] que le roy, son seigneur[5] lui faisoit, sy se parti de la court du roy Lotrin et sen ala en Cornvaille son heritage, car Corineus navoit plus denfans quelle, pourquoy ceulx du pays la receuprent honnourablement comme leur dame. Elle la venue assambla son pooir et entra en la terre de son mary Lotrin a grant ost lequel assambla a elle et se joindirent en bataille sur la riviere d'Escure, et la fut le roy Lotrin occis au commencement de lestour dune sagette ; pourquoy sy tost comme ses gens le veyrent mort ilz senfuyrent tout comme vaincus et desconfis. Lors prinst Guendoline toute la terre et mist en sa subjection le royaulme et tous les rebelles, puis fist prendre Hestrude et Abraym, sa fille, sy les fist noyer dedens un fleuve deave lequel elle voult depuis estre appellee Sabrine. Le roy Lotrin avoit rengne x. ans quant il morut et Guendoline rengna xv. ans aprez lui ; moult bien elle gouvrena et tint le royaulme en paix et en justice, car elle faisoit droit et raison aussy bien au petit que au grant, et tint son pays en sy bonne transquillite quil nestoit nul qui meffaire y osast. Or advint le xiiii[e] an quelle rengnoit aprez la mort Lotrin, son mary, que ung roy d'Irlande que Offrin estoit nommes, assambla grant navire et grant

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[1] *ne morut.* C. 2.
[2] *roy.* B. Omitted in C 2..
[3] *craingnoit.* C. 2.
[4] *grant deshonneur.* C. 2.
[5] *mary.* C. 2.

gent pour venir en Bretaigne, et lui sembloit que point ne trouveroit de resistence au pays qui par femme estoit gouvrenez, sy naga tant que il arriva en Bretaigne, droit au lieu ou maintenant est assyze la ville de Norvins ; puis descendi a terre et commenca a fouragier et pillier toute la contree denviron et occioit hommes, femmes et enfans. Quant la roine fut de ce advertie elle fut moult yree,[1] sy assambla ses hommes le plus tost quelle polt, et sy tost quelle fust aprestee chevacha radement avec son ost contre ses ennemys. A lassambler fut grande la noize ou beaucop en y ot de mors et navrez dune part et daultre, et dura longuement la bataille. La roine Guendoline moustra bien ce jour quelle estoit fille du bon duc Corineus qui oncques neult paour, car elle estoit montee sur un grant destrier, sy coroyt parmi la bataille cerchant les rengz en admonestant ses chevaliers de bien faire et leur ramentenoit les euvres de leurs ancesseurs pour eulz plus encouragier, et tant faisoit par ses enhortemens que les couars faisoit[2] hardiz et bien combatanz, et dist listoire que selle ne feust[3] les Bretons eussent este desconfis briefment, mais tant sesvertuerent par le bon corage et hardement que leur dame leur donnoit quilz desconfirent les Hirlandois, et furent tous mors, exepte le roy Offrin et aulcuns aultres prisonniers et ceulx qui peurent fuir jusques en leurs nefz, mais ce fut peu. La roine Guendoline prinst toute la navire et lavoir qui estoit dedens, sy mist tout en lieu seur, et tout le pillage de la bataille donna et departi aux chevaliers de son ost et aultres compaignons, ne oncques ne voult retenir fors le roy Offrin et les aultres prisonniers. Auquel roy Offrin elle fist copper le chief et tout detrencier[4] par pieches, et tous les pri-

[1] *corrouchee.* C. 2.
[2] *devenoient et hardis et combatans.* B. C. 2.
[3] *que se neust elle este.* C. 2.
[4] *decopper.* C. 2.

sonniers aussy, dont elle fut reprinse[1] par ses chevalliers, mais elle respondy que ce avoit elle fait adfin que nul aultre ne prensist hardement de guerroier son pays. Ces choses faittes et adcomplies, la roine donna congie a tous ses gens darmes, puis sen ala a Troye-Nove, et lamoient moult et prisoient tous ceulx qui parler en oyrent. Pourquoy le roy Camber son serouge concheut grant envie contre elle, et aussy lui despleut moult de ce que le royaulme de son pere estoit gouvrene et maintenu par femme ; sy saviza que pour la grever il assambleroit son ost, ce quil fist et entra ou pays de la royne Guendoline ou il prinst un de ses chasteaulx. Quant la roine le sceut elle fut moult courouchie, sy assambla sez hommes en plus grant nombre quelle navoit oncques fait paravant. Quant son ost fut assamble elle chevaucha vers Cambrye et entra a force dedens le pays. Camber sachant la venue de la roine et quil navoit point puissance pour resister, senaloit fuiant[2] de place en aultre et elle gastoit et destruisoit tout le pays. En lost de la roine avoit deux chevaliers bons et loiaux qui estoient parens de Camber desquelz lun avoit non Judas et laultre Argoris, lesquelz pourchasserent tant devers la royne quelle sacorda a la paix de Camber par teil condition quil tenoit[3] delle en foy toute Cambrye et lui en feroit hommage. Ceste chose ainsy ordonnee par la roine, ces deux chevaliers alerent devers le roy Camber qui leur cousin estoit et le blasmerent moult de ce quil avoit fait, en luy remoustrant grandement son oultrage, disant que sil ne venoit a mercy devers leur dame, veu quil ne se pooit deffendre, il seroit du tout destruit et desherite, mais sil voloit venir devers la roine et soy mettre en sa voulente ilz lui promettoient

[1] *dont les chevaliers len reprindrent.* C. 2. *dont ses chevaliers la reprindrent.* B.

[2] *fuiant devant elle de liu.* B. C. 2.

[3] *tenroit.* B. *tendroit.* C. 2.

bonne paix et amour avec elle et Amadam, son filz. Quant le roy Camber entendy ses cousins parler il fut moult liez, sy les remercya grandement de loffre quilz lui faisoient et saccorda daler avec eulz parler a la roine Guendoline, sa serouge, qui femme de Lotrin son frere avoit este, lequel elle avoit vaincu et mort en bataille pour la honte quil lui avoit faitte, et cestoit la cause pourquoy le roy Camber sestoit esmeu contre elle, cest a scavoir tant pour la mort de son frere vengier comme pour le gouvernement du royaulme quil disoit a lui appartenir. Quant le roy Camber fut venu devant la roine il lui accorda tout ce quelle lui volt demander et lui fist foy et hommage du royaulme de Cambrye, lequel il avoit tousjours paravant tenu ligement, et depuis ceste heure amoult[1] et chiery la royne Guendoline et son nepveu Maddam, et aussy firent ilz lui pareillement. Ceste chose ainsy faitte et accordee, se departirent lun de laultre moult debonnairement le roy et la royne en paix, en amour et en bonne concorde, dont tous les barons des deux royaulmes furent moult rejois. Sy sen retourna le roy Camber baudz et joyans en son pais pour sa paix que ses amys lui avoient faitte, et la royne atout son barnage sen retourna a Troye-Nove, puis donna congie a sa baronnye atout[2] beaux dons et moult les remercya tous de leur obeissance et des grans paines quilz avoient souffertes pour elle,[3] et tant fist que moult lamoient et prisoient tous[4] pour la grant sens, vaillance, honneur et courtoiziee quilz veoient estre en sa personne.

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[1] *ama moult.* B. *tenu grant temps paravant ligement en grant honneur, mais depuis ceste heure ayma moult et chery.* C. 2.

[2] *atout de moult beaulx et riches dons, et moult honourablement les remercia.* C 2.

[3] *lamour delle, et pur lhonneur de son royaume deffendre et garder.* C. 2.

[4] *tous plus comme femme du monde pour le grant sens.* C. 2.

Comment Maddam, filz du roy Lotrin fut couronnez, comment il gouverna le royaulme et de sa mort. Comment Malvis, son filz rengna mauvaisement et tua son frere, et comment il fut devourez de lous esragiez en la forest ou il chassoit. LE CHAPITRE XVIII[e].

QUANT la bonne dame Guendoline eut gouvrene le royaulme[1] environ xv. ans, elle sadviza que Maddam son filz estoit asses eagie pour terre tenir, si manda Camber son serouge qui volentiers vint a son mandement et aussy firent tous les barons de son pays. Or doncques quant tous furent venus, elle leur exposa ou fist exposer comment son filz qui estoit leur sire estoit asses grant[2] pour terre tenir, sy vouloit quil feust couronnez et recheupst ses hommages et honneurs et eust son gouvernement. A quoy le roy Camber et les autres seigneurs saccorderent voulentiers, combien que tous essent[3] bien volu et meismement Maddam quelle eust gouvrene le royaulme toute sa vie. Toutesfoys fut Maddam couronnes par le consentement de tous, sy receupt ses hommages et son gouvernement, puis se departi la court, et sen ala chascun en sa contree, et ung peu apres prinst la roine[4] congie a son filz et aux aultres barons et seigneurs du royaulme et sen ala demourer en Cornvaille, son heritage ou elle se tint tout le remanant de sa vie. Maddam, son filz fut preu et sage, sy gouvrena bien et honnourablement son royaulme et tint ses hommes en paix tant quil vesqui et ne voult oncques riens faire ne nulle haulte empryse[5] sans le conseil de sa mere Guendoline. Mais la

[1] *de Bretaigne.* B. C. 2.
[2] *grant et eagie pour tenir sa terre.* B. C. 2.
[3] *eussent.* B. C. 2.
[4] *la roine Guendoline.* B. *Gaudoline.* C. 2.
[5] *emprinse.* B. *entreprinse.* C. 2.

mort qui tout prent fist un jour delle sa volente, sy fut en terre[1] honnourablement myse comme a sy noble dame appartenoit ; moult fut plainte de tous et disoient que jamais ne naysteroit[2] dame qui eust telle loyaulte, francyze ou valeur en elle comme avoit eue en sa vye la royne Guendoline. Apres la mort de la roine se maria Maddam par le conseil de ses barons et prinst une dame de son pays de laquelle il ot deux filz ; lun ot non Menprisius[3] et laultre Malvis ; mais je treuve en escript[4] que lun avoit non Menbrius,[5] qui estoit laisne et laultre Malvis, sicque prendes lequel que vous volderez. Quarante ans rengna le roy Maddam bien et en pix,[6] puis morut et fut ensepveli avec son pere a tel honneur comme a sa noble personne appartenoit. Apres son trepas ses deulx filz furent en discort, car chascun vouloit estre sire[7] ; finablement vindrent en parlement de paix, mais sy tost comme il furent assambles, Malvis qui traistre estoit courut sus a Menbrius, son frere, sy loccyst en traison avec grant partie de ceulx qui estoient venus en sa compaignie. Lors fut Malvis tout seul roy et fut sy desloyal et sy tres mauvaix que a paines ne demoura il nulz gentilz hommez ou pays que il ne feist tous occyre et meismes ceulx de son lingnage eschassa il tous hors du pays ; et sa femme laissa il dont il avoit un beau filz appelle Ebracus. Tant sestoit ce mauvais roy habandonne a tous vices que chascun le souhaidoit mort villainement. Sy advint un jour aprez ce quil ot rengne xx. ans, quil ala chassier au boiz ou il seslonga moult de ses gens et les perdy en la forest ; sy ala tant quil vint

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[1] *en terre honnourablement myse.* A. *enterree honnourablement.* B. C. 2.

[2] *naisteroit.* B. *nacquiroit.* C. 2.

[3] *Memprisius.* B. C. 2.

[4] *en un escript.* B. *en ung escript.* C. 2.

[5] *Membrius.* B. C. 2.

[6] *en paix.* B. *honourablement.* C. 2.

[7] *estre sire.* A. B. *avoir la domination et seignourie du royaume.* C. 2.

en une grant vallee ou il encontra une grant route[1] de louz enragiez qui le devourerent tout vif et mengerent en un seul moment, et ainsy fina maulvaisement ce maleureux roy sa vye.

Cy parle du rengne du roy Ebrot et de ses faiz. LE CHAPITRE XIX^e^.

APRES la mort Malvis rengna son filz Ebrot, lequel fut puissant et fort ; moult ama et honoura ses parens. Oncques not guerre en son pays tant quil vesqui. Cestui fut le premier roy d'Engleterre qui se meut pour aler pillier ou rober ses voysins, mais il assambla un grant navire, puis ala parmy les rivagues de la mer et pilla les Flamengz, les Francois et aultres nations dont ilz emmenerent grans avoirs en Engleterre. Quant le roy Ebrot fut retourne en son pays, il fist trois cites sur les marces[2] d'Escoce ; lune ot non Ebrach, laultre Karcebrac et laultre Aclud. Puis fist le chastel aux pucelles et lappella premierement Montdaguet.

Ce roy rengna longuement, et sagement gouvrena son pays ; il vesqui soixante[3] ans roy et ot xx. filz et xx. filles de xx. femmes. Des filz Bructus Vert-Escu fut le premier, Magaduc le second, Silius tierc, Regin quart, Bladus quint, Morius vi^e^, Langon vii^e^, Boloan viii^e^, Lenicar[4] ix^e^, Spaden x^e^, Gand xi^e^, Pardan xii^e^, Elgan xiii^e^, Cangu xiiii^e^, Cernu xv^e^, Luor xvi^e^, Rus xvii^e^, Assarat xviii^e^, Buel xix^e^, Hestor xx^e^. Des filles la premiere ot non Gloigem et ceste estoit laisnee, la plus grant et la plus sage ; une en y ot qui estoit la plus belle quon pooit veoir ne trouver en nul pays, laquelle

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[1] *route envenimee de loups mauvais enragiez de grant famine.* C. 2.
[2] *marches.* B.
[3] *quarante.* C. 2.
[4] *Quinquar.* C. 2.

ot non Galays, mais je laray[1] les nons des aultres pour cause de briefte. Le roy Ebrac les envoia toutes en Lombardie au roy Sylimon son cousin qui moult honnourablement les maria a la lignie des Troyens, car les femmes Lombardes ne vouloient prendre aliance aux Troiens, mais je[2] ne treuvé pas la cause par escript.

Les filz du roy Ebrac assamblerent une grant compaignie de gens darmes et de toutes provisyons appartenans a guerre sy sen alerent en Allemaigne pour eulz adventurier mais Ebrac retint avec lui Bructus Vert-Escu, qui estoit laisne ; et le xviii[e] qui Azarat avoit a non fut fait chief et cappitaine des aultres, car il estoit le plus prudent. Quant ilz furent arrives en Allemaigne ilz concquesterent villes et chasteaulx, et briefment a parler, il gasterent tout le pays, et la ilz uzerent leurs vies.

Des regnes de quatre roys, cest a scavoir de Bructus Vert-Escu, de Leir, de Rahudibras[3] *et de Bladus.* Le Chapitre XX[e].

Quant le roy Ebrac fut mort, Bructus Vert-Escu tint le royaulme de Bretaigne et gouvrena bien et sagement le royaulme xii. ans. Et Bructus ot un filz appelle Leir, lequel rengna apres lui. Ce Leir ama paix et droiture et ediffia une cite belle et bonne quil appella Carleil et aulcuns lappellent maintenant Carduil. Ce Leir rengna xxv. ans sy ne tenoient ses hommes conte de lui quant il devint vieulx, ne ne laissoient riens a faire pour ses commandemens. Quant Leir fut mort, Rahudibras, son filz prinst possession du royaulme et rengna xl. ans, et fut bon, leal justicier, par quoy il remyst son

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[1] *lesseray.* B. C. 2.
[2] *je.* A. *len.* B. *on.* C. 2.
[3] *Ruhudibras.* B. *Rudibras.* C. 2.

pais en paix ; aspres homs[1] fut a ses ennemys, dous et courtois a ses amys. Il ediffia Cantorbie, Wincestre, et le chastel de Cestebric que aulcuns nomment Decenfort. Apres que Rahudibras ot rengne xl. ans il trespassa et laissa un filz qui Blaudus ot non, lequel rengna xx. ans ; puissant homme fut et sceut moult de nigremance et enchantemens. Il ediffia une cite que il appella Bade ou Blade et y fist baingz,[2] et de ces baingz un temple a la deesse Minerve ; il fist aussy illec un feu qui estoit inestinguable. En la fin il se vanta quil voleroit, sy fist unes helles pour voler, mais elles lui faillirent, sy chey sur le temple Apollon en my la cite de Londres, et la fut defroissiez, et telle fut sa fin.

Cy parle du rengne du roy Leir, comment il esprouva ses trois filles et comment Agornorille et Regnault le deceuprent et Cordeille lui dist verite. Le Chapitre XXI^e^.

Au temps que le roy Bladus regnoit en la Grant Bretaigne regnoit Romulus a Romme. Apres la mort du roy Bladus rengna en son lieu son filz Leir. Ce Leir fist une cite sur la riviere de Sorre quil appella Caerleir et a present est appelle Leicestre. Ce roy ot trois filles dont lune ot non Agornorille, laultre Regault et la tierce Cordeille, et sy navoit nul hoir masle. Quant le roy Leir fut de grant eage il sappensa quil marieroit ses filles, mais pour ce quil voloit scavoir laquele des troix lamoit le mielz il demanda a Agornorille combien elle lamoit, et elle lui jura le ciel et les dieulx quelle lamoit meulx quelle meismes, et Regault

[1] *lions.* C. 2.

[2] *baingz pourfitables aux gens du pays, et fist de ces baingz.* B. C. 2.

lui dist[1] pareillement; mais Cordeille qui estoit la maisnee[2] lui dist quelle lamoit autant comme enfes[3] doit amer son pere. Si vous volez scavoir, dist elle, combien on vous aime, tant avez tant valez et tant vous prisons. Le pere qui nentendy point sa responce en fut mal content et dist que jamais ne tenderoit piet de sa terre et quil donroit tout son royaulme a ses deux seurs. Un pou apres maria il ses deux filles, cest a scavoir Agornorille au roy dEscoce, et Regault au duc de Cornvaille. Sy fut advise de ces deux princes quilz avroient le royaulme du roy[4] aprez sa mort et sy le partiroient entreulz deux, car le roy leur beau-pere navoit talent que Cordeille sa fille eust ung seul piet de sa terre. Ne demoura pas gramment aprez que Agampus, un roy de Gaulle oy parler de la beaulte de Cordeille, sy la fist requerre par mariage a son pere, et le roy Leir respondi aux messages quil la lui donroit volentiers, mais elle naroit quelque chose du sien. Nonobstant ce, Agampus remanda que len lui envoiast et quil avoit assez davoir. Adonc lui envoya Leir Cordeille, sa fille, et Agampus la receupt honnourablement. Aprez, Maugladus, le roy d'Escoce et Hemon, le sire de Cornvaille qui les aultres deux filles avoient espousees alerent adviser que le roy Leir, leur seigneur estoit ja vieux et quil ne se pooit mais aidier, pourquoy ilz prindrent eulx deux la possession du royaulme et lui promisrent quilz lui admenisteroient tout ce que mestier[5] lui seroit pour son estat maintenir. Ce fait, le roy d'Escoce lemmena avec lui atout quarante chevaliers, mais quant il ot une espace demoure en Escoce avec son gendre, on lui osta la moittie de son estat, dont il en eut sy grand desdaing quil sen ala en Cornvaille

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[1] *dist tout.* B. C. 2.
[2] *la moinsnee la plus belle et la mieux amee lui dist.* B. C. 2.
[3] *esfant.* C. 2.
[4] *roy Leir.* B. C. 2.
[5] *quil lui fauldroit.* C. 2.

devers son aultre fille qui le receupt a grant honneur, mais il ny eut gueres demoures quant on lui osta ses chevaliers, exepte chincq[1] seulement. Adonc fut il moult courouchye et sen retourna en Escoce ; mais quant il fut la venus, sa fille Agornorille[2] nen fist par grant conte et lui dist quil estoit desormais[3] trop vieulx pour si grant estat mener et quil se pooit bien passer en moins de gens selon sa viellesse, car il naloit nulle part, et que certainement il ne seroit plus avec eulz syl nestoit content dun seul chevalier pour lui tenis compaignie.

Le roy Leir veant que mal aloit sa besongne lui accorda pourceque bonnement amender ne le pooit, mais assez prochainement aprez commenca a estre moult[4] pensif et courouchie, sy dist en soy dollousant telles[5] parolles : " Las ! moi ! jay trop vescu ! que sont devenus " les grans biens, les grans richesses et les grans honneurs " que je souloye avoir ! Ha ! fortune, trop esmuable, " nulz[6] ne se doit en toy fier, car oncques nes estable. " Tu fais tourner ta roe au lez que tu veulz ; tost fais " ung rice povre et un povre riche. Jay trop mal garde " le proverbe que javoye aprins en ma jonesse qui dist " ainsy : ' Qui plus aime un aultre que soy a la fortune[7] " muert de soy.' Hellas ! jai trop ame mes deux filles " et sy prins mal garde ad ce que Cordeille, ma fille[8] me " dist, quant je lui demanday combien elle mamoit[9] : " ' Autant comme enfant doit amer son pere, et que " tant auroye, tant amez seroye et chier tenus.' Et " si javoye aultrefois recorde un proverbe qui dist " ainsy : ' Mieulx vault donner et retenir que tout donner

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[1] *deux.* C. 2.
[2] *Gornorille.* C. 2.
[3] *desoresmais.* B.
[4] *merveitteusement.* C. 2.
[5] *telles ou semblables.* C. 2.
[6] *homme du monde.* C. 2.
[7] *a la fontaine meurt de soif.* B. C. 2.
[8] *bonne fille.* C. 2.
[9] *mamoit, qui me respondy quelle maimoit.* B. C. 2.

" et puis querir.' Aussy avoie bien oy dire le dit du " villain qui dist ainsy : 'Qui jette ce quen sa main " tient, assez prez[1] comme fol se maintient ; qui de son " serf fait son seigneur vivre doit bien en deshonneur.' " Hellas ! jentendi mal ma fille Cordeille, laquelle je " chassay pour ceste cause hors de ma terre sans lui rien " donner du mien et sy le me fault[2] aler requerre, " puisque les aultres qui tout ont eu me[3] sont faillies. " Hellas ! que jay mal entendu le proverbe qui dist en " ceste maniere : 'De ce baston ou dun plus grant " soit il feru au front devant, qui donne tout a son " enffant que puis lui en va demandant.' Puisque je nay " mais riens je men iray veoir ma fille Cordeille, " laquelle je tieng maintenant a sage, car elle me dist " quelle mamoit autant comme[4] enfes amer son pere " debvoit ; pourquoy[5] leusse entendu aultre chose ne lui " debvoie demander." Le roy Leir se dementa longuement[6] ainsy que vous oez, puis il atourna son affaire le mieulx quil pot et se parti lui troizime de chevaliers du pays d'Escoce, sy passa la mer, et vint en Gaulle en la terre du roy Agampus, le mary de Cordeille sa fille, auquel il envoya un message pour lui noncher sa venue. Le messagier sadresca a la roine Cordeille qui fut moult esbahie quant elle sceut[7] quil venoit sy seul, sy lui envoya par un sien amy prive or et argent et lui commanda quil le mena[8] en une de ses citez pour se reposer et aisier tant[9] quil feust bien revenus a lui ; et puis manda[10] au roi Agampus et a sa fille quil les venoit veoir, et prensist avec lui grant plente de chevaliers, et

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[1] *a ses piedz.* B. C. 2.
[2] *maintenant.* C. 2.
[3] *me font tant inhumaine faulte.* C. 2.
[4] *comme enffant amer son pere naturelement doit.* C. 2.
[5] *Pourquoy se bien leusse entendu.* B. C. 2.
[6] *moult longuement.* C. 2.
[7] *ouy dire.* C. 2.
[8] *menast.* B. C. 2
[9] *tant commé il.* C. 2.
[10] *mandast.* B. C. 2.

ainsy fut fait. Quant le roy Agampus sceut que le roy Leir, pere de sa femme les venoit veoir il en eut grant joye, sy vint a lencontre de lui a belle compaignie et le festoia tres grandement.

Le roy Leir voyant la bonne chiere que son gendre et sa fille lui faisoient, il en fut moult lies et bien content, sy se confessa a eulz et[1] leur dist comment le roy d'Escoce et cellui de Cornvaille lui avoient tollu sa terre.[2] De ces nouvelles furent le roy Agampus et sa femme bien[3] courouchïez, et lui dist le roy Agampus que il lui aideroit voulentiers a recouvrer sa terre, de quoy le roy Leir, son beau-pere le mercya grandement. Lors pour adcomplir sa promesse le roy Agampus manda par toute Gaulle ce quil polt avoir de gens, ou par dons ou par pryeres, et quant ilz furent venu il les bailla au roy Leir et a Cordeille, sa femme, qui les menerent[4] en la Grant Bretaigne et orent bataille contre les deux roys d'Escoce et de Cornvaille lesquelz ilz vaincquirent et mirent au-dessoubz, et fut le roy Leir restabli en son royaulme de Bretaigne, lequel il tint depuis trois ans en bien, en paix, amour et bonne concorde. Or advint que au bout de trois ans le roy Leir trespassa et laissa son royaulme a sa fille Cordeille, laquelle le fist ensepvelir en Leicestre moult magnificquement, sy maintint et gouvrena le royaulme bien[5] vigoureusement aprez lui, car son mary, le roy Agampus ne vesqui pas gramment aprez ce quelle fut partie de lui. Quant elle ot cincq ans ou environ rengne en la Grant-Bretaigne, le roy d'Escoce et cellui de Cornvaille morurent tout en un tempore, mais leurs enffans orent grant desdaing que une femme gouvrenoit[6] le royaulme de la Grant Bretaigne, sy lacueillerent de guerres et longuement la

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[1] *et luy meisme dist.* C. 2.
[2] *son royaume.* C. 2.
[3] *moult.* B.
[4] *ou royaume de la Grand Bretaigne ou eureut grans batailles.* C. 2.
[5] *bien et.* C. 2.
[6] *gouvernoit.* B. C. 2.

guerroierent. Toutesvoyes en la fin, par laide des Francois qui lui vindrent aidier et secourir, cest a scavoir le duc de Sens, le duc de Laon et le conte [1] de Corbueil, lesquelz elle avoit nouris en sa jonesse, elle vint au-dessus de sa guerre et prinst ses deux nepveux en bataille et prinst la cite d'Evrocq ou estoit leur retrait, et tous leurs chasteaux et villes et saisy toutes leurs terres, et [2] tint tout en sa main tant et si longuement que la paix fut faitte, par le pourchas des amis, totalement a la voulente de la roine Cordeille. Mais je treuve icy, selon le livre du Tresor des Histoires, faulte, car le maistre du Tresor dist que Margan et Cunedragez prindrent leur ante [3] et lemprisonnerent sic que par ennoy elle-meismes soccyst en la prison. Toutesvoies maistre Gaste et aultres istoires anchiennes dient que aprez ce que Margan, roy d'Escoce et Cunedragez, roy de Cornvaille, ses nepveus eurent paix faitte a la roine Cordeille leur tante, elle vesqui vii. ans, puis morut, et la misrent en terre moult precieuzement [4] jouste le roy Leir, son pere, a la teste,[5] puis sesmeud discord entre les deux roys, sy vindrent en bataille rengie lun contre laultre et fut Morgan mort et desconfit avec toute sa gent. Adonc tint Cunedrages, roy de Cornvaille le royaulme seul ouquel il rengna xxxiii.[6] ans et le tint bien et en paix. Ou temps duquel roy Romulus et Remus, son frere fonderent la cite [7] de Romme, ouquel temps aussy vivoit Ysaye le prophete et Ozee gouvrenoit [8] le peuple d'Israel. Apres la mort Cunedrages son filz rengna, lequel aulcuns nomment Malo et les aultres Ruial ; cestui fut moult preu et bien ame de tous ses subjetz. En son temps pleut sang par lespace

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[1] *ducq.* C. 2.
[2] *et les tint toutes.* C. 2.
[3] *tante.* B.
[4] *honnourablement.* C. 2.
[5] *Leicestre.* B. C. 2.
[6] *xxiii.* C. 2.
[7] *la noble cite.* C. 2.
[8] *gouvernoit.* B. C. 2.

de troix jours entiers, et fut si grant quantite de mouches ceste anne quelles mengerent tous les fruitz, laquelle chose fut tenue a grant merveille et non sans cause. Ce roy ne vesqui point longuement, sy rengna apres lui son filz Gurgutius, lequel aussy dura bien pou. Aprez lui tint le rengne[1] Circilius ou Salicius[2] qui morust tantost. Aprez lui rengna Iago ou Largo ; aprez Iago rengna Thimemarcus[3] ; aprez Thimemarcus rengna Gabogdo[4] qui ot deux filz, desquelz laisne ot non Porrex et laultre Ferrex. Quant le roy Gabogdogo fut mort, ces deux freres furent en grant[5] discord pour le royaulme ; Porrex volt occire Ferrex, son frere, mais quant il sen appercut il senfui en Gaulle, sy se mist au service du roy Suhart, qui estoit roy du pays, lequel il servi si bien a gre que il li bailla grant gent pour aler en la Grant Bretaigne conquerre le royaulme ; mais son frere Porrex lui vint alencontre atout sa puissance, sy fut la bataille grande entreulz, mais en fin Ferrex fut mort et sa gent desconfite. Ceste chose ainsy advenue Porrex saisy le royaulme, sy le tint tout seul ; et la roine Ludo qui estoit leur mere, quant elle sceut la mort de son filz Ferrex, lequel elle amoit mieulz[6] que Porrex, elle fist deuil estrange et se clama chetive maleureuse. Sy fist tant par son pourchas que son filz Porrex fut mort occultement. Maistre Gaste dist quelle meismes adcompaignie de damoiselles lui coppa la gorge par nuit quant il dormoit, et ainsy se venga Ludo de Porrex son filz qui son frere avoit occys. Lors demoura le royaulme sans chief une grande piece et furent ceulx du pais en grant discort, car tous les barons, chascun seloncq che quil avoit de povoir prenoit

[1] *tint le royaume.* C. 2.
[2] *Scicilius.* B. C. 2.
[3] *Thunemarcus.* C. 9.
[4] *Gabogdogo.* B. C. 2.
[5] *en moult grant discord pour lamour du royaume.* C. 2.
[6] *trop mieulx.* C. 2.

et saisissoit du royaulme tant comme il povoit, et ne rengnoit justice ne droiture entreulz, mais sentretenoient[1] villainement. Ces choses ainsy advenues, il y ot cincq des plus puissans barons du pais qui saisirent tout le royaulme et sousmirent a eulz en leur subjection tous les aultres et concquirent toute la terre ; sy tint chascun sa partie endroit lui et se faisoient, chascun deulz, appeller roy : lun avoit non Scater, qui se disoit roy d'Escoce ; le second avoit non Piger, qui tenoit Logrez ; le tierch appelle[2] Rugat[3] qui tint Galles ; le quart estoit nomme Cloten, qui se disoit roy de Cornvaille. Ce Cloten estoit le plus prochain de la couronne, mais ce nestoit point le plus fort. Les maistres[4] dient que laultre avoit non Amaso,[5] lequel ot grant envie de la seignourie des aultres, sy trouva maniere de faire[6] grans aliances avec ceulx de la terre pour les attraire a son amour,[7] puis esmeut grant guerre contre lun des barons qui plus prez de lui marchissoit et en fin le subjugua a lui.

Quant Damaso vey qui[8] lui estoit sy advenu de cellui il se pensa quil assauldroit les aultres et se mettroit en paine de concquerre tout le royaulme. Lors sy comme il le pensa[9] il le fist, car il assambla ses hostz et entra en la terre de lun des aultres, et finablement fist tant que il concquist tout le royaulme, puis faire[10] une couronne laquelle estoit de fin or,[11]

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[1] *sentretuoient.* B. *sentretuoient viollamment.* C. 2.

[2] *estoit apele.* B.

[3] *Rudat.* B. *Radat.* C. 2.

[4] *Les maistres des histoires.* B. C. 2.

[5] *Damaso.* B. *Damaso, lequel ot grant seignourie mais avoit envye de la seignourie des aultres.* C. 2.

[6] *daucunement faire.* C. 2.

[7] *amour le plus quil pourroit puis esmut moult grand.* C. 2.

[8] *que il luy estoit si bien advenu.* B.

[9] *pensa pareillement se fist, si assembla sa puissance.* C. 2.

[10] *fist faire.* B.

[11] *fin or, moult richement aournee de pierre, puis sen fist.* C. 2.

et se fist couronner laquelle chose paravant navoit oncques este faite ou royaulme de Bretaigne, car il ny avoit adonc eu nul roy qui portast couronne dor. Ce Damaso rengna quarante ans, sy maintint le royaulme en tres grant gloire, seignourie, paix et justice. Maistre Gaste qui translata ceste istoire en rime, dist que ce ne fut pas Damaso, ains fut ung jovencel appelle Donal,[1] filz de Cloten, qui estoit le plus prochain de la couronne, lequel[2] remist en paix toute la terre et reconcquist tout ce qui apendoit au royaulme de la Grant Bretaigne, et fut le meilleur le plus preu et le plus vaillant de tous ceux quy eussent oncques rengne ou royaulme de la Grant Bretaigne devant lui. Quant ce roy Donal morut, il laissa deulx filz desquelz lun ot non Belinus et laultre Brenius, qui furent tous deux preux et vaillans. Apres la mort de leur pere qui Damaso avoit non selon le maistre des Histoires, ou selonc maistre Gaste, Donal, lequel bailla maintes loiz aux Bretons lesquelles encorres tienent les Englois apresent. Cellui fut le premier qui donna aux temples privilleges et mist en sauvegarde[3] tous les barons et laboureurs de terre et tous les marchans; il fist fonder un temple et dedyer en lonneur de dieu de concorde.[4] Ces deux filz partirent le royaulme et chupt en la part de Belinus laisne, Logrez, Gallez et Cornvaille ; et Brenius eut toute la terre de Northumberlande et de Wernorth depuis la riviere du Hombre jusques en Cathenesse, et de ce debvoit faire hommage et feaulte a son frere Belinus par lordonnance des preudhommes qui sen entremettoient. Sy furent dacord et en paix lun avec laultre par ceste maniere environ v. ans, mais

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[1] *Doval.* C. 2.

[2] *lequel requist avour paix a ceulx de toute la terre.* C. 2.

[3] *en sa saulvegarde tous laboureurs de terre et tous marchans.* B. C. 2.

[4] *concorde, et fut ensepulture en ce temple pour ce que tant avoit ame paix et concorde.* B. C. 2.

en la fin Brenius se tint a mal parti et dist que son frere lavoit fraudeuzement[1] decheu, pour laquelle cause il esmeut guerre contre lui. Et[2] Brenius estoit bel, grant et fort trop plus que son frere Belinus, mais Belinus estoit plus cault ou malicieux. Adoncques commenca[3] grant guerre entre les deux freres, mais anchois sen ala Brenius[4] en Norwegue par devers Ansigius[5] requerre sa fille en mariage, lequel lui donna et promist de lui aydier et conforter en sa guerre contre le roy Belinus, son frere. Quant Belinus sceut que Brenius estoit ale en Norwegue et quil avoit espouze la fille du roy, par quoy il seroit plus puissant pour le guerroier, il assambla grant hostz, sy entra en la terre de son frere Brenius ou il prinst ses chasteaulx et forteresses, es quelles il mist des gens darmes en garnison de par lui. Le roy Brenius qui en Norwegue estoit fut adverti comment Belinus son frere avoit prins et saisie la plus grande partie de sa terre, de quoy il fut moult dolent, sy assambla ce quil polt avoir de gens en Norwegue, puis se mist en mer avec sa femme et sa gent et commenca a nagier vers Bretaigne. Lors le roy Guichardus ou Gurlat de Dannemarche adverti que le roy Brenius sen aloit et emmenoit avec lui sa femme vers Bretaigne, il nen fut mie lies, car il avoit la damoiselle longtemps amee et lavoit pluiseurs fois demandee au roy son pere, mais il ne lui avoit oncques voulu donner.[6] Toutesfoiz sappensa il que ainsy ne passeroit il mye, sy assambla grant gent tost et hastivement et entra en mer pour aler a lencontre de Brenius, lequel sy tost comme il

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[1] *frauduleusement.* B.

[2] *ce Brenius.* B. C. 2.

[3] *se commenca moult grant guerre entre.* C. 2. *entre.* B. *contre.* A.

[4] *Brenius.* B. C. 2. Omitted in A.

[5] *Amsignius.* C. 2. *Ansingius.* B.

[6] *mais il ny avoit oncques voulu entendre de lui donner.* C. 2.

le percheu sapprocha de la nef ou la damoiselle estoit et atacha la nef a la sienne. Adonc commenca la bataille grande et perilleuze des deux pars, mais une grant tempeste se leva souldainement qui les nefz departi en telle maniere que le vaissel du roy de Dannemarche et cincq aultres desquelz la damoiselle estoit en lun, lorage demena par tel fachon lune cha laultre la, une heure avant et laultre ariere quelle les myst au port de Northumbellande ou ilz furent prins de ceulx qui le port gardoient, qui les menerent a Belinus, lequel estoit sur la marine ou il attendoit la venue de son frere Brenius. Quant le roy Belinus sceut quelz gens cestoient et comment ilz estoient la arrives, il en fut moult liez, et meismement de ce quil estoit sasis de la femme de son frere Brenius.

Comment le roy Belinus desconfy son frere Brenius et prinst le roy Gurlat de Dannemarce et la femme de son frere Brenius en Northumberlande, et comment Brenius eschappa, sy sen ala en Gaulle, et des chaussees que le roy Belinus fist faire. Le Chapitre XXII[e].

Brenius qui demourez estoit en la mer rassambla tout ce quil polt ravoir de ses nefz aprez la tempeste, sy sen ala en Escoce ou il oy comment sa femme et le roy de Dannemarce avoient este prins en Northumbellande et livrez a son frere Belinus qui les tenoit en ses prisons. Quant Brenius fut acertene que son frere tenoit ainsy sa femme, il lui manda quil la lui rendesist ou il lui feroit guerre grande[1] et forte a son povoir ; mais Belinus ne la lui volt mie rendre, ains

[1] *moult grande.* C. 2.

sappareilla et dist quil se deffendroit. Sy fut Brenius moult trouble de ceste responce, pourquoy il assailli son frere vigoureusement,[1] et commenca la bataille grande et forte entre les deux freres laquelle dura longuement egalle, mais en la fin Brenius fut vaincu et y ot des Noirroys occys a grant plente et le demourant qui eschapper peurent sen fuyrent en leurs vaisseaulx, et Brenius qui en une nefz estoit entres tout courouchiez[2] erra tant atout xii. compaignons seullement parmy la mer que il arriva en Gaulle. Apres ceste victoire Belinus, son conseil et tous les barons de Bretaigne sen repairirent en la cyte dEuvric[3] et la fut fait trattie entre Belinus et Gurlat ou Guichart, roy de Dannemarce, par teil condicion quil receupt[4] et tint son royaulme de Belinus et fut son homme liege en lui rendant chascun an treuage[5] tel comme entreulz fut ordonne, et de ce entretenir lui fist bonne sceurete tant par serment comme par hostages[6]; sy lui fist hommage, voyant tous les barons; puis ce fait, Belinus le clama quitte et delivre en lui rendant la damoiselle de Norwegue. Ces choses ainsy advenues, le roy de Dannemarce se parti dillec moult joieulx de ce quil emmenoit avec lui la dame que tant avoit amee. Et daultre part Belinus sen ala visiter tout le pays de la Grant Bretaigne et avironna les marroys et les boscages les eaves et les passages, et pourceque on ne pooit passer en pluiseurs lieuz de ville en aultre, il fist faire pluiseurs ponts et pluiseurs chaussees haultes et fortes, et par especial il fist faire une tres belle chaussee a chaux et a sablon parmy la longeur de Bretaigne[7] qui duroit depuis la mer de Cornvaille jusquez au rivage de Cathenesse, cest lentree d'Espaigne ou

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[1] *moult vigoureusement.* C. 2.
[2] *courouchiez de sa perte.* B.
[3] *de Nurie.* B. *de Murie.* C. 2.
[4] *quil ot et tint.* C. 2.
[5] *trievage.* B.
[6] *bons hostages.* B.
[7] *de la Grant Bretaigne.* C. 2.

d'Escoce, pour adrechier le chemin aux cites qui sont dedens ces termes. Une aultre en fist faire qui commencoit au port de Hantonne sur la mer et duroit jusques en Gaulles [1] et aussy en fist il des altres qui aloient au travers de celles et menoient aux cites, villes et chasteaulz. Touz sez chemins afranchy par ses lois et sy retint la justice de tous ceulx qui y mefferoient.

Comment Brenius espousa la fille au duc de Sens et puis passa en Engleterre avec grant ost pour recouvrer son pais et fist la pais sa mere [2] *de lui et de son frere Belinus qui tout le royaulme tenoit.* LE CHAPITRE XXIIIe.

BRENIUS qui en Gaulle estoyt arivez lui douzime de chevaliers sans plus qui demoures lui estoient ala a pluiseurs barons de Gaulle demander ayde contre son frere Belinus, mais il ny ot sy puissant qui la guerre osast [3] entreprendre. Enfin sen ala a Segius,[4] duc de Sens en Bourgoigne qui debonnairement [5] le receupt et fut moult dolent de son meschief. Brenius qui estoit tres beaux et bien tailliez de tous menbres servy le duc sy bien a son plaisir et fut tant ame a la court des ungz et des aultrez que le duc par le conseil de ses barons lui donna sa fille en mariage et le fist hoir de toute sa terre. Le duc ne vesqui guerez aprez les noepces ains morut et Brenius succeda a la terre [6] ou il fut moult amez de ses subgetz, car il estoit larges

[1] *Galles.* B.
[2] *et comment sa mere fist la paix de lui.* B. C. 2.
[3] *nullement osast.* C. 2.
[4] *Seguin.* C. 2.
[5] *moult honnourablement.* C. 2.
[6] *a toute la.* C. 2.

et habandonnes[1] et amerveilles, sy faisoit beaux dons a ceulx de son pays et leur portoit honneur, pourquoy ilz lui tenoient compaignie partou ou il lui plaisoit a aler.

Quant Brenius, le duc de Sens vey quil estoit bien obei de ses subgetz[2] il fist une grant semonce de gens darmes en intencion de soy aler vengier de son frere qui lavoit chasse hors de sa terre et mal uze vers lui de sa femme. A son mandement obeyrent ses gens et quant il se vey prez[3] il se mist a chemin atout son host, et tant erra par mer et par terre que sans nul empeschement il arriva[4] en la Grant Bretaigne. Quant il fut illec arrive, Belinus, son frere qui bien sceut sa venue lui vint a lencontre avec toute sa puissance ; mais ainsy comme les batailles estoient ordonnees pour combatre[5] dune part et daultre la roine Thonene,[6] leur mere, qui encoires vivoit, sen vint a Brenius, sy lui gecta sez bracz au col, et tant[7] le pria en plourant et lui ramentevant les grans paines et angoissez que pour lamour de lui elle avoit souffertes, et lui moustroit ses vielles et flatries[8] mammelles et son ventre tout ridde ouquel elle lavoit porte neuf mois, et en ramenbrance de tout ce lui prioit[9] que pour lamour delle volsist[10] sa fureur moderer et pardonner a Belinus son frere, et que tout ce quil volroit avoir et la partie que mieulx lui plairoit du royaulme elle lui feroit avoir et delivrer,[11] et que il voulsist considerer que au commencement de la guerre il avoit eu tort[12] et que ce avoit

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[1] *habandonne homme tant quamerveilles.* C. 2. *habandonnez amerveilles.* B.

[2] *de tous ses hommes il fist une moult grande.* C. 2.

[3] *prest.* B. C. 2.

[4] *il arriva ou royaume de.* C. 2.

[5] *combatre tant dune part comme daultre.* C. 2.

[6] *Tonene.* C. 2. *Cornewenne?*

[7] *tant humblement.* C. 2.

[8] *flastries.* B.

[9] *prioit piteusement.* C. 2. *moult piteusement.* B.

[10] *voulsist aucunement.* C. 2.

[11] *et incontinent lui delivrer.* C 2.

[12] *moult grant tort.* C. 2.

este empartie[1] par lui que il avoit este eschassie de sa terre, et que bien lui en estoit venu, car les dieulz lavoient maintenant sy exauchie que il estoit greigneur et plus puissant seigneur que son frere Belinus. Tant le prescha et remoustra la bonne dame que quant il ot[2] grant pieche escoutee et la regarda plourer sy tendrement, le ceur lui atendry, sy eut pitye et compassion de sa mere et lui dist quelle en fesist du tout a sa bonne voulente, de quoy elle fut moult reslechye,[3] sy prinst son filz Brenius par la main et lemmena avecques elle.

Quant Belinus vyt que sa mere amenoit son frere, le duc Brenius, et il sceut que il venoit pour paix, il ot grant joye, sy getta jus son escu et le courut embrachier. La sentrebaisierent les deux freres et fyrent paix ensemble au gre et plaisir de lun et de laultre. Puis se desarmerent tous les gens darmez des deux costez et sy senvindrent rafreschir a Londres que on disoit adonc Trinovant ou ilz firent grans festes et esbatemens et eurent tout le peuple du royaulme moult grant joye de la paix des deux freres, car grandement estoient amez au pays de Bretaigne.

Comment les deux freres Belinus et Brenius mysrent en leur obeissance toute Gaulle jusques aux monts[4] *de Mont-Senis, et comment ilz passerent oultre en Lombardie.* Le Chapitre XXIIII[e].

Quant les deux freres eurent sejourne[5] une piece a Londrez ilz eurent conseil dassambler leurs deux ostz en un pour aler[6] concquerre toutes terres. Quant ilz

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[1] *en partie.* B. C. 2. *par luy mesmes quil avoit este ainsi enchassie de la terre et du royaume.* C. 2.

[2] *lot.* B. *leut.* C. 2.

[3] *releschie.* B. *releschee.* C. 2.

[4] *jusques aux monts Senys.* C. 2.

[5] *sejourne ensamble.* C. 2.

[6] *pour aller par toutes terres.* C. 2.

furent tous assambles ilz sen alerent sur le rivage de la mer, sy monterent dessus et tant nagerent quilz arriverent en Gaulles ou en moins dun an ilz[1] misrent tous les Gaulez qui tenoient pluiseurs seignouries soubz leur poeste et obeissance et en ceste espace les concquirent.[2] Puis eulz veant que leurs besoingnes aloient[3] bien sappenserent quilz concquerroient[4] toute la terre jusquez aux Mons Senis. Or doncques les deux freres venus aux monts liver les encauca,[5] sy se yvernerent au pie des montaignes, puis quant ilz veyrent le temps propice ilz passerent oultre et en asses briefve saison misrent en leur subgection toute la terre jusques a Romme, car en toute Lombardie, Toscane, Ytallie, Puille ne Calabre il ne demoura ville, cyte, chastel ne forteresse quilz ne subjuigassent a eulz et ce firent[6] adfin que de eulz feust perpetuele memore. Quant Gabius et Prosana qui estoient pour lors consulz de Romme furent adcertenez de la venue des deux freres qui destruisoient ainsy tout devant eulz et quilz aprochoient ja sy prez de la cite de Romme, ilz eurent[7] grant paour, sy sassamblerent ou capitole pour avoir conseil par quel maniere on y poroit remedier.[8] Et fut illec ordonne par les senateurs que on leur envoiroit grans dons dor et dargent et leur promesist on de rendre treuage[9] chascun an par teil sy quilz se departiroient du pays et laisseroient Romme et son povoir en paix. Ad ce sacorderent les deux freres sy se partirent du pais, sy[10] tornerent leur ost vers Alle-

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[1] *ils concquesterent toute la terre et misrent.* C. 2.

[2] *et en ceste espace les conquirent.* A. C. 2. Omitted in B.

[3] *leur venoient a souhaidier.* B. C. 2.

[4] *conquesteroient toute la terre universele, si sen allerent conquerant toutes les terres jusques aux mons Senys.* C. 2. *quilz conquerroient toute la terre jusques, si sen alerent conquerant toutes les terres jusques aux monts Senis.* B.

[5] *les enchassa.* C. 2.

[6] *firent ilz.* B.

[7] *en eurent.* B.

[8] *aucunement remedier.* C. 2.

[9] *promeist on grans dons et de rendre.* B. C. 2.

[10] *et.* B.

maigne, car ilz esperoient de le concquerre, puis[1] se repairerent en leur pays ou ilz terminerent le remanant de leurs vyes en grant dominacion et seignourie.

Comment aprez ce que les deux princes et les Rommains furent accordez ensamble les Rommains rompirent leurs aliances; comment Belinus desconfist les consulz, et par consequent comment ilz firent pendre les hostages des Rommains, puis prindrent et destruirent toute la cite de Romme. LE CHAPITRE XXV[e].

QUANT les deux freres furent eslongiez d'Italie et entres en Allemaigne, les Rommains cuidoient estre bien asseurez deulz, sy envoierent les deux consulz atout grant gent en layde des Allemans contre les Bretons et sy envoierent aussy aux destroiz des montaignez pour eux clore les passages affin que en nulle maniere ilz ne peussent eschaper. Et ne leur chaloit des sermens quilz avoient fais aux deux freres et de hostages que ilz leur avoint bailliez dont il en y avoit xxiiii. des fils des plus puissans de Romme. Quant les deux prinches sceurent la nouvelle de ceste besoingne ilz en furent moult esbahys et courouchiez, pourquoy ordonnerent que Belinus demouroit en Allemaigne, avecques lui toute sa chevalerie de Bretaigne, et Brenius le duc de Sens retourneroit vers Romme atout les Gaules pour vengier la tricherie que les Rommains leur avoient faitte. Lors sen ala Brenius grans[2] journees et ne cessa derrer tant quil vint devant Romme, laquelle il assega sy tost quil y fu venus. Quant les consulz Gabius et Prosana sceurent que Brenius retournoit vers Romme a grant[3] com-

[1] *puis sen retourneroient ou ilz terminerorent.* C. 2.

[2] *a grans journees.* B. C. 2.

[3] *atout.* C. 2.

paignie, ilz se partirent des Allemaignes et se misrent a la voye pour aler a Romme leur gens secourir et aydier. Ceste chose vint a la cognoissance de Belinus qui en Allemaigne estoit demoures, lequel, sy tost quil le sceut, se parti de la ou il estoit et chevauca tant[1] par chemins estranges quil vint atout son ost en une vallee ou les consulz devoient passer, sy fist illec ses gens embuscier bien et beau, sicque les consuls et leurs Rommains qui de ce ne se donnoient garde, quant ilz cuiderent passer parmy ce passage Belinus et ses gens saillirent sur eulz sy les occyrent tous sans nul espargnier. Quant Belinus vey quil lui estoit sy bien prins de ceste besongne il fut moult joieulx, puis fist le gaing qui grant estoit trousser et baguier sy chemina[2] vers Romme ou il trouva son frere Brenius seant atout noble et belle compaignie lequel fut moult joieulx de sa venue et meismement quant il fut adcertene de la bonne fortune quil avoit eu contre lez consulz.[3] Quant les deux freres furent rafreschis une espace ensamble et orent eu conseil[4] dassaillir la cite pour laquelle conquerre ilz estoint la venus, sy ordonnerent un jour leurs gens par batailles et les envoïerent assaillir, les ungz dun coste et les aultres de laultre, mais les Rommains se deffendoient au mieulz quilz povoient. Les deux freres, voyans quilz ne porent prendre la cite a leur premiere voulente, ilz firent assez prez des murs dreschier fourches ausquelz ilz firent pendre tous les hostages que les Rommains leur avoient bailliez pour la sceurete et entretenement de la premiere paix que ilz avoient faitte et accordee ensemble comme cy-dessus est dit. Or vous dirons de Gabius et de Prosanna les deux consulz qui desconfis avoient este par Belinus en

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[1] *tant quil peut.* C. 2.

[2] *sy sachemina.* B. *puis sachemina.* C. 2.

[3] *consulz Rommains.* C. 2.

[4] *conseil sur leurs affaires ilz se conclurent dassaillir la cite de Romme.* B. C. 2.

la vallee comme vous aves oy, mais ilz estoient eschappes vifz a bien petite compaignie, lesquelz rassamblerent une grant quantite de gens et manderent aux Rommains de la cyte leure que ilz seroient devant Romme et assauldroient soudainement lost des Gaules et Bretons, et a ceste heure yssissent[1] de la cyte pour envahir leurs ennemis par devant et les enclore. Ceulx de Romme, tres joieulz de ceste nouvelle sappareillierent grandement, sicque quant leure fut venue, et ilz veyrent que les consulz a grant effort sestoient[2] ferus dedens leurs ennemis qui garde ne se donnoient de ceste emprinse,[3] ilz ysirent de la ville une grant[4] multitude en tres belle ordonnance[5] et se ferirent a laultre les de leurs ennemis lesquelz se coururent armer le plus tost quilz peurent, quant ilz veyrent le meschief, mais anchois quilz feussent assamblez et mis en ordonnance de bataille, ilz eurent beaucop perdu de leur gens, puis quant ilz se veyrent bien ordonnes ilz coururent tous a ung faiz contre leur ennemis sy impetueusement quilz rompirent tous les conrois. A ceste empainte fut Gabius occys et Prosanna, de quoy les Rommains furent sy desconfortez quilz se tournerent en fuite qui mieulz mieulz chascun entendant a soy franchir et saulver. Apres ceste desconfiture les deux freres avec leur brigade[6] chevaucherent vers la cite ou ilz entrerent par force, sy la pillerent et prindrent tous les grans tresors que les Rommains y avoient de lonc-temps amasez ; ils tuerent les senateurs et tous les grans princes de la ville quilz peurent tenir, et bouterent le feu partout. Aulcuns en y ot qui sen fuirent en[7] Capitole, sy se misrent

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[1] *saillissent.* C. 2.

[2] *estoient venus et ferus.* C. 2.

[3] *qui garde ne se donnoient de ceste emprinse.* A. Omitted in B. & C. 2.

[4] *une moult grant.* C. 2.

[5] *ordonnance, et alerent rencontrer leur ennemis qui garde ne donnoient de ceste emprinse, lesquelz se coururent.* B. *et allerent rencontrer leurs ennemis qui gardent ne se donnoient de ceste emprinse les quelz sen coururent.* C. 2.

[6] *par compaignie.* C. 2.

[7] *ou.* B.

a deffence et on les assailli durement, mais en fin ilz se rendirent et saulverent leurs vyes pour mile livres dor quilz donnerent aux deux freres.

Comment aprez ce que les deux freres eurent Romme destruite, et departi le gros bustin, Belinus retourna vers Bretaigne et Brenius demoura ; et comment Camillus le desconfist, puis repara la cite de Romme. LE CHAPITRE XXVI[e].

QUANT les deux freres eurent faitte de Romme toute leur voulente ilz sen partirent et compenserent le gaing a leurs chevaliers, puis, ce fait, Belin[1] de son frere Brenius atout son ost se parti[2] et ne fina derrer tant quil vint, lui et sa compaignie en la Grant Bretaigne. Or doncques, lui venu en son pais, il restora maintes villes et chasteaulz. Entre les aultres choses quil fist apres son retour il fonda une moult belle cite en Galles sur la riviere de Schepars[3] pres de la mer de Sabrine et lappella Kaerlus[4] qui depuis ot non Kaerlion, car ou temps que Cesar estoit en Bretaigne ses legions se ivernoient a Kaerlion, et contient une legion six mil six cens et soyxante six hommes. Ceste cyte fut le chief de la province de Mese. Et Belinus[5] fist aussy faire a Londres une merveilleuze porte sur la riviere de Thamise et lappella Bricache[6] et les Anglois lappellerent Belnesgace. Cestui roy Belinus renouvella partout les loiz de son pere par tout[7] son royaulme et mist forment sa cure a tenir

[1] *se party. Belin.* B. *partirent Belinus davecques Brenius.* C. 2.
[2] *se parti* omitted in B.
[3] *d'Oschepars.* B. C. 2.
[4] *Chaterlus.* C. 2. *Kaerlus, la quelle depuis ot non Kaerlion.* B. *Carllion.* C. 2.
[5] *ce Belinus.* B.
[6] *Brigache.* B. *et les Anglois lappellerent Belnesgace ; i.e.* Bellingesgate.
[7] *parmy.* B.

justice et droiture. Moult fut fertille et habondant[1] le royaulme de Grant Bretaigne ou temps de ce roy Belinus. Quant il fut vieulx il trespassa de ce monde en la cite de Londres, puis ardirent les Bretons son corps en cendres, sy le mirent en ung baril dor lequel ilz poserent sur la belle porte quil avoit fait faire a Londres comme vous aves oy. Brenius qui demoures estoit en Ytalie aprez la destrucion de Romme aloit gastant et destruisant le pays denviron a sa voulente comme cellui qui ne trouvoit nul contraire, mais ung nomme Camillus que les Rommains avoient bany pour cause de la proye de vengence[2] ou vergee quil avoit mauvaisement departie si comme raconte le maistre des histoires, quant il sceut et entendy[3] que la cyte de Romme dont il estoit nez et ou il avoit eu moult de grans honneurs estoit ainsy destruite et les senateurs occis, moult en ot grant dueil, sy assambla ce quil polt avoir de gens puis sen ala hastivement aprez Brenius le duc de Sens lequel il ratainst une matinee et lui couru sus tant vigoureusement quil le desconfi asses legierement pourcequil le trouva despourveu comme cellui qui ne sen donnoit garde, car il cuidoyt bien estre asseur de chascun.

Aprez ceste desconfiture le vaillant duc Manlius[4] prinst la despouille et toute la proye que les Gaules emmenoient des Rommains, puis retourna a Romme et entra en la cite a grande triumphe de trois victoires. Sy rassambla et restabli[5] ceulx qui fuis sen estoient et lappellerent les Rommains le second Romulus, pourcequil avoit restore la cite ainsy comme neufve, comme dient le maistre des Histoires et Titus Livius.

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[1] *habondant de tous biens.* B. C. 2.
[2] *Vegence ou Vergee.* B.
[3] *plainement entendi.* C. 2.
[4] *Camilius.* C. 2.
[5] *rappela.* C. 2.

Comment apres la mort Belinus, Gragius son filz rengna puissamment, car il desconfist le roy de Dannemarce et constrainst de lui paier tribu, et comment il peupla Irlande,[1] *et de la mort de Brenius.* LE CHAPITRE XXVII[e].

APRES la mort du bon roy Belinus rengna son filz qui Gragius avoit a nom.[2] Aulcuns lappellerent Giugembrateruch, qui moult fut vigoureux et preudhoms et resambla a son pere Belinus en toutez chosez. En son temps lui vea le roy de Dannemarce a paier le tribu quil soloit rendre au roy son pere chascun an, pour quoy le roy Gragius assambla grant navire, sy passa en Dannemarce ou il se combati au roy et enfin loccyst et concquesta tout le pays et mist en son obeissance comme avoit fait son pere. Puis sen retourna en son royaulme,[3] mais en repairant il passa par Orcaine ou il trouva xxx.[4] grans vaisseaulx chargies de gens, desquelz estoit capitaine un appelle Phantholus qui demanda treves pour parler au roy Gragius, sy lui dist quil estoit[5] de Blace et que les Espagnolz les avoient chassez hors de leur terre[6] et quilz avoient vaguie parmy la mer an et demi sans trover terre ne liu ou ilz peussent habiter,[7] pourquoy ilz lui requeroient quil lui[8] voulsist ottroyer une place en son royaulme pour eulz amaser, laquelle ilz tendroient de lui et obeyroient du tout a son commandement. Ausquelz le roy Gragius ottroya lisle de Hibernie laquelle encoires nestoit point habitee en ce temps et leur bailla bons marrinniers qui les y menerent, sicque quant ilz y

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[1] *Irlande.* B. *Zelande.* A. *Sceande.* C. 2.

[2] *nom.* B. *mon.* A. *estoit nomme.* C. 2.

[3] *royaulme de Bretaigne.* C. 2.

[4] *trente moult grans . . . dhommes de guerre.* C. 2.

[5] *quilz estoient.* C. 2.

[6] *terre et seignourie.* C. 2.

[7] *nullement habiter . . . . humblement requeroient.* C. 2.

[8] *leur.* B. C. 2.

furent venus la terre leur pleut tres bien, sy la peuplerent et y dure encorres leur generation jusques aujourdhui. Quant le roy Gragius fut retourne en son pays il ne vesqui mie longuement apres, ains morut et fut mis en sepulture en la cite de Karlion. Aprez la mort duquel rengna Guicelin son filz, mais anchois que je vous en dye plus avant de lui, je vous parlerai de la mort du duc Brenius, frere du roy Belinus et oncle de Gragius. Bien aves oy cy dessus comment le duc Brenius estoit demores en Lombardie apres le departement de son frere Belinus et comment Camilius lavoit desconfit mais il estoit eschappe en vie, sicque quant Camilius sen fut retourne a Romme, comme oy aves, Brenius ralia ensemble tous ceulx qui eschappes estoient, puis sen ala en Grece ou royaulme de Macedoine ou il prinst pluiseurs citez, villes, chasteaulz et forteresses ; et estoit pour lors roy de Machedoine un nomme Aristones lequel lui vint a lencontre, sy le combati, mais il fut vaincus. Quant Brenius, le duc de Sens eut eue celle victoire il sen ala cerchant la terre a abandon.[1] Enfin il vint a la cite de Delphos pour gaignier lavoir du temple Apolin qui moult habondoit en richesses, mais ceulx de la cite se deffendirent vigoureusement, et les prestres du temple, pour encoragier le peuple, leur firent entendant quilz avoient veu le dieu Apolin[2] en guize dun chevalier arme, et deux pucelles armees avec lui qui leur estoient venus aydier. Et ceulx de la cite les creurent, cuidant quil feust verite, sy prindrent ceur et hardement et courrurent sus aux Gaules si asprement quilz les tournerent tous en fuite et en occyrent grant quantite. Mais Brenius voyant[3] la desconfiture de sa gent en eut tel dueil

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[1] *a bandon.* B. *comme a Bandon.* C. 2.

[2] *Appolo.* C. 2.

[3] *voyant la grant desconfiture de ses hommes.* C. 2.

que luy meysmes soccyst de son espee pour haster la fin de sa doleur,[1] et telle fut sa fin selon Justin. Ceulx qui eschapperent de celle bataille se rassamblerent ensemble en intention deulz retraire en leur pays, mais[2] ilz ne furent pas longuement que grant destresse ne leur convint porter, car tant de tempestes et malles adventures leur survindrent que a païnes en eschappa il un seul hors du pais pour reporter nouvelles certaines de sez compaignons. Encorres dist Justin que quant le duc Brenius entra en Grece il laissa aux ports xv^{m} hommes a pie et iiii^{m} a cheval pour garder les passages, lesquelz se combatirent aux Tribaliens, sy les desconfirent avec grant quantite de Gregois, puis envoierent au roy Antigonus ambaxadeurs, faignant quilz voulsissent traittier de la paix, et commanderent a leurs messages quilz espiassent tout le contenement du roy. Quant les ambaxadeurs furent venus devers le roy Antigonus il les receupt gracieuzement et leur moustra tout son tresor et ses grans ricessez pour eulz esbahir ; mais quant ces messagies furent retournes devers leurs gens, lesquelz quant ilz entendirent les nouvelles des grandes richesses, grante voulente leur prinst dicellez concquere. Sy se misrent celeement a chemin et sen vindrent vers le tref du roy, mais ilz ne le trouverent mie car il sestoit bien appercus de leur cautelle pourquoy il sestoit dillec parti des la vespree et avoit toute sa gent fait embuschier en une forest prez de la. Quant les Gaulois furent venus aux tentes et ilz ne trouverent personne, ilz cuidierent que le roy sen feust fui, sy se chargerent de lavoir que ilz trouverent,[3] mais quant ilz sen cuidierent retourner atout leur proye, le roy Antigonus sailli hors de son embuschement avec

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[1] *sa importable douleur.* C. 2.

[2] *mais ilz ne fuirent pas longuement la mort, car tant de tempestes et de mauvaises adventures.* B. C. 2.

[3] *ilz y trouverent.* C. 2.

sa gent, sy leur couru sus moult asprement, et ceulx qui garde ne sen donnoient furent moult esbahis quant ilz se veirent ainssi enclos, sy getterent jus leur fardeaulz, sy tournerent en fuite, mais le roy et sa gent les chasserent tous occyant et les myrent tous a lespee. Ainsy par celle maniere ala a neant et fut toute perie la grant multitude de gens que Brenius avoit trayte de son pays et livre a honteuze fin. Ceste istoire raconte Justin en son livre ou il parle des deux freres Belinus et Brenius Bretons.

Comment Guicelin[1] *et sa femme rengnerent apres Gragius, et du regne Silius,*[2] *Romarus et Danus, et comment le roy Morbidus fut transglouti du monstre marin qui Belue estoit appellez.* Le Chapitre XXVIII[e].

Or doncques, pour revenir a nostre matere, aprez la mort du roy Gragius qui, comme vous avez oy rengna apres la mort son pere Belinus, frere de Brenius, aussy regna aprez son trespas un filz, quil avoit nomme Guicelin, lequel fut homme simple et de bonne vye et ot espousee une grant dame sage a merveillez, bien lettree et bonne clergesse. Ceste roine fist une loy en Engleterre que lon appelle la loy marienne pourcequelle avoit a non Marye, laquelle loy un appelle Amires translata depuis en langue britonicque. Ce roy Guicelin ot ung filz appelle Silius, lequel navoit que vii. ans quant le roy son pere morut, mais la roine Marie sa mere gouvrena[3] grande-

[1] *Ginielin.* C. 2.
[2] *Siluis.* C. 2.
[3] *gouverna.* B. C. 2.

ment le royaulme apres le trespas du roy son mari, car sage estoit en toutes negoces. Quant son filz Silius fut en eage competent elle lui fist gouvrener son royaulme. Ce Silius ot deux enfans masles, desquelz laisne ot non Romarus et laultre Danus. Et rengna cestui Rommarus apres son pere Silius. Et apres ce Romarus qui pou dura rengna son frere Danus, lequel ot un filz bastard qui ot non Morbidus, moult preu, hardi et combatant, sicque par sa proesse il tint le royaulme apres la mort Danus son pere. Ce roy Morbidus estoit sy cruel quant il se courrouchoit que il nespargnoit nul que il noccyst, feust prive ou estrange qui pres de lui se tenoit en son yre, mort estoit ou navre feust a tort ou a droit; mais quant il estoit hors de sa fureur il estoit doulz et debonnaire et ottroyot tout ce quon lui demandoit. En tout son royaulme navoit homme sy grant, sy fort, sy bel ne sy bien taillie de menbres; il estoit larges merveilleuzement, ne oncques not cure dassambler avoir ne faire tresor. Or advint en son temps que le roy de Moriane [1] atout grant navire aloit nagant parmy la mer, pillant et robant tous les rivages et gastant toute la terre par ou il passoit. Sy arriva dadventure a tout son armee en Northumbellande sy commenca a pillier et gaster le pays. Le roy Morbidus sachant ces nouvelles assambla grant ost, sy ala contre les Moriannes et se combati a eulz par tel fachon quil occyst leur roy et la plus grant partie du demourant, et dist listoire quil en tua plus de sa main que ne fist tout le remanant de sa gent. Et quant il fut las doccire celle gent il fist eschorchier tous ceulx que on polt prendre vifz pour saouler son yre et son couroux. Aprez lui advint ou temps que il estoit ou droit meilleur de son eage que un monstre marin vint devers Irlande [2]

[1] *Morienne.* C. 2.

[2] *Irlande.* B. C. 2. *Zelande.* A.

en la mer de Bretaigne, lequel monstre estoit appelle Belue qui grant et horrible estoit a merveilles. Ceste beste cruelle aloyt es villes prez des rivages de la mer sy devouroyt hommes, femmes, enfans, bestes, et tout ce quil trouvoit il mengoit ou estrangloit, pourquoy les gens du pays sen fuyoient avant et arriere pour la paour de cellui monstre terrible. Quant le roy Morbidus oy la piteuze complainte que les gens du pays faisoient de celle beste il se fya tant en sa vertu force et puissance que par grant hardement il ala seul contre ce monstre, car hardi estoit sans mesure. Toutesfois jay maintesfois oy dire que cellui est fol qui trop se fye en son hardement, car trop grant hardement est folie.[1]

Or doncques ce roy Morbidus vint moult chaudement et hardiement contre cellui monstre marin, car forment le desiroit a veoyr, et sy ne voult oncques souffrir que nulz de ses gens lui tenissent compaignie. Quant il vint assez prez du monstre il le bersa de pluiseurs sajettes et lui lanca pluiseurs dars dedens le corps dont celle beste fut durement navree en pluiseurs lieux. Le roy Morbidus, quant il eut employe tous ses dars et sajettes sacha son espee, sy en ala ferir le cruel monstre sy grant cop que lespee rompi ; mais le roy qui sy prez estoit ne polt oncques reculler[2] que la merveilleuze beste nouvri[3] sa geulle et le transglouti ; mais elle morut en celle meismes place, car elle estoit sy mortellement navree quelle ne polt oncques retourner jusques a la mer. Et telle fut la fin du roy Morbidus de la mort duquel les barons de Bretaigne furent moult dolens, et les villains orent grant joye du monstre marin. Et avoit ce roy Morbidus cincq filz, cest a scavoir Gorboman, Argal, Helidus, Ingenes et Peredur.

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[1] *est folie, et folie nest pas vasselage.* B. C. 2.

[2] *reculer si tost.* B. C. 2.

[3] *ne ouvrist.* C. 2.

Des royaulmes Gorboman, Argal et Helidus, et comment Argal fut depposez et Helidus son frere couronnez, et comment Helidus se deposa pour la pitie quil ot de son frere Argal. LE CHAPITRE XXIX[e].

GORBOMAN qui aisne filz estoit du roy Morbidus tint le royaulme aprez la mort de son pere; et[1] Gorboman fut doulz[2] et debonnaire et fut moult droiturier et leal, car oncques ne voult mentir ne faire ne souffrir faire tort a aultrui a son pooir, lequel, quant il ot rengne son terme, trespassa et fut mis en sepulture en la cite de Londres. Argal qui laisne estoit aprez lui tint le royaulme de Bretaigne aprez son trespas, mais tres mauvaisement gouvrena, car il ne tenoit loyaute a nullui et estoit convoiteux, cices et avaricieulz, sy assambla grans tresors. Il nama oncques leal homme ne ne prinst nul esbatement fors a mal faire et finablement fist tant de felonies que les nobles du[3] pais le deposerent de lonneur de la couronne et firent roy Helidus le iii[e] frere, lequel fut moult courtois et amiable, pitieux et debonnaire envers tous jours[4] faisoit. Argal qui deposez estoit, comme vous avez oy, se pourchassa moult ca et la et[5] deverz pluiseurs roys, ducz, contes et barons pour avoir ayde et secours, adfin quil peusist recouvrer son royaulme, mais rien ne lui valu sa dilligence ou pourchas car chascun scavoit bien son maintieng, sicque il ne trouva nul qui aydier lui voulsist. Or advint que quant Argal se vey en ce partit et que nul ne trouvoit qui de lui ne de son fait se volsist entremettre ou prendre cure il fut moult dolent et courouchie et se trouva sy

[1] *ce.* B. C. 2.
[2] *doulx et bon et debonnaire.* C. 2.
[3] *de son.* B.
[4] *jours faisoit.* A.; omitted in B. & C. 2.
[5] *cha et la devers.* B. *et devers.* C. 2.

abstraint de povrete que necessite lui fut de soy mettre[1] avec ung hermitte ou il demoura environ cincq ans sans estre de personne congneu, et cuidoit on quil feust mort ou sen feust ale en aulcune estrange terre par desespoir. Mais il advint ainsy un jour, ainsy comme le roy Helidus estoit ale chassier en la forest de Kalatere, Argal qui queroit parmy le bois des pommes saulvages et des pronelles pour sa vie soustenir, encontra son frere le Roy Helidus, sy sagenouilla devant lui et lui crya mercy. Quant le roy Helidus vei son frere si povre et en tel estat, il en ot grant pite, sy descendi de son cheval et ala embracier et baisier son frere, puis lemmena en une cite qui prez dillec estoit le plus celement quil polt ; et lui la venu faigny quil estoit malade, sy manda tous les barons du pays,[2] lesquelz, affait[3] quil venoient, les faisoit entrer lun aprez laultre dedens sa chambre et nen y entroit que ung au cop, lequel tantost quil estoit entres dedens il lui faisoit faire hommage a son frere Argal, voulsist ou non, car il avoit illec pluiseurs hommes armez qui tenoient les espees nues pour occyre ceulx qui contrediroient. Quant lun avoit fait sa voulente et quil estoit assermentez on le faisoit entrer en ung aultre lieu et faisoit on venir un aultre, sicque par tel maniere le roy Helidus fist tant que tous les barons du pays[4] firent serment de feaulte a son frere Argal, sy lui rendi son royaulme et le restitua en son honneur, et ce faisant lui moustra grant fraternalite, pourquoy il fut appelle Piteux tant quil vesqui. Quant Argal fut restabli en son royaulme, il devint bon, courtois et debonnaire, sy osta et deslaissa toutes maulvaises taches puis devint paisible et moult honnourable. Il rengna depuis sa restitution dix ans, au bout desquelz une maladie le

[1] *mettre ou rendre.* B.
[2] *du royaume.* C. 2.
[3] *a mesure quilz.* C. 2.
[4] *du royaume.* C. 2.

prinst dont il morut, et fut ensepveli sy honnourablement comme a sy noble personne appartenoit. Aprez la mort Argal fut Helidus[1] encoires refait roy et restitue en la dignite royale, et syl avoit este bon paravant encoires fut il meileur. Mais ses deux freres darain nesz sesleverent contre lui et le combatirent, en laquelle bataille le roy Helidus fut prins de ses freres lesquelz le mysrent en prison dedens la Tour de Londres ou il fut une longue espace. Quant les deux freres eurent le bon roy Helidus, qui estoit piteux,[2] leur frere emprisonne, ilz partirent eulx deux le royaulme par telle maniere que Iugenes tint toute la terre depuis le fleuve du Hombre en sus vers midy et occident; laultre frere qui Peredur a non ot toute la terre devers orient et septentrion; mais le roy Iugenes ne vesqui que vii. ans et ne fist chose qui a recorder face. Quant le roy Iugenes fut mort Peredur tint tout le royaulme en sa main, mais mal lui en vint,[3] car il ne vesqui gueres apres, ains morut souldainement; mauvaisement avoit vescu et tres mauvaisement fina, car on dist communement que la bonne vye attrait la bonne fin, et par contraire que la mauvaise vye attrait la mauvaise fin. Aprez la mort de Peredur, le bon Helidus qui estoit en la Tour prisonnier fut tire hors et fut restitue[4] en lonneur de la couronne, et ce fut la tierce fois quil fut fait roy de la Grant Bretaigne. Cestui Helidus qui aultrement estoit appelle le piteux roy, pourcequil sestoit depposez de la dignite royale par pite quil ot de son frere Argal, sy comme jay dit cy-dessus, et rengna ceste tierce fois grandement et loiaulment, sy estoit moult amez de tout le peuple. Il restora et restabli tout ce que ses freres avoient mal mys et mal fait; il fut exemple de

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[1] *Helidus quy ancores viviot reffait.* B. *qui encorres vivoit refait.* C. 2.

[2] *eurent le bon roy Helidus piteux leur frere.* B. C. 2.

[3] *lui advint.* C. 2.

[4] *et honnourablement restitue.* C. 2.

pite, de franchise, et de justice a tous ses successeurs ; oncques not blasme ne nul villain reprouvier ains rengna bien et termina sa vie honnourablement.

Comment depuis la mort du bon roy Helidus tous les roys qui apres lui regnerent jusques ou temps du roy Lud qui Londres ferma ne firent chose qui riens ou pou vaillist. LE CHAPITRE XXX^e^.

APRES la mort du bon roy Helidus rengna un sien nepveu qui estoit filz de Gorboman et apres lui rengna Margan. Ce roy Margan fut debonnaire et se myst en grant paine de gouvrener[1] son royaulme ; il se fist moult amer de son peuple et honnoura grandement tous estrangierz. Il ot un frere appelle Emnanius lequel rengna aprez lui, qui fut tres mauvais tirant, ne oncques ne fut ame de nul par sa cruaulte et felonnie ; son peuple le heoit et il namoit point le peuple ne nul serviteur quil eust[2] vers lui ; il rengna vii. ans, au bout desquelz il fut mys et expulse hors du royaulme pour sa cruaulte et felonnye, sans jamais y retourner. Apres ce que le mauvais roy Emnanius fut ainsy exillie et banny les grans barons de Bretaigne sassamblerent a Ternovant cest a[3] Londrez maintenant, ou ilz firent un roy qui Avaloń fut appelle, qui avoit este filz de Iugenes, lequel Avalon traveilla moult et cercha maintes estranges terres ; grandement se pena pour ressambler a ses ancesseurs en bonnes meurs et en proesses, mais il ne rengna pas longuement, ains trespassa de ce monde, et aprez lui rengna Runo[4] qui filz avoit este de Peredus.[5] Apres Runo regna Geronces ;

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[1] *bien gouverner.* B. C. 2.
[2] *quil eust, ne eulz luy.* B. C. 2.
[3] *a* omitted. B. C. 2.
[4] *Rimo.* C. 2.
[5] *Peredus.* B. C. 2. *Peredur.* A.

apres Geronces rengna Catillus son filz. Et puis rengna Coylus, et apres Coylus rengna Porrex, tous lesquelz roys furent de petite effect ou de nul. Apres Porrex rengna Cercius[1] qui fut un grant buveur de vin et uza toute sa jeunesse en buverie et en ivrogne, ne oncques proesse ne nul vasselage ne fist, mais fortune lui fust sy debonnaire que oncques en son temps not guerre ne tenchon.[2] Et quant il ot vesqui une espace comme vous avez oy,[3] la guize dun pourceau, il morut et laissa trois filz dont laisne avoit non Fulgenius, le second Ebalidus et le tiers Androgenes, lesquelz regnerent lun aprez laultre et morurent tous trois en moult brief temps. Aprez Androgenes rengna un sien filz qui Uryan avoit a non et tint vii.[4] ans le royaulme, puis morut. Apres lui rengna Elius qui bien et bel gouvrena sa vie durant. Apres Elius rengna Dedancus, et apres Dota, et puis Gurgutius,[5] et aprez lui rengna le roy Merian lequel fut a merveilles beau et sceut tout ce que lon pooit scavoir du deduit de chiens et doyseaulz, car il nentendoit a nulz esbatemens fors a cellui du bois et de la riviere, ne a aultre besongne il ne vouloit entendre ne vaquier. Moult fut amez des dames et des damoiselles pour sa beaulte, mais oncques ne voult acointer aultre femme que la syenne, tant fust belle, dont il fait moult a recommander.[6] Il avoit un filz nomme Bledo qui rengna apres lui, lequel fut large et courtoys en toutes manieres, car il donnoit beaulz dons, ne nul ne ly demandast qui sen alast escondy ; et donnoit sy largement que a paines avoit il en son hostel ce quil lui estoit necessite[7] pour son gouvrenement. Apres cestui large roy Bledo rengna Cappius

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[1] *Cerius.* B. C. 2.
[2] *naucuns tenssons.* B. C. 2.
[3] *oy et veu, non en maniere dhomme, mais en guise dun pourceau.* C. 2. *a la guise.* B.
[4] *ung an.* C. 2.
[5] *Gragutius.* B. C. 2.
[6] *dont il fut moult a louer.* C. 2.
[7] *ce qui lui estoit de.* C. 2.

Ornus[1] et apres lui Octius Silius, puis apres lui regna le bon musicien qui Blegabet fut nomme. Cestui scavoit ainssy comme tout lart de musique et chantoit merveilleusement bien ; il scavoit juer de tous instrumens, et pour ce lappelloient ses subjetz le dieu des chanteurs. Il estoit plain de tous esbatemens et deduis sy fut tant quil vesqui toudis joieulx et sains. Quant le roy Blegabet[2] fut mort, Artiual son frere tint le royaulme, et aprez Artiual rengna son filz Eldol, lequel fut moult luxurieux et convoiteux de belles femmes de quoy il se fist hayr de ses nobles hommes ; et il ny avoit nulle sy haulte dame de nom ne tant noble en son royaulme mais quelle feust belle, quil ne voulsist avoir. Apres la mort de Eldol[3] rengna Gedion et apres Gedion Redel, aprez Redel fut roy Pampainsal, et aprez lui Pir qui ot le plus bel chief et le plus blond que nul aultre de son temps. Apres cestui rengna Capolus, et puis son filz Elingralus[4] lequel fut moult amez de ses subjetz et gouvrena bien et bel tant quil vesqui. Or doncques tous les roys qui en Grant Bretaigne regnerent depuis le temps Helidus le roy piteux jusques au temps du roy Heli, duquel nous parlerons cy-apres, furent de petit gouvrenement qui regnerent petitement et ne vesquirent point longuement.

Comment le roy Lud fist clore Londres de tours et de fortes murailles devers les parties dorient, occident et septentrion. Le Chapitre XXXI[e].

Apres le roy Elingralus rengna son filz Heli, lequel gouvrena le royaulme quarante ans bien et bel, sy ot

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[1] *Capepius Oenus.* B. C. 2.
[2] *Belgabet.* A.
[3] *Après la mort de Eldol fut roy Pompeinsal et apres lui Pir.* C. 2.
[4] *Elingralus.* B. *Elmgralus.* C. 2.

trois filz desquelz laisne ot non Lud, le second Cassibellanus et le tiers Nemynus.[1] Quant le roy Heli ot rengne quarante ans, il morut et Lud son aisne filz lui succeda. Ce roy Lud fut bon chevalier et preux aux armes, glorieux[2] et victorieux en batailles; il amoyt moult ses chevaliers sy estoit grant vyandier et donnoit tres voulentiers. Ce roy Lud fist faire pluiseurs cites, villes et chastieaulz; il fist clore de fors murs et de tours la cite de Londres; aussy fist il faire a ses citoyens et bourgois maisons grandes et belles, adfin que la cite en feust mieulx paree et plus herbregant. La cite de Londres avait devant le temps de cestui roy eu longuement a non Trinovant et puis la nommerent Karlud pour lamour du roy Lud, et puis fut nommee daulcuns estrangierz qui point nentendoient le langage, Lodrin,[3] et puis vindrent Englois et Saxons qui derechief rompirent ce non et lappellerent Londonne, et ce non lui dura longuement. En apres y revindrent Franchois et Northmans qui ne scavoient parler Engleis, qui muerent Londonne en Londres. Car lon doit scavoir que le pays d'Engleterre a este par pluiseurs fois gaignie et concquis destrangierz, par quoy il changoit de citoyens, de peuples et de noms; et ausy les noms des villes, cytes, chasteaulz et aulcunes contrees ont este muees par les concquerans, ainsy comme la terre de Galles qui premier ot a non Cambrye, et la Grant-Bretaigne qui maintenant a a non Engleterre, car ou royaulme d'Engleterre trouveroit on maintenant pou de citez, villes ne chasteaulz qui soient appellees par cellui non dont on les nomma quant lon les ediffya premierement. Or retournons au bon roy Lud lequel quant il ot adcompli la periode de sa vye il trespassa de ce siecle et fut mys en

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[1] *Nemyus.* C. 2. *Enemyon.*

[2] *glorieux, vertueux et aussi victorieux.* C. 2,

[3] Lodoyn. B. *Lodoy.* C.

sepulture en la cite de Londres quil avoit moult amee, jouste a une porte quil avoit faitte et appellee Lud, de son non, laquelle a present est nommee Ludesgastee. Apres le roy Lud rengna Cassibellanus, son frere, et toutesfoys estoient du roy Lud demourez deux enfans, mais trop jeunes estoient pour le royaulme gouvrener, et pour ce en prinst leur oncle le gouvernement : laisne des enfans Lud ot non Androgenes [1] et laultre Tenancius. Cassibellanus, leur oncle, estoit moult gracieux prince et qui bien maintint [2] la couronne ; bon chevalier estoit, large, doulz et courtois, rengnant honnestement comme roy. Quant ses nepveuz furent en eage competent il leur bailla a chascun deulz une quantite de pays pour eulz entretenir : a Androgenes, qui estoit laisne des enffans il bailla Londres, Kent et toutes les appartenances, a tenir de lui francement ; et a Tenancius il bailla Cornvaille aussi a tenir de lui pareillement, comme son frere, et par ainssy furent tous deux appellez contes et tindrent leurs terrez et leurs honneurs de leur oncle ; ja soit ce quil avoit deulx la seignourie et gouvrenement du royaulme. Toutesfois tant comme loncle et les nepveuz furent bien dacord ilz rengnerent grandement et puissamment, mais aprez sourdy entreulz une grant discencion, pour quoy, a loccasion dicelle ilz furent subjugiez et devirent [3] tributaires des Rommains, sy comme vous orez cy-aprez, combien que [4] nulz de leurs ancesseurs, roys de la Grant Bretaigne navoient rendu treu a quelconques seignourie du monde.

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[1] *Androgeus.* B. C. 2.

[2] *et bien maintenant la couronne faisoit de belles ouvres ; et bon chevalier estoit.* C. 2.

[3] *devindrent.* B. C. 2.

[4] *que paravant oncques nulz.* B. C. 2.

Comment Julle Cesar fut envoies en Gaulle pour la concquerre et mettre soubz la seignourie des Rommains et toutes les parties doccident, et comment icellui Cesar envoya en la Grant Bretaigne et de la responce que les Bretons lui firent. LE CHAPITRE XXXIII[e].

VOUS devez scavoir que ou temps de Cesar et du grant Pompee, Octavien et Tybere, la cite de Romme fut presque[1] dame de tout le monde, car quant les Rommains eurent subjuguie tous leurs voysins et mis soubz leur seignourie ilz envoierent leurs consulz et chevetains avec pluiseurs de leurs legions conquere les loingtaines terres et estranges nations. Pompee fut envoye par le commun accord du senat de Romme pour aler en orient concquerre et mettre soubz la seignourie Romaine tous ceulx qui y habitoient; sy advint sy bien au dit Pompee que il subjugua en cincq ans tout orient ou il avoit xxii. royaulmes, lesquelz il fist tous tributaires a la seignourie rommaine. Cesar fut envoyie en Gaulle pour la concquerre, lequel ne fut mye content de Gaulle seullement, ains entreprinst de subjugier tout occident; sy lui advint que il fut pluiseurs fois vaincus tant en France comme en Engleterre, pourquoy il ne polt pas achever son emprinse en cincq ans comme fist Pompee.[2] Ce Julle Cesar fut tres vaillant[3] aux armez, preu et hardi combatant; sage fut a merveilles et par especial en fais darmes, bon clercq et bien lettre; ne nous ne lisons de nul homme qui oncques concquestast sur gens duitz de guerre comme il fist. Or doncques quant il se fut parti de Romme avec toutez sez legions, il passa

[1] *pres comme dame.* C. 2.

[2] *comme fist Pompee; pour laquele cause il lui convint renvoier a Romme prendre respit dautres chincq ans, et ce fut le point pourquoy on luy refusa son triumphe, dont vint la grant discorde entre luy et Pompee. Ce Julle Cesar.* B. C. 2.

[3] *vaillant homme.* C. 2.

Lombardie et lez monts,[1] sy concquist Northmandye et la Petite Bretaigne qui adonc estoit appellee Armoricque,[2] et puis ala concquerre Allemaigne et la premiere concqueste quil feist par deca les monts ce feust Auvergne et Bourgogne, puis France, Poitou et Gascoingne et les aultres pays que cy-deseure sont escripts, tant quil vint en Allemaigne ou il fist pluiseurs chasteaulx, villes et cytes. Apres revint par Flandres et sarresta a Boullougne sur la mer ou il fist faire la Tour d'Ordre ou il y a pluiseurs estages et va tousjours en amenrissant, sic que une seulle pierre la couveroit[3] au par-dessus. Cesar estoit un jour aux fenestres de sa tour, qui regardoit vers Engleterre, car le temps estoit bel et seri sic que il apperceut bien la terre et le pays oultre[4] mer, sy demanda quele isle cestoit et quelz gens y habitoient; et il lui fut dit que cestoit lisle que le duc Bructus[5] avoit jadis concquise et peuplee de Troyens, et quelle estoit de son nom nommee Bretaigne,[6] et que depuis quil estoit mort lavoient tousjours ses hoirs tenue et bien gardee et deffendue. Cesar apres ce quil ot ung pou pense il dist quil scavoit bien qui Bructus fut et que eulz deux estoient issus dun meismes lingnage, et quil estoit verite que leurs parens avoient este de Troyes en leur commenciement, mais aprez la destruction dicelle les princes sestoient departis en diversez[7] regions et que Belinus et Brenius qui jadis avoient Romme concquise estoient issus des hoirs Bructus et nesz de lisle de la Grant Bretaigne. Il est, dist-il, desormais bien[8] et temps et raison quilz rendent ce que jadis empor-

[1] *et les monts, si conquist premierement Auvergne et Bourgongne, puis France, Poitou et Gascongne; apres conquist Northmandie.* B.

[2] *Armoricque, et puis alla conquerre Allemaigne, et fist pluiseurs cites, villes et chasteaulx. Apres revint par Flandres.* B. C. 2.

[3] *couverroit.* B. *couvroit pardessus.* C. 2.

[4] *de oultre la mer.* C. 2.

[5] *Bructus.* B. C. 2. *Buctus.* A.

[6] *la Grant Bretaigne.* C. 2.

[7] *en maintes et diverses.* C. 2.

[8] *bien temps et raison.* B. *bien tamps quilz rendent tout ce que.* C. 2.

terent du nostre, car fortune a sa roe retournee, Romme est maintenant daultre povoir quelle nestoit lors quant les deux freres Belinus et Brenius la concquirent ; sy manderay aux Bretons quilz se soubzmettent a la seignourie rommaine, sy tiengnent delle leurs honneurs et lui fachent hommage en lui rendant chascun an treu, disant que silz vouloient ce faire paisiblement il ne queroit ja[1] passer la mer. Lors Cesar fist escripre unes lettres adrechant au roy Cassibellant d'Engleterre qui contenoient quil tenist de lui sa terre[2] en lui rendant tribu chascun an, ainssy comme avez oy cy-dessus, ou aultrement il lui feroit grant guerre.[3]

Quant le roy Cassibellant ot leues les lettres il en ot grant despit et rescripsy a Cesar unes lettres en contre-quarre par grant fierte et desdains, dont la teneur sensieult :

" O Cesar, nous nous esmerveillons moult des Rom-
" mains et de leurs outrages et fourfais qui durent sy
" longuement, et sy sembatent sy avant, leur grant
" convoytise ou avarice ne veult ne ne peult endurer
" ou souffrir nul homme, ne peuple[4] vivre en franchyse
" ne en liberte pleniere a faire son vouloir. Ils beent[5]
" et entendent a mettre et thesauriser ou usurper soubz
" leur franchyse[6] tout lor et largent et[7] tous les roys et
" princes terriens du monde ne nulle rien ne leur
" habonde ne ne peult souffire.[8] Nous qui demourons
" en un petit lieu enclos de mer que nous tenons et a
" este tousjours tenu franc et liege veullent les Rom-
" mains revisiter et[9] faire tribu payer. Cesar, tu nous
" essayes qui requiers avoir de nous treu ; nous nous

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[1] *ne queroit nullement passer.* C. 2.
[2] *terre et son royaume.* C. 2.
[3] *il lui menroit moult mortelle guerre.* C. 2.
[4] *naucun peuple.* C. 2.
[5] *Ils veullent.* C. 2.
[6] *empire.* B. C. 2.
[7] *de.* C. 2.
[8] *souffire.* B. *et ne leur puet souffire.* C. 2. *souffrir.* A.
[9] *et nous.* B.

" tenons estre aussy francs comme les Rommains, sy " faisons nostre compte de vivre francement comme " eulz, car nous et les Rommains sommes procreez " dune meisme rachine, et si tu Cesar nous advisoies[1] " tu auroies honte de nous requerir treu et vouloir " mettre en treuage[2] qui sommes tes parens, car " nous devons estre pers[3] aux Rommains puisque " nous descendons dun meisme lingnage. Nous nous " esmervillons grandement comment sy gentil homme " comme tu es ose demander que serfs devenons, nous " qui navons aprins a servir ne jamais aprendre ne le " voulons car oncques ny eut roy en cestui royaulme " ne ja nait qui sache comment len vit en servaige ; " francs sommes et tels voulons demourer. Et sachies, " Cesar, que se les dieux nous vouloient oster nostre " franchyse et abaissier, sy nous volrions nous deffendre " sil nous losoit[4] contre eulz pour nostre liberte garder, " adfin que nous ne perdissons ce dont nous avons sy " longuement possesse. Or saces donc, Cesar, que nous " ne te celons pas nos voulentes, car tant comme nous " serons en vye et nous porons ad ce resister, nous " garderons nostre franchyse sy comme ont fait nos " ancesseurs.[5] "

Comment Julle[6] *Cesar passa en Bretaigne avec son ost, et comment il fut desconfi et chassie hors par le roy Cassibellant et ses aidans.* Le Chapitre XXXIIIe.

Quant Cesar eut leu la lettre du roy Cassibellant, il se tint bien de rire et apperceut assez que syl ne

[1] *avisioes.* C. 2.
[2] *servage.* B. C. 2.
[3] *pres aux Rommains puis comme sommes dun meismes.* C. 2.
[4] *loisoit.* B. C. 2.
[5] *ancesseurs au tamps passe.* C. 2.
[6] *Jullius.* C. 2.

passoit la mer par de la il nauroit riens des Bretons; pourquoy il fist faire quattre vingz grossez nefz et bargez et aussy fist rassambler tant daultres vaisseaulx comme il polt. Et quant il eut fait son navire appareillier et bien garnir de tout besoing en tel affaire il entra en mer avec toute sa compaignie, et tant fist que en brief il entra en Thamise, mais sy tost que il fut en leaue doulce, il fist illec ancrer pour eulz rafreschir et mettre a point chascun selon son estat et [1] degre. Le roy Cassibellanus qui estoit a Douvres fut adverti comment les Rommains estoient arrivez au bout de la Thamise et quilz estoient prez de venir, car ilz natendoient que oportunite de temps. Et pour ce sestoit le roy Cassibellant logie a Douvres tout [2] son ost ouquel avoit pluiseurs grans seigneurs en intention de resister a Cesar, entre lesquelz y estoit Belinus, prince de la chevalerie du roy Cassibellanus, par le conseil duquel tout la besongne se conduisoit.

Ce Belinus qui estoit ainsy [3] comme connestable ou grant mareschal, et homme de grant prudence donna conseil [4] dassaillir ou envayir [5] les Rommains anchois quilz eussent leur retret ou pays, car il disoit que se on les laissoit tant sejourner ou pays quilz [6] eussent prins aulcunes forteresses, ilz seroient plus fors a exillier que ilz nestoient lors. Neminus Androgenes et Tenantius, [7] freres et nepveux du roy Cassibellant, qui la estoient, [8] et trois roys qui lui estoient subjetz, cest a scavoir Eridonius le roy d'Escoce, Guertahet roy de Norgalles, et Uritael roy de Demecie, [9] lesquelz estoient venus vers lui pour le servir a ses affaires [10]; tous ces

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[1] *ou.* B. C. 2.
[2] *avecques tout.* B. C.
[3] *tout ainsy.* C. 2.
[4] *conseil au roy.* B. *au roy Cassibellanus.* C. 2.
[5] *envahir.* B.
[6] *tant quilz.* C. 2.
[7] *Tenantius.* B. C. 2. *Tenatius.* A.
[8] *estoient acompaignes de trois.* C. 2.
[9] *Demestie.* C. 2.
[10] *en tous ses affaires.* C. 2.

seigneurs dessus nommes avec plusieurs aultres approuverent et loerent[1] le conseil de Belin le connestable, disant que cestoit le meilleur de eulz envayr promptement. Le roy donc par le conseil de ses barons fist publier parmy son ost que chascun capitaine meist ses gens en aroy ; ce quilz firent, puis se misrent a la voye vers les Rommains. Sy tost que Cesar les vei venir, il mist ses gens en ordonnance, mais a lassambler en y ot maintz mors et navrez dun coste et daultre. La veissies maintes lances brisier, maint escu froissier, selles widier, chevaulx fuir, trainant leurs rennes : les archiers Bretons dhommagoient forment les Rommains tellement, que lerbe estoit[2] tout vermeille du sang qui issoit des mors et des navrez. Grande et perilleuze fut la bataille qui dura jusques a la nuit. Or advint environ heure de nonne, que Julle Cesar voyant la journe tres fors trambler[3] contre lui, ralia entour soy la meilleure chevallerie qui pour ceste heure lui estoit demouree, lesquelz il enhorta moult de le sievir et bien faire. Puis se fery en le plus grant presse des Bretons ou il eut par sa proesse mainte ame separee du corps, car il nassenoit nul a plain cop que nen perdesist la vye ; moult dhommagoit les Bretons en coppant testes, gambes et bracz, et tant fist ceste foys quil convint les Bretons un petit retraire. Le frere du roy Cassibellant qui Neminus estoit nommez vey le grant dhommage que Cesar faisoit aux Bretons ; il appella Androgenes et Tenantius, ses deux nepveux, sy leur moustra Cesar et dist quil ne souffriroit plus son oultrage et quil avoit grant joye de[4] ce que fortune le lui presentoit de sy prez, car syl pooit a sy haut homme comme Cesar avoir merlee plus sen ameroit et priseroit toute sa vye. Apres ces parolles hurta le cheval des esporons

[1] *et moult louerent.* C. 2.

[2] *en estoit comme toute.* C. 2.

[3] *branler.* B. *journee tant inhumainement bransler.* C. 2.

[4] *de,* B. C. 2. *que.* A.

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et sen ala ferir Cesar sur son escu tel cop que Cesar fut tout estourdis, et se Cesar ne se feust sy a point couvert de son escu quant il le vey venir, il leust occys. Quant Cesar se senti ainsy feru, il lancha un mervilleux cop a Neminus et leust occys sil neust mys son escu au-devant ; mais neantmoins fut il blechie en la teste durement et entra lespee de Cesar sy avant en lescu quil ne le polt ravoir, car Androgenes et son frere Tenantius vindrent secourir leur oncle atout toute leur puissance, par quoy il convint Cesar guerpir la place, car lui ne ses Rommains ne porent soustenir limpetuosite de la bataille Androgenes. Quant Neminus ot ainsy conquise lespee Cesar il en fut moult joieux et fist ce jour grant dhommage aux Rommains, car il nen ataingnoit homme quil ne locceist, tant estoit bonne et bien trenchant. Un connestable Rommain qui Labienus estoit nommez, quant il appercheut le duc Neminus quy[1] tel meschief faisoit aux Rommains de la bonne espee de Cesar, il lui vint alencontre le cuidant mettre a mort, mais Neminus le feri premiers tel cop quil lui trencha la teste toute jus.

Quant les Rommains veyrent le grant hardement des Bretons et leur puissance, ilz sen esmerveillerent grandement ; et les Bretons qui moult desirans estoient de obtenir[2] la victoire, veu le bon droit quilz avoient se combatyrent si vigoureuzement que les Rommains qui les avoient ce jour assayes doubtoient forment leurs aspres assaulz, a grant meschief les soustinrent sy longuement, et se la nuit ne feust sy tost sourvenue Cesar eust este mors ou prins et toute sa gent destruite. De la nuit qui ainssy sourvint furent les Rommains joieulx et les Bretons courouchiez car bien leur sembla se le jour eust encorres un peu dure que les Rommains eussent ceste foiz receu leur treu pour tousjours, mais

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[1] *quy.* B. *quil.* A. C. 2. | [2] *daucunement obtenir.* C. 2.

le roy Cassibellant fist sonner la retraite pour ses gens rassambler et fut moult joieulx, sy furent tous les barons, de la noble et belle victoire quilz avoient eu de leurs ennemis. Cesar qui moult estoit traveilliez et playes[1] du labour que souffert avoit la journee demanda a sa gent conseil quil estoit de faire: sy alerent adviser que veu quilz navoint nul retrait, chasteau ne forteresse en celle terre, ne ne cognoissoient le pays, et estoient[2] moult dhommagiez et admendris,[3] quil leur valoit mieulx eulz en retourner, veu et considere que les Bretons estoient gens bien combatans, fors[4] et terribles en guerre, et que oncques navoient trouve gens qui tant les eussent grevez pour une journee. En ensievant lequel conseil Cesar, doulent et courrouciez rentra en ses nefz avec ce quil lui estoit demoure de gens, sy ala tant nagant parmy la mer quil arriva en Flandres.

Comment Neminus, frere du roy Cassibellant morut de la plaie que Cesar lui avoit faitte et comment les Francois se volrent rebeller contre Julle Cesar. Le Chapitre XXXIIII^e^.

Quant ce vint au matin les nouvelles vindrent au roy Cassibellant comme[5] Cesar et ses Rommains sen estoient fuis. De ces nouvelles fut le roy Cassibellant moult joieulx et aussy furent tous les Bretons,[6] sy en rendirent graces a leurs dieulx, et donna le roy grans dons a ses[7] barons et chevalliers en les grandement remercyant, et departie[8] tout le butin aux compaignons

[1] *navrez.* C. 2.
[2] *estoient.* B. C. 2.
[3] *amenris.* B.
[4] *hommes fors et.* C. 2.
[5] *comment.* B. C. 2.
[6] *tous les barons.* C. 2.
[7] *tous ses.* C. 2.
[8] *moult honnourablement, departi.* C. 2.

de lost. Aprez ces choses ainsy faittes Neminus, le frere du roy de Bretaigne acoucha malade au lit de la plaie que Cesar lui avoit faitte de son espee quant il la perdi en la bataille, laquelle espee estoit de telle nature que quiconcques en estoit blesciez sans nulle remede morir len convenoit. Pourquoy quant ce vint le xv^{e} jour apres la bataille il morut et fut mys en sepulture a Trinovant cest a Londres, dencoste la porte de Nort et misrent emprez lui la bonne espee quil avoit concquise sur Cesar. Ceste espee estoit nommee par lettres dor escriptes entour du pummeau *Troceamors* cestoit a dire que nulz qui en feust navrez nen pooit eschapper sans mort. Le roy Cassibellanus et tous les princes de Bretaigne furent moult courouciez de la mort Neminus, frere du roy [1] sy lui firent son annyversaire [2] honnourablement, selon leur coustume, puis donna le roy congie a ses barons, et [3] sen retourna chascun en sa terre. Quant Cesar se fut parti de Bretaigne, la nouvelle vint aux Francois comment les Bretons lavoient desconfi avec tous ses Rommains et chassie honteuzement hors de leur terre; et sy couroit la renommee que le roy Cassibellant assambloit grant navire en intencion de poursievir [4] les Rommains. Ces choses oyes et considerees les Gaules commencerent a dire entreulz comment ilz avoient le temps bon et convenable pour eulz rebeller contre les Rommains et que grant lascece [5] et couardise estoit a eulz que ainsy se avoient laissie subjuguier et devenus estoient [6] tributaires a la seignourie Rommaine. Sy adviserent que ilz se alieroient ensemble et chasseroient par forces

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[1] *roy Cassibellanus.* C. 2.

[2] *annyversaire moult honnourablement selon leur ancienne coustume.* C. 2. *universaire moult honnourablement.* B. *universaire honnourablement.* A.

[3] *si.* B.

[4] *pour venir et poursievir.* C. 2.

[5] *lascete.* B. *lachete.* C. 2.

[6] *estoient.* B. C. 2. Omitted. A.

darmes le duc Cesar hors du pays, lequel se il estoit bien courouciez par devant, encorres le fut il plus quant il sceut ces nouvelles, car moult doubtoit la rebellion des Gaules. Lors Cesar qui moult estoit sages sadvisa comment il poroit exploittier sur ceste besongne, sy regarda quil nestoit pas bon de resmouvoir ariere guerre aux Francois, car se les cruels Bretons leur venoient aydier et feissent aliances ensamble il ne les poroit[1] soustenir, veu encorres que ses gens estoient forment travailliez et les plusieurs durement navrez. Pourquoy tout bien considere il y remedia par aultre maniere car il prinst tout le tresor quil avoit concquis partout ou il avoit este, puis manda tous les grans seigneurs et chevaliers de France, si leur donna et departi son tresor[2] en leur priant quilz appaissassent leurs subjetz et tenissent en paix aux Rommains ; et oultre leur promist dalegier leurs treufz et aussy de eux donner tout ce quil concqueroit[3] en Bretaigne se les dieux lui donnoient la victoire sur les Bretons. Par ceste medecine rapaisa Julle Cesar les Francois, et pour ce dist le maistre qui fist ce livre que or et argent ont grant puissance par ce que tost ont une grant meslee faitte.[4] Car pluiseurs Francois manechoient pardevant ce don[5] Julle Cesar de occyre[6] et exillier lui et sa gent, mais prestement muerent leurs coragez pour la convoitise de lor et de largent quil leur donna, et lui accorderent tout ce quil leur demanda, et meismement que ilz iroient en Bretaigne toutes les foiz que il y

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pourroit nullement. C. 2.

[2] *tout son tresor.* C. 2.

[3] *conoquerroit sur les Bretons.* B. *concquerroit en Bretaigne se les dieux lui donnoient la puissance et victoire sur les Bretons.* C. 2.

[4] *faite, et une grant guerre ad fin traitie, car plusieurs Francois menassoient.* B. C. 2.

[5] *ceste donne.* B.

[6] *occire, quy tost muerent.* B.

voldroit retourner. Apres ces choses ainsy faittes sen repaira[1] chascun en son estre mais il nestoit jour que Cesar ne recordast sa fuite et la victoire des Bretons.

Comment Cesar retourna une seconde foiz en Bretaigne, ou il fut derechief desconfi et chassiez hors plus honteusement que la premiere fois navoit este. LE CHAPITRE XXXV.

BIEN avez oy cy-dessus comment Cesar fist faire la tour d'Ordre a Boullongne sur la mer et avoit ordonne que tous les treuz feussent mys dedens, et lui meismes, depuis que les Bretons leurent vaincu, il gysoit par nuit dedens, car tousjours se doubtoit ne oncques ne fut sy[2] asseure que par avant avoit este et sejourna Cesar illec sans riens faire deux ans depuis sa fuite de Bretaigne. Quant ce vint au bout des deux ans, Cesar fist une grant semonce de gens darmes cha et la, sy assambla un grant[3] navire ou il avoit sept cens nefz par compte fait en intention de soy aller[4] essaier derechief contre les Bretons, et lui sembloit que tout ce quil avoit fait par avant estoit neant sil ne concqueroit la Grant Bretaigne. Le roy Cassibellant qui tout le convine de Cesar fist visiter et rèparer bien et beau toutes les forteresses de son royaulme, de tout ce que mestier estoit et fist commandement a ses[5] barons quilz feussent prests chascun avec toute sa puissance toutes foiz quil les manderoit.[6]

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[1] *retourna.* C. 2.
[2] *si tant.* B. C. 2.
[3] *moult grant.* C. 2.
[4] *de sen aller ressaier.* C. 2.
[5] *tous ses.* C. 2.
[6] *Et oultre* [*ce, il*] *pourvey bien toutes ses villes et cites de garnisons, telles quil* [*comme il*] *appartenoit, car moult doutoit ce que les Gaullois avoient proumis aide aux rommains.* B. C. 2.

Or doneques quant Cesar ot apreste tout ce que mestier lui estoit pour furnir son voyage il se mist en mer avec toute sa gent, et tant exploita quil entra dedens la riviere de Thamise ; mais quant ilz furent ancrez sur[1] Thamise, Cesar et son conseil adviserent que le meilleur et le plus pourfitable pour eulz seroit de vaguier amont la riviere, sans prendre terre, jusques a la cite de Londres, lequel conseil fut tenu, mais il ne pourfita mye a Cesar ains lui fist damage grant[2] et a ceulx de sa partie, car Cassibellant avoit fait faire pluiseurs haies de grant pieux ferres et plommes dedens le Thamise secretement par aulcuns maistres engennieux en tel maniere quil nestoit nef, tant feust bonne, que, se elle sembatoit dedens, qui en peult eschaper sans estre enfondree[3] ; et oultre il avoit ordonne une grande multitude de populaires, qui gettoient grossez pierres a sondez[4] et avoient ars[5] saiettes et darts, aux deux costez de la riviere, sic que quant Cesar et sa navire vindrent jusques aux pieux ferres qui fichies estoient dedens leaue, les nefz commencerent a effondrer, et Rommains et Gaules a noyer, nefz lune a laultre hurter, et paysans[6] qui estoient a grant puissance sur les rives de leau prindrent pierres a ruer de leurs fondez, et saiettes a traire sieques en bien peu dheure plus de cent nefz rommaines furent effondreez, et ceulx qui dedens estoient, noyes et periz, et pluiseurs des aultres nefz occys et navrez des cops des pierres et saiettes. Quant Cesar vey ce meschief il en fut moult couroucie et doubta que toute la riviere ne feust ensement garnie jusques a Londres ; sy commanda as[7] aultres nefz de reculer arriere et retourner vers terre.

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[1] *ancrez en.* C. 2.

[2] *moult grant et a tous ceulx de sa.* C. 2.

[3] *effondree.* B.

[4] *fondes.* B. *fondez.* C.

[5] *arcs cors.* B. C. 2.

[6] *les paysans qui estoient sur les rives.* B.

[7] *aux.* B. C. 2.

Le roy des Bretons qui tout ce veoit avoit grant joye de ce meschief et mal adventure qui cheoit sur les Rommains, et estoit bien courouchye de ce quilz retournoient affin que silz feussent tousdis venus avant ilz se feussent tous noyes. Mais Cesar et toute sa navire se retrahirent arriere du rivage et prindrent terre ou ilz logerent, laquelle chose leur vailli pou ou nient[1] car le roy Cassibellant qui prez de la estoit avec toute sa puissance, quant il vey son mieulz donna signe a ses gens de courir sur Cesar et ses Rommains. Adonc veyssiez Bretons envahir tentes et pavillons sy horriblement que tout faisoient fondre et verser devant eulz et faisoient sy grant mortalite des Rommains que horrible chose estoit a regarder. Quant Cesar oy et entendi les grans cris et ulemens des siens qui sy mechammant moroient, il se myst tout premier avec sa bataille, et par sa vaillance reculla les Bretons qui dedens les tentes sestoient ja embares, mais peu lui vailli, car Androgenes et Tenantius et les aultres qui estoient bien trois fois plus que les Rommains survindrent en lestour sic que par vive force il convint que Cesar et les siens se retrahissent en leurs nefz a grant dhommage et se neust este la personne de Cesar seullement, tous eussent este les Rommains mors ou prins, mais lui et ceulx de sa bataille resisterent tant que les aultres se furent mis a saulvete, et lui entra dedens son vaisseau presques le[2] derrenier. Quant ilz furent entres a grant meschief en leurs nefz car moult les dhommagoient les paysans des pierres quilz lanchoient atout leurs sondes,[3] Cesar, ses tentes laissies et tout ce qui dedens estoit, de ceste adventure moult dolent commanda de nagier vers Boullougne droit a sa tour d'Ordre; les Bretons poursievoient les Rommains en leur disant maintes reproces.

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[1] *neant.* B. C. 2.
[2] *tout.* B. C. 2.
[3] *sondes.* B. *fondes.* C. 2.

Que vous en diroye[1] plus ? Cesar sen retourna moult dolent et confuz du grant honte et dhommage que les Bretons lui avoient ja fait par deux fois, et quant il fut arrive a Ordre[2] il fut la un grant temps, sy tint parlement, et endementiers furent les navrez garis.

Comment le Roy Cassibellanus apres ce quil ot victorieusement reboute les Rommains la seconde fois fist faire un solempnel sacrefice a ses dieux, et du discord qui sesmeust entre lui et Androgenez[3] *son nepveu.* LE CHAPITRE XXXVI.

LE Roy Cassibellant fut moult joieux de ce quil lui estoit sy bien advenu et avoit eu sy grande[4] et noble victoire, de ses ennemis ja par deux fois, pourquoy il fist commandement par tout son royaulme que tous, nobles ou[5] non nobles, avec leurs femmes et enffans venissent a Londres a un certain jour par lui ordonne, et amenaissent avec eulz de leur bestail, buefz ou vaches, brebis ou aultres bestes ou volatille a lequipolent ordonne pour faire sacrefice a leurs dieulx qui leur avoient envoye sy belle victoire[6] de leurs ennemis. Ce mandement oy et veu, chascun sappareilla au mieulz quil polt a sa puissance, puis vindrent a Trinovant toutes manieres de gens a la journee que nommee estoit de par le roy Cassibellanus. Quant tout le peuple, grans et petis, furent venus, moult y ot grant assamblee. Sy commanda le roy que chascun selon son endroit feist sacrefices aux dieux parmy les temples ou ilz estoient adourez, et le jour du sacrefice le roy fist sacrefyer quarante mille vaches grasses et trente mille biscez

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[1] *je.* B. C. 2.
[2] *sa tour dOrdre.* B.
[3] *Androgens.* B.
[4] *si belle et grande victoire.* C. 2.
[5] *et.* B. C. 2.
[6] *tant triomphant victoire.* C. 2.

quil avoit prins en ses bois nouvellement, et avec y[1] adjousta cent mille moutons et brebis, adfin que le sacrefice feust plus parfait, et y ot tant de volatille quil estoit[2] innumerable. Il est a scavoir que en ce temps ilz faisoient leurs sacrefices en trois manieres ; la premiere estoit que quant ilz vouloient sacrefier un mouton ou aultre beste, que ilz laloient presenter a leur ydolle[3] toute vive, et puis loccyoient en la presence de lydolle ; et du sang qui de la beste yssoit, il en oingnoit toute lydolle, son autel et[4] lentree de son temple, et puis donnoient la char au prestre de lydolle, lequel leur faisoit entendant que il en nourrissoit celle[5] ydolle. La seconde maniere de sacrefice estoit que quant ilz voloient sacrefyer un de leurs enffans ou quelcun bel oysel sy comme un cine, un paon ou aultre samblable, ilz le tuoient devant lautel de lydolle, puis lardoient et disoient que leurs dieux se saouloient de la fumee de ce sacrefice. La tierce maniere estoit que quant ilz voloient grandement[6] sacrefyer a leurs dieux ilz amenoient grans tropeaux de bestes devant leurs ydolles, en leur disant : " O vous, dieux, Jupiter,[7] " Appolin, Minerve, Diane vecy que nous tamenons " et offrons pour toy vivre et tous les haux dieux et " deesses qui sont tes parens." Puis ilz faisoient tuer toutes ces[8] bestes et mettre en pot et en rost, et quant la char estoit cuitte, ilz en portoient[9] grant foison rostie et boulie, toute chaude fumant au temple devant leurs ydolles, et la tenoient cette char tant quelle estoit froide[10] ; ilz la bailloient aux prestres qui la mengoient : et aprez ce quilz avoient ainsy fait

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[1] *ce il.* B. C. 2.
[2] *a homme.* C. 2.
[3] *leurs ydolles.* C. 2.
[4] *et toute.* C. 2.
[5] *celle son.* B. C. 2.
[6] *et honnourablement.* C 2.
[7] *O vous dieu Jupiter.* B. *Or vous, dieux, Jupiter.* C. 2.
[8] *ces sauvaiges.* C 2.
[9] *emportaient.* C 2.
[10] *tant quelle ne fumait plus et puis quand elle estoit toute froide.* B. C. 2.

ilz sen aloient tous aux pallaix ou dedens le temple meismes et la mengoient toute leur viande a grant joye ; de laquelle tierce maniere uza Cassibellant. Quant doncques le roy de Bretaigne et les aultres seigneurs et les populaires orent bien rempli leurs pances de leurs sacrefices, le roy commanda que lon feist gieux et grans esbatemens pour lonneur de la solempnite de leurs sacrefyces.

Il est a scavoir que en cellui temps quant ilz faisoient solempnel sacrefice ilz behourdoyent et karolloient par trois jours et trois nuis en leurs theatres, sy encommencerent les ungz a danser, les aultres a luittier et les aultres a bourdoyer. Or advint entredeux[1] quilz sesbatoient ensement que Ilregas, qui estoit le nepveu du roy, et Enelinus, qui estoit nepveu de Androgenes, eurent parolles ensemble sur le fait de la victoire quilz avoient eu de Cesar et des Rommains, et tant monterent les parolles entreulz deulx que Ilregas sacha son espee, sy voult ferir le jouvencel Enelinus ; mais Enelinus lui esracha lespee de la main et len feri sy grant cop que il lui coppa la teste. Quant le nepveu du roy fut mort, la court fut toute tourblee. Tantost en vint la nouvelle au roy qui moult en fut courouchiez et doulens, car il lavoit nourry et moult lamoyt. Sy manda[2] a Androgenes quil lui envoiast son nepveu Enelinus pour en faire raison et justice comme[3] appartenoit, selon la sentence des preudhommes du royaulme, adfin que la mort de son nepveu Ilregas feust vengie. Androgenes, qui bien cognoissoit le roy son oncle estre fort[4] et grant justicier, pensa en soy meismes que pas ne lui envoieroit, car il doubtoit lire du roy et le regard de le court pourcequil scavoit bien, sil estoit tenu, que len[5] le feroit morir ; sy manda

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[1] *entreulx tandis.* C. 2.
[2] *le roy.* C. 2.
[3] *il.* B. C. 2.
[4] *homme.* C. 2.
[5] *lon.* C. 2.

au roy Cassibellanus quil avoit sa court a Trinovant et que la lui feroit droit et raison de Enelinus se illec laloit demander. Quant le roy entendy la responce de son nepveu Androgenes et quil ne poroit uzer a sa voulente de la mort Ilregas son nepveu, il mennenca[1] grandement Androgenes[2] en disant que il lui toldroit toute sa terre, et de fait le deffia. Sy[3] partirent en ceste maniere par maltalent lun de laultre, puis se repaira[4] chascun en son pays. Apres le departement de ceste assemblee, le roy Cassibellant entra en la terre de Androgenes a grant puissance, sy le exilla et gasta presques toute. Androgenes mettoit toute son entente de appaisier le fureur du roy, et par plusieurs fois le fist requerre par ses amis que il lui voulsist pardonner son ire ou mautalent, mais ce fut pour neant, car le roy qui moult estoit cruel nen vouloit oyr parler, ains disoit que il assegeroit la cite de Londres. Pourquoy Androgenes voyant quil ne trouvoit paix ne accord avec son oncle, ne nulz de sez amys ne lui osoient aidier, sy ala en soy meismes adviser quil lui valloit mieulz souffrir un mal pour son corps et sa terre garantir et vaincre son ennemy et mal faire pour pis faire remanoir, et ce lui sembloit grant sens, adfin quil peust resister a la malvaise voulente du roy son oncle, sy conclud que il rescriproit a Cesar pour avoir ayde et secours de luy contre le roy Cassibellant en[5] son royaulme, et rescripsy en la maniere que cy-apres sensieut.

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[1] *menneca.* B. *menassa.* C. 2.
[2] *Androgenus.* C. 2.
[3] *Se.* B. C. 2.
[4] *retourna.* B. C. 2.
[5] *et.* C. 2.

La teneur de la lettre tramise par le duc Androgenes[1] *a Julle Cesar, Empereur Rommain.* LE CHAPITRE XXXVII.

A JULLE CESAR Androgenes duc de Trinovant mande salut.

Cesar, on voyt souvent que deux hommes apres ce quilz ont este grans ennemis une espace deviennent bons amis, et aprez grant hayne vient grant amour, et aprez grant honte grant honneur ; ce est mainte foiz advenu a ceulx qui se souloient hayr ;[2] je le dy pour tant que un jour qui passe est, et toy et moy nous combatismes en voulente doccyre lun laultre, mais toutesfois je ne te tuay point ne tu[3] moy. Et croy que ancorres je tauray mestier et aussy me poras tu se tu veulz bien aydier. Tu, Cesar, as combatu deux fois contre nous, et deux fois tavons vaincu ; et saches de vray que se je neusse este avec ma gent, tu neusses pas este par le roy boutez hors des ports[4] de Bretaigne. Cassibellant ot par moy[5] victoire, et par ma force te vainqui ; mais je me repeng maintenant de ce que je te nuysy tant ; pourquoy, si tu veulz, doresenavant je tayderay et renderay Bretaigne en brief temps, car le roy me guerroye a tort et me veult desheriter, ja soit il que je ne laye point deservi, je ten jure les dieux immortelz, et si tu veulz scavoir la cause pourquoy, elle est telle :

Saches que apres que nous teusmes desconfi la seconde fois nous mandasmes nos amys et subjetz a Londres pour rendre nos veux a noz dieux et leur faire solempnel sacrefice, ainsy comme il appartenoit. Or

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[1] *Androgens.* B. C. 2.
[2] *entrehair.* B.
[3] *toy.* C. 2.
[4] *du port.* C. 2.
[5] *la.* C. 2.

advint aprez ce que chascun ot fait son debvoir aux dieux et a leurs temples, les varles et les jeunes bacelers salerent[1] lun a laultre bourdoyer et jouer. Or doncques Ilregas, nepveu du roy, et Enelinus, mon nepveu, y estoient, qui orent[2] parolles ensemble; pourceque mon nepveu avoit sourmonte Ilregas, et tira son espee pour ferir Enelin, mais Enelinus, mon nepveu lui couru sus et loccyst. Le roy[3] sceut tantost que son nepveu estoit mort, sy me manda que je lui envoyasse mon nepveu pour en faire justice, comme il appartenoit. Or scavoye je bien se je le lui envoie que il le feroit morir, et je lui respondy que javoye ma court, par le droit de laquelle je lui en feroye rayson; et pourceque je refuzai dobeir a son commandement il manaca moy occyre et destruire ma terre. Et pour ce, Sire Cesar, je te demande ta misericorde et ton ayde, affin que par ton moyen je soye restitue en ma dignite, et tu par le mien aies le seignourie de Bretaigne. Sy te haste de venir et naies quelle[4] soupechon en moy que je contende a quelque traison, car je ne le feroye pour ma vie; mais viens tost sievant ma requeste, sy me aideras et je te renderay Bretaigne. Telz est vaincus premierement qui puis vainct vigoureusement.

Comment Julle Cesar respondy au messagier et comment par le moyen Androgenes[5] *il subjuga les Bretons et fist tributaires aux Rommains.* Le Chapitre XXXVIII.

Quant Cesar eut entendue la volente de Androgenes, par le contenu de sa lettre, il en parla secretement a

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[1] *sen allerent.* C. 2.
[2] *aucunes.* C. 2.
[3] *qui.* C. 2.
[4] *quclque.* C. 2.
[5] *Androgens.* B.

aulcuns de son conseil, sy lui fut conseille que il ne crust pas du tout les parolles Androgenes, sil navoit aultre sceurete de lui ; pourquoy Cesar rescripsy au duc Androgenes par son meismes message quil najoustoit point de foy en sez langaiges sil navoit aultre sceurete de par lui ; mais sil lui voloit envoyer bons hostages de entretenir sa promesse il yroit en Bretaigne avec sa puissance lui aydier et secourir. Endementiers que ces choses se faisoient, le roy Cassibellant qui riens nen scavoit sappareilloit pour assegier la cite de Londres [1] ; et Androgens, oyant la responce de Cesar, lui envoya un filz quil avoit, appelle Sceva, et trente nobles jovenceaus de sa lingnie en hostage, lesquelz Cesar fist mettre en sa tour dOrdre et y commyst bonnes gardes. Puis appareilla sa navire et sa gent, sy se myst en mer, et tant exploitta que lui et sa compaignie arriverent en Rommenel pres du port du Dore, et puis vint celeement par linditement Androgens a Douvres ou il estoit, et la fermerent leur convenant et ordonnerent leur affaire. Ainssy, comme le roy Cassibellant avoit sa gent assamblee pour assegier Londres, nouvelles vindrent comment Cesar estoit revenus en Bretaigne et sestoit logiez a Douvres. Pour lesquelles nouvelles le roy fut moult tourble ; sy laissa lentreprinse de son siege et commanda son ost de chevauchier vers Douvres, au-devant de Cesar. Et quant Cesar sceut la venue du roy, il yssy de Douvres, et par conseil de Androgens se myst dedens une valee avec toute sa gent en bonne ordonnance pour [2] sourprendre le roy Cassibellant, qui par illec devoit passer. Et daultre part Androgens sestoit embuschiez en une forest pres de la, atout cinq mille hommes armez adfin quil peust secourir a Cesar se besoing [3] estoit et sourprendre le roy son oncle. Or doncques comme le roy approchoit

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[1] *Trinovant.* C. 2.
[2] *aucunement.* C. 2.
[3] *saucum mestier.* C. 2.

Douvres et il fut sur une montaigne il apperceut en la valee les Rommains tous armez et ordonnez en batailles; sy fist[1] armer sa gent et[2] mettre en ordonnance, et approchier les Rommains par bonne industrie. Quant les Bretons furent assez pres des Rommains ilz commencerent a traire et lancer sur eulz moult asprement, et les Rommains se deffendirent vilainement,[3] sic que en peu dheure il en y eult assez de mors et de navrez dun coste et daultre.[4] Moult fut la bataille grande et perilleuze a ce commencement, car trop asprement requeroient les Bretons[5] leurs ennemis. Et tandis que la bataille estoit en cest estat, issy Androgens de son embuscement atout sa grosse bataille, qui vint assaillir le roy par derriere. Quant le roy se vey ainsy enclos il perchut bien quil estoit trahy, et que riens valloit deffence:[6] pourquoy il fist signe a sez gens que chascun se saulvast quil porroit; mais ilz ne povoient monter amont ne[7] passer oultre pour les Rommains, ne retourner par ou ilz estoient venus pour Androgenes[8] et les siens, qui leur deffendoient le passage. Sy furent le roy et les[9] Bretons constrains de habandonner le champ, et fuir a travers une[10] montaigne qui moult estoit haulte et rosque couverte de ronsces et de petis buissonceaulz. En cellui tertre se myst le roy a saulvete et une grande partie de ses gens a quelque paine que ce fust, car pluiseurs reverserent jus en rampant contremoult[11] la montaigne; et le roy Cassibellant se voyant estre sur ce tertre fut bien asseur car les Bretons se deffendoient sy vaillamment

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[1] *commanda.* C. 2.
[2] *et les.* C 2.
[3] *moult vaillament.* B. C. 2.
[4] *tant dun coste comme daultre.* C. 2.
[5] *les Bretons les Rommains leurs mortels ennemis.* C. 2.
[6] *rien ny valloit deffence.* B. *et que la deffence riens ny valloit.* C. 2.
[7] *ne nullement.* C. 2.
[8] *Androgens.* B.
[9] *ses.* C. 2.
[10] *au travers vers une.* C. 2.
[11] *contremont.* B. C. 2.

que les Rommains navoient garde de y ramper pour eulz mal faire, ains perdirent assez a y contendre. Or doncques Cesar voyant quilz sestoient mys en sy fort lieu les avironna tout entour et les assailloit de foiz a aultre, mais peu y pourfitoit ; sy mist gardez parmy les issues de la montaigne et fist faire tout entour grans fosses affin que ilz ne peussent eschapper que par ses mains, car bien lui souvenoit comment ilz lavoient aultresfoiz gouverne et honteusement chassie hors leur pays, et bien il leur scavoit reprochier. Moult estoient les Bretons plains de grant vasselage, preux et hardis, qui peu prisoient ses manaces ne ses reproces, ains se combatoient vigoureusement contre lui et sa gent, ja soit ce quil les eust assiz,[1] sy lui faisoient ilz grant dhommage aux escarmuces comme ceulx qui ne doubtoient riens les assaulz des Rommains ne leurs corps car ilz prendoient en eux force et hardement de ce quilz les avoient aultrefoiz vaincus deux foiz sy faittement que vous avez[2] oy. Lucan dist que les Bretons estant en ce lieu, ja soit ce quilz natendissent nul secours, sy se deffendoient ilz moult aigrement et point ne se voloient laissier vaincre a cellui quilz avoient deulx foiz vaincu, car ilz estoient sy animez a garder leur pays[3] que mieulz amoyent morir que serfz devenir aux Rommains. Quel merveille ce ! dist Lucan, tout le monde ne polt resister a Cesar, et toutesfoiz celle gent lui resista ; et dist ancorres ce vers qui sensieut de Cesar en lonneur et loenge des Bretons : " Territa " quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis ?" cest a dire en francois " que Cesar aux Bretons quist moustra le " dos, epouvantes a cause de leurs grans cops."[4] Tout ce dist Lucan des Bretons, mais Cesar lors les avoit mys au dessoubz par le benefice de fortune qui sa roe avoit tournee ja soit ce quilz eussent este deux foiz au-

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[1] *assieges.* C. 2.
[2] *paravant.* C. 2.
[3] *et leur liberte.* C. 2.
[4] *corps.* C. 2.

dessus. Car[1] Cesar doncques tendoit a afamer les Bretons sur ceste montaigne, car ilz estoient despourveus de vivres et y furent deux jours sans mengier et sans boire. Quant ce vint au tierch jour, le roy considerant que nestoit forteresse qui contre fain et soif se peult tenir, envoya un sien messager devers Androgens son nepveu, par qui il estoit en ce dangier, car il doubtoit et cremoit moult de escheir es mains de Cesar qui moult estoit rigoreulx a ses ennemis, sy manda a Androgens quil le pacifiast aulcunement a Julle Cesar, adfin que lonneur ne la dignite de la gent dont il estoit nez ne feust pas deffacie, et oultre lui mandoit et remoustroit par sa lettre quil ne lui avoit pas fait chose par quoy il deust desirer sa mort, car ja soit ce quil lui eust fait aulcunes oppressions ou inquietations tout bien considere il ne le devoit pas hayr de mort, ains saulver sil pooit[2] et ceulx qui avec lui estoient, car se il recepvoit honte il ny avoit[3] nul honneur, et tant comme estoit de laccord ou apointement devers les Rommains il sen submetoit du tout en sa voulente et ordonnance. Quant Androgens entendi ce que son oncle lui mandoit par son message, il dist telles[4] parolles: " le prince " qui en temps de guerre est pitoïable et debonnaire " comme un agneau, et en temps de paix cruel, orguel- " leux et fier comme un lion nest point a prisier. Quant " le roy mon seigneur desconfist Cesar, ce ne fut pas " par lui seul, ains fut par mon aide et des aultres " chevaliers qui en eusmes mainte paine, et cellui qui " en tel cas le fait le mieulz en doibt avoir le plus " dhonneur et de gre. Mon oncle doibt scavoir[5] que " par son corps seul il ne vaincqui pas lempereur " Cesar, et pour ce ne sen debvoit il pas glorefyer ne

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[1] *Car.* A. Omitted in B. C. 2.
[2] *et tous.* C. 2.
[3] *auroit.* B. C. 2.
[4] *telles ou samblables.* C. 2.
[5] *plainement.* C. 2.

" a soy en attribuer ou donner le pris; follie estoit
" de sen oultrecuidier et moy traittier injustement;
" mais puis que il se humilye et me prye que je lui
" ayde a faire sa paix a Cesar, il est mon oncle, sy
" lui doy obeir en raison: ja soit il que je lui aye
" la guerre esmute. Toutesfois est le temps venu
" que je lui voldray aidier, car assez me suis de lui
" vengies; il demande misericorde, sy est bien droit
" que avoir lui face et mesmement aussy a tous mes
" amys qui sont avec lui en armes."

Comment la paix fut faitte entre les Rommains et les Bretons par laide et moyen de Androgens et comment Cesar sen retourna en Gaulle et emmena le duc Androgens avecq lui. LE CHAPITRE XXXIX.

QUANT Androgens ot ainssy parle au messagier du roy Cassibelant son oncle, il sen ala devers Julle Cesar, sy se myst a genoulx devant lui en disant moult doulcement: " Sisre[1] Cesar, tu ti es[2] assez vengiez
" du roy Cassibellant; aies pite et misericorde de lui,
" il se mettra en ta subjection et rendra tribu a la
" dignite[3] rommaine chascun an: Il te doit souffire
" quil soit ton homme et tiengne sa terre des Rom-
" mains." Mais Cesar oïant Androgens ainsy parler passa tout oultre et fist la sourde oreille, dont Androgens ot grant despit, et pour ce revint derechief devant Cesar et lui dist. " Cesar, je tay bien et loyaument
" tenu ce que je tenes en convent pour toy attraire
" pardecha; je tay soubmis Cassibellant et sy peulz

[1] *Sire.* B. C. 2.
[2] *tu tes maintenant* C. 2.
[3] *majeste.* C. 2.

" avoir la seignourie de Bretaigne, car vaincu est " Cassibellant par mon ayde, nulle aultre chose ne te " promis sy non que je labourroye tant que je met- " troye Bretaigne et le roy[1] mon oncle en ta subjection. " Ja ne veulle Dieu que je seuffre lyer[2] ou empri- " sonner mon[3] oncle qui sy doulcement ma nourri ; je " suis son homme et tiengz de lui ma terre et mon " pais ; puisquil me requiert dayde je lui ayderay, et " saches quil nest pas chose legiere doccyre Cassibellant " tant comme Androgens vive car pas nauray honte " de lui lyvrer ayde et confort. Se tu ne veulz a ma " peticion et conseil obeir et si tu ne me veulx accorder " ce que je te demande je me pars de toy et de ceste " heure te deffye."

Adont Cesar qui apperceut[4] assez la voulente de Androgens ala adviser et penser en soy meismes que encorres ne tenoit il point Cassibellant ne Bretaigne aussy, et veu que Androgens se partoit de lui qui estoit le plus puissant prince du pays apres le roy, que ancorres len poroyent ils bien cachier[5] hors car moult doubtoit Cesar Androgens et sa puissance ; sy sappaisa et ottroya a Androgens tout ce quil demandoit. Et puis sen ala Androgens querre le roy, sy lamena devant Cesar ; la fut faitte la paix deulz deux, sy acolerent et baisierent lun laultre, et donna Cassibellanus hostages a Cesar de payer chascun an trois mille livres[6] de treu a lempire rommain, et par ce moyen furent les Rommains et Bretons grans amys ensamble, sy donnerent grans dons les ungz aux aultres. On ne list point que Bretaigne eust oncques este en treu ne paye[7] servage au temps que Cesar la concquist par le moyen de Androgens.

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[1] *roy Cassibelant.* C. 2.
[2] *loier.* C. 2.
[3] *monseigneur mon oncle.* B. C. 2.
[4] *congnut.* C. 2.
[5] *bouter.* C. 2.
[6] *livres dor.* C. 2.
[7] *paye aucun treuage ne este en.* C. 2. *paye treu ne este en.* B.

Apres ce que Cesar et Cassibellant se furent accordez, tous les gens darmes du roy se partirent de lui et sen ala chascun en son pays ; mais Cesar demoura tout liver en Bretaigne, puis quant leste fut venu il entra en ses vaisseaulz sur la mer, mais il emmena Androgenes avec lui, car moult lamoit, et tant naga que il arriva en France avec ses legions et les hostages que on lui avoit bailliez en Bretaigne. Quant il fut venus en France il envoya ses messages a Romme pour adnunchier ses victoires et son advenement et pour dire[1] que Romme sapprestast pour le recepvoir a triumphe. Mais Pompee, Chaton, Domice et pluiseurs aultres, respondirent aux messages[2] "Nescio vos," en disant que Cesar nestoit point digne davoir triumphe, car le tresor de Romme ne la chose publicque nestoient en riens augmentez ne accreus par Cesar de triumphes ne victoires quil eust eues[3] en Gaulles ou ailleurs, et que tous les treus quil avoit recheups de tant de nations diverses quil avoit vaincues et que tout le gaing que concquis y avoit, tout avoit applicque a son singulier pourfit et aux Galles[4] distribue.

Quant Cesar qui ja avoit passe les Alpes oy ceste responce il sen retourna arriere en Gaule, et la assambla presques tout Occydent pour aler contre Pompee. Mais plus je ne diray de ceste histoire de Brust car qui veoir le desire voye Lucan et illec le trouvera.

Or revendray a ma matiere, laquelle je veul poursievir comme jay promys. Bien avez oy cy-dessus comment Cesar et le roy Cassibellant saccorderent ensemble par le moyen de Androgens, mais le roy Cassibellant ne vesqui que sept ans aprez le partement de Cesar et paya tres bien toute sa vye le treu ainsy

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[1] *que la Rommaine cite.* C. 2.
[2] *Rommains si respondirent aux messagiers.* C. 2.
[3] *ne de victoire quil eust oncques en Gaulles.* C. 2.
[4] *Gaulles.* B. C. 2.

que promis lavoit au dit Cesar. Et neut oncques femme espouzee ne nulz enffans ; a Eurioc termina sa vye, ou il est enterrez.

Apres Cassibellant rengna son nepveu Tenancius, frere de Androgens, pourceque Androgens sen estoit ale avec Cesar, comme oy avez cy-devant. Ce Tenancius rendi grant paine a tenir le royaulme[1] en paix et estoit moult rigoreux es extermitez de justice.

Apres Tenancius rengna son aisne filz appelle Kambelinus, qui fut sage, courtois et vaillant en toutez qualitez appartenans a homme noble, lequel bon roy lempereur Cesar avoit long-temps nourry a Romme et lavoit fait chevalier. Cestui Kambelinus estoit sy grandement en la grace des Rommains que ilz ne lui demandoient point de treu, et se il leur bailloit, cestoit gratis.

Ou temps de cestui roy fut nez nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist de la glorieuze vierge Marie, mere de pitie et de grace, qui pour nous[2] pecheurs voult homme devenir, et pour rachater[3] lhumain lignage qui estoit prins es liens de la chaine du deable, il lui pleut souffrir mort en larbre de la croix ; bien le deuissions amer, servir et honnourer se bons et dignes en feussions. Il ot en la Grant Bretaigne ou temps de ce roy Kambelinus un devineur que len disoit estre prophete, quon appelloit Thezelinus ; sy advint une foiz que le roy tenoit sa courte a une grant feste et commanda que len lui amenast cestui Thezelinus, auquel, quant il fut venus, le roy requist devant ses barons que il lui voulsist aulcune chose deviner du temps advenir ; a la quelle requeste Thezelinus respondi au roy quil ne sesmerveillast pas, car le Saulveur et Redempteur de tout le monde[4] estoit nez dune vierge, sans corrupcion dhomme.

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[1] *la royaulte.* B.
[2] *pauvres mauvais.* C. 2.
[3] *racheter.* B. C.2.
[4] *du monde.* C. 2.

Le roy et les aultres barons firent escripre ceste prophetie laquelle maintesfois depuis ilz recorderent, et pour ceste raison crurent les Bretons en Nostre Seigneur[1] tantost quilz en oyrent parler ou preschier,[2] car il leur souvint de la prophetie Thezelinus.

Comment lempereur Claudien ala en la Grant Bretaigne contre les Bretons qui lui avoient refuze a paier treu, et de la mort du roy Guider. LE CHAPITRE XL.

QUANT le roy Kambelinus ot rengne deux ans, il morut, et laissa deux filz desquelz laisne ot non Guider et laultre Arviragus. Guider fut roy aprez la mort de son pere, lequel fut[3] fier et bon chevalier mais trop estoit oultrageux, et orguilleux oultre mesure. Lequel roy Guider ne tint conte[4] de lamour des Rommains, sy leur denia et refusa de payer tribu et ne voult oncques obeir a eulz ne faire chose dont ilz le requisissent. Quant lempereur Claudien, qui pour ce temps rengnoit a Romme et avoit este soubroguie a lempire par le moyen dun sien chevalier appelle Lelius Homo,[5] fut adverty que les Bretons se rebelloient contre lui, il en fut moult courouchiez. Ce Lelius Homo, dont nous parlons, estoit connestable de lempereur et gouverneur de toutez ses guerrez, sy conseilla a lempereur quil alast en Bretaigne atout ses ostz pour chastyer les Bretons et recouvrer ses treus et hommages, a quoy Claudien Cesar saccorda. Sy se parti de Romme[6] atout grant armee et jura que jamais ne retourneroit a Romme tant et sy

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[1] *Seigneur Jhesu Crist.* C. 2.
[2] *orent preschier.* B.
[3] *homme moult.* C. 2.
[4] *ne tint cure.* B.
[5] *Hamo.* B. C. 2.
[6] *Rommenie.* B.

longuement quil seroit vengie des Bretons. Et tant chemina par mer et par terre quil arriva en Bretaigne devant la ville de Porcestre, ou il fist asseir son siege tout entour, et puis fist faire devant les portes murs forz et espez affin que nul ny peust entrer ne issir pour les[1] plus tost affamer et faire morir de faim. Ladvenement[2] Claudien Cesar divulge parmy Bretaigne, le roy Guider assambla au plus tost quil polt toute sa puissance, et sy fist son frere Arviragus, et vindrent assambler aux Rommains par grant impetuosite; et par especial le roy Guider faisoit sy grant mortalite des Rommains que ilz le doubtoient plus la ou il sembatoit que une grant partie de son ost, et tant fist darmez celle journee que Claudien et les siens furent constraint de guerpir le champ et rentrer en leur nefz, et finablement estoient tournes a totale desconfiture. Quant Lelius Homo, connestable de lost rommaine, ala adviser que tant que le roy Guider vesquist les Rommains ne venroient au-dessus des Bretons, veu le grant meschief et occysion quil faisoit de eulx par sa grande proesse et vaillance, sy sappensa que pour a ce remedyer il sarmeroit cauteuleuzement des armez dun Breton mort, car il scavoit parler breton et francois, pour ce quil avoit este nourris[3] avec les hostages gaules et bretons que Julle Cesar y avoit menez, et congnoissoit assez les meurs britonicques, sy sapprocha du roy Guider et en langaige breton le enhortoit de poursievir les Rommains le plus quil porroit; sicque le roy et les barons le cuidoient estre de leur partie et se fioient en lui pour la bonne voulente quil moustroit pour les armes quil portoit et pour le langaige quil parloit. Sy advint quil se trouva seul denprez le roy a un destour,

[1] *ny peust entrer pour les.* C. 2.
[2] *de lempereur.* C. 2.
[3] *nourris a Romme.* B.

ou il loccist en traison,[1] puis ala tant muchant cha et la quil vint[2] a saulvete entre les siens.

Ne demoura guerez aprez que Arviragus parmy le lieu ou son frere gysoit mort passa, et quant il percheut le roy, il mist piet a terre, sy desvesti son frere sa cote darmes et[3] le vesti, puis remonta au plus tost quil polt sur son cheval, car lors nestoit pas heure de plourer ne soy[4] arrester pour faire les lamentations en tel cas appartenant. Puis se remyst entre ses gens et commenca a crier lensengne royal ainsy comme faisoit le roy, en admonestant les Bretons de bien faire au mieulz quil pooit. Et cuidoient tous certainement que ce feust le roy Guider ; pourquoy il sencoragoient tellement que ilz occyoient tant de Rommains que merveilles estoit a regarder, et tant firent quilz departirent la bataille Claudien en deux. Sy sen tournerent une partie vers leurs nefz et lempereur meismes y entra des premiers ; et laultre partie sen fui vers la forest, pour ce quilz ne pooient aler vers le navire, avec lesquelz estoit Lelius Homo. Arviragus qui desja estoit adverti que ce Lelius Homo avoit occys son frere le sievy de si pres par boiz et par champs que il le chassa[5] a un port, et la comme il estoit descendu de son cheval pour entrer en la nef dun marchant qui la estoit, Arviragus y sourvint et la li coppa la teste, pour laquelle cause fut la ville appellee Hantonne[6] en memore que ce Lelius[7] Homo estoit la mort, lequel nom lui dure ancores jusques aujourdhuy, car Hantonne[6] vault autant a dire comme la ville ou Homo[8] fut tue. En dementiers que Arviragus chassoit les Rommains cha et la, lempereur Claudien assambla et concueillui toutes

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[1] *grant et mauvaise traison.* C. 2.
[2] *parvint.* B. C. 2.
[3] *et lui mesmes.* B. C.2.
[4] *ne naucunement soy.* C.2.
[5] *chassa jusques.* B. C.2.
[6] *Hanton.* C. 2.
[7] *Lelius Hamo.* B. C.2,
[8] *Hamo.* B. C.2.

ses nefz et toutes gens qui demoures lui estoient ensemble au mieulz quil polt, puis sen ala avec tout son navire devant Porcestre et le fist assalier[1] hastivement affin quil le peust conquerre anchois que les Bretons qui en estoient issus pour aler en la bataille avec le[2] roy rentraissent dedens. Et pour ce quil ny avoit que femmes et enffans et vielles gens ou peu avoit de deffence il la prinst legierement, et mist a mort tous ceulz quil y trouva, puis fist raser les murs jusques en terre et ardy et destruisy tous les hosteux ou edifices, ne oncques depuis ne fut en si grant valleur quelle estoit ains que ce Claudien[3] venist en Bretaigne.

Quant Arviragus sceut ceste chose il en fut moult[4] dolent et se trahy a Wincestre,[5] mais Claudien[6] le sievy atout son ost et lassist la dedens et avec lui pluiseurs de ses parens et amys qui fist[7] faire pluiseurs engiens pour lanchier aux murs et aux portes, sicques quant Arviragus se fut ainsy laissye assegier a Wincestre il en ot grant honte et dist qui cestoit ville[8] a prince de soy tenir ainsy enclos et que mieulx avoit[9] a prendre ladventure de vivre ou morir en honneur que plus illec demourer sy deshonnourablement; pourquoy il ordonna ses batailles et issy[10] a ung matin hors de la ville, et quant ses batailles furent sur les champs bien ordonnees les Rommains sappareillerent de laultre part. Or advint entredeux que les seigneurs aloient dun conroy a laultre, que aulcuns parlerent a lempereur a scavoir lequel il amoit

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[1] *assaillir moult.* C. 2.
[2] *leur roy.* B.
[3] *que lempereur Roomman venist au royaume de Bretaigue.* C. 2.
[4] *moult courrouce et doulent.* C. 2.
[5] *et se retray dedens Wincestre,* C. 2. *et se retray a Wincestre.* B.
[6] *mais lempereur Claudien.* C. 2.
[7] *qui puis commanda.* C. 2.
[8] *vilte.* B. *grand deshonneur.* C. 2.
[9] *amoit.* B. C. 2.
[10] *et sailly.* C. 2.

mieulx ou la paix ou la guerre, et Claudien respondy tantost quil amoit mieulz paix que guerre, et que se Arviragus voloit faire paix il lui donroit Genois sa fille en mariage par tel sy seullement quil tenist sa terre de lui et rendist treu a la dignite Rommaine.

Ceste chose fut rapporte a Arviragus, lequel par la deliberation de son conseil sy accorda, puis cela fait vindrent Claudien et Arviragus a Wincestre ou ilz se logerent ensemble, et envoya prestement lempereur ses messages a Romme querir sa fille Genois, et entredeux que les messages furnirent leur voyage. Claudien concquist les isles de Orcanie, de Pasie et aulcunes aultres par layde de Arviragus, puis revindrent de Romme les ambaxadeurs qui amenerent[1] la fille Claudien.

Quant le roy Arviragus sceut la venue de la damoiselle il ala au devant delle, adcompaignie de ses barons, jusques a une valee que on appelloit Saverne. Illec estoit aussy Claudien, qui avec Arviragus bienviengna sa fille et toute la compaignie ; puis en la presence de tous fermerent leurs convenances et adfin quil en feust memoire, fonderent en ceste valee une cyte, car le terroy[2] estoit bon et fertille de tous costez, laquelle cite Claudien nomma Gloucestre pour lamour dun sien filz appelle Glois. Claudien fist son filz duc de Gaules et conte de Gloucestre pourcequil avoit illec este nesz. La fut celebree la feste des noepces Arviragus, et aprez la feste[3] acomplye chascun se departi pour aler en son pays, et lempereur Claudien sen retourna a Romme.

En ce temps dont nous parlons estoit monseigneur Saint Pierre lapostole a Antioce ou il preschoit la loy de nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist, sy converty la cyte et y tint son siege environ huit ans, et puis sen vint a Romme. Aprez le departement Claudien, Arviragus

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[1] *Genois, la fille lempereur Claudien.* C.2.

[2] *pour ce que le terroir.* C. 2.

[3] *la solempnite.* C. 2.

tint le rengne de Bretaigne paisiblement une longue espace,[1] mais il devint sy orgueilleux quil ne daigna riens tenir des Rommains, ains leur refusa a paier le treu,[2] pour laquelle chose ilz envoierent sur lui Vaspasien atout grant chevalerie, lequel exploita tant quil vint au port de Douvres; mais le roy Arviragus et sa gent qui scavoient sa venue lui deffendirent le port, sicque quant Vaspasien vei quil ne pooit illec port prendre il sen ala en costoiant le pays tant quil vint a un plain sans nulle deffence, ou il prinst terre et fist descendre sa gent.

Quant tous furent descendus, il sen ala atout sa puissance a Ocestre,[3] car il la cuidoit trouver despourveue, mais il y trouva sy grant deffence quil ne la polt prendre,[4] ja soit ce quil la feist assaillir par huit jours continuelz. Endementiers y vint le roy Arviragus et tout sa chevalerie pour secourir la cyte; sy se combatirent ensamble les deux ostz un jour tout entier sans ce que lun ne laultre feust vaincu, mais moult en y ot de mors dune part et daultre.

Quant ce vint le lendemain, la royne Genoix se traveilla tant de cha et de la quelle fist la paix entreulz et les accorda, car moult amoyt les Rommains, pourceque les plus grans seigneurs de Romme estoient ses parens. Or donc quant la royne eut mys paix entre Vaspasien et le roy Arviragus son seigneur, Vaspasien sejourna en Bretaigne jusques au temps deste et puis sen retourna a Romme. Cest accord tint le roy Arviragus toute sa vye moult franchement, et ama grandement les Rommains pour lamour de la roine Genoix sa femme, qui nee estoit de Romme.

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[1] *espace de temps.* C. 2.

[2] *ains leur refusa tout plainement a payer le treu comme avoit promis.* C. 2.

[3] *atout sa compaignie a Oscestre.* B. *atout sa compaigne a Clocestre.* C. 2.

[4] *que aucunement ne le polt avoir ne prendre.* C. 2.

Comment Maurius filz de Arviragus desconfist le roy des Picz que Rodrit avoit a nom, et de la perche quil fist drechier ou champ en signe[1] *de la victoire.* LE CHAPITRE XLI^e^.

APREZ la mort du roy Arviragus, rengna son filz Maurius qui avoit este nourris a Romme entre les parens de sa mere Genoix,[2] lequel roy Maurius estoit moult sage et bien enparle par belle eloquence. Il se faisoit grandement honnourer et servir, et bel se contenoit entre toutes manieres de gens. Sy advint en son temps que un roy appelle de son non Rodrit, lequel estoit roy des Picz qui venoit de Sicie, arriva en Escoce, ou il gastoit et destruisoit tout le pays.

Quant ceste chose vint a la congnoissance du roy Maurius, il assambla son ost, sy ala a lencontre de ce Rodrit, et[3] tout son ostz furent desconfis et mors ou prins. Puis fist le roy Maurius dreschier enmy le champ ou la bataille avoit este une longue pierre delye[4] a maniere de perche, en laquelle il fist escrivre toute ladventure de ceste bataille, adfin que perpetuellement il en feust memoire, et lappel on[5] ou pays la Pierre de Destinee. Apres ces choses ainsy faittes, le roy Maurius fist amener tous prisonniers[6] devant lui dont il avoit[7] grant nombre, sy les retint tous et leur bailla en son pays une province pour eulz herbergier, et estoit la terre quil leur bailla appelle Cathenoix, laquelle navoit oncques encores este labouree ne habitee, et lors sy logierent les Picz, sy labourerent et peuplerent la contree grandement. Puis requirent aux Bretons quilz

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[1] *tesmoing.* B.
[2] *la royne Genoix.* C.2.
[3] *se combatirent enssamble, sicque finablement Rodrit et.* B. C. 2.
[4] *delice.* B. C.2.
[5] *lapele on.* B. *lappele on ou.* C.2.
[6] *tous ses prisonniers.* B. C.2.
[7] *il y avoit.* B.

leur baillassent de leurs femmes, mais ilz nen volrent riens faire ; pourquoy les Picz en alerent querir en Irlande une grande tourbe, sicque quant ilz orent des femmes ilz furent tos[1] cruz et multiplyez.

Quant le roi Maurius fut mort, Coylli son filz rengna apres lui, lequel fut moult gentilhomme, courtoix, sages, preux et hardis ; il scavoit toutes les loiz rommaines, car il les avoit aprinsez en sa jeunesse a Romme ou il avoit este nourry, et ama moult les Rommains, pourceque deux il tenoit maint bel art ou science.[2]

Comment Luces fut le premier roy Crestien ou royaulme de la Grant Bretaigne. Comment il fist baptisier les Bretons, et des grans biens que il leur fist. LE CHAPITRE XLIIe.

LE roy Coilly avoit un filz appelle Luces qui rengna aprez lui, lequel fut moult scientificque et dhonneste conversation, et fut le prumier[3] roy Crestien qui rengna ou royaulme de la Grant Bretaigne, car quant il oy parler de Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist et de ses miracles et des signes merveilleux que les apostles et leurs disciples faisoient pour convertir le peuple, il envoya[4] a Romme par devers lapostole en lui priant tres affectueuzement que il lui envoiast un preudhomme qui lui enseignast la loi de Jhesu Crist, car il avoit voulente destre Crestien et soy faire laver en sains fons de batesme ; aussi mandoit il au saint pere que ceste loi Crestienne il feroit tenir a tous ceulx de son royaulme.

Quant lapostole oy ainssy parler le messagier du

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[1] *tost.* B. *tantost.* C. 2.

[2] *il tenoit grant art et science.* C. 2.

[3] *fut tout te premier.* C. 2.

[4] *ung sage homme bien lettre.* B. C. 2.

roy Luces il en eult moult grant joye, sy en rendy graces a Nostre Seigneur, et lui envoia deux evesques bons et sains preudhommes, dont lun ot non Duman et laultre Fagan. Ces deux evesques sen alerent en Bretaigne ou ilz prescherent la loy de Jhesu Crist, tellement quen peu despace, eulz la venus, ilz convertirent tous ceulx du royaulme, sy baptisierent le roy Luces et tous ses subjetz, car se aulcuns eussent este refusans de ce faire le roy les eust fait justicier. Et par ainsy fut Nostre Seigneur Dieu servi par tout le royaulme de la Grant Bretaigne par la bonne exemple du roy Luces, lequel en fut moult joieux.

Quant les deux bons evesques dessus nommes veyrent tout le pays reconcillie et creant en Jhesu Crist ilz en rendirent graces et loenges a la tres sainte Trinite, puis establirent eveschies et arceveschiez par bonne disposition et ordonnance, lesquelz ilz compasserent ou diviserent les ungz des aultres, et firent des temples des ydolles eglises parocyaulx, et les rentes qui adonc estoient aux prestres des ydolles contribuerent aux curez, et apres quilz eurent ces temples mundez et dediez et consacrez a Dieu Nostre Seigneur, le noble roy Luces donna aux evesques et a tout le clergye pluiseurs fiez rentez et franchyses. Ce roy Luces, comme dist est, fut le prumier roy Crestien qui oncques rengna en la Grant Bretaigne ; il ama et servi Dieu son createur tres humblement toute sa vye, sy rengna tout son temps en grant paix. Droit a Clocestre il trespassa, ou il fut mys en terre a tel honneur comme a lui appartenoit. Ce fut cent et cincquante ans apres lencarnation de Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist que le roy Luces se fist baptiser.

Le bon roy Luces dont nous avons cy dessus parle trespassa sans hoir, pour laquelle cause les Rommains y envoierent un senateur[1] nomme Sever avec deux

[1] *senateur Rommain.* C. 2.

legions pour tenir et garder le pays de la Grant Bretaigne de par les Rommains ; mais moult y trouva de contraires ains quil feust arrive et obey ;[1] toutesfoiz il fist tant par dons et par promesses quil atrayst[2] a lui grant partie du pays, et les rebelles y bouta dehors et chassa jusques en Escoce.

Ces fugitifs ycy esleverent a roy un baron nomme Fulgenes, et puis sen alerent acompaignier et faire aliance aux Picz, sicques ce Fulgenes avec ses aliez fist pluiseurs maulz aux Rommains et a ceulx de leur partie car une foiz prenoit proyes et laultre foiz prisonniers, puis se retraïoient[3] en Escoche quant il avoit fait sa course. Mais Sever, voyant ceste maniere de guerroier, fist faire un grant fosse large et parfond du travers du pays et sy fist faire par dessus un hault et fort palais[4] dune mer jusques a laultre et y laissa certaines entrees pour aler et pour venir dun pays a laultre ou il myst bonnes gardes pour la tuison et deffence du pays, sicques depuis la terre demoura une longue espace en paix, pourceque nulz des ennemiz nosoient passer le fosse.

Quant Fulgenes vey que fort bien lui seroit de ce fosse gaicgnier, il eut advis que pour grever les Rommains il se trairoit devers les Picz ses aliez, lesquelz, comme vous avez oy lui avoient promis aide par laliance quilz avoient fait ensemble : sy en esleva une grant navire, et tant sexploita quil vint devant la cyte dEuroic laquelle il assega, sy pilla et roba tout le pays denviron ; puis manda tous ses parens et amys quil avoit au pays, dont pluiseurs laisserent Sever pour aler a lui, car bien les scavoit avoir par dons et par promesses. Les nouvelles vindrent a Sever comment Fulgenes avoit assegie la cite dEuroic, pourquoy il

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[1] *et aucunement obey.* C. 2.

[2] *quil actray grant partie du peuple et pareille du royaume, et tous les rebelles boutta hors et.* C. 2.

[3] *se retraioit.* B. C.2.

[4] *pallis.* B. C. 2.

assambla ce quil polt avoir de gens avec ses deux legions [1] puis prinst son chemin vers la cyte dEuroic en intention de lever le siege ; mais sy tost que Fulgenes sceut sa venue il fist ses gens mettre en conroy et ordonnance de bataille pour respondre aux Rommains, sicque au rencontrer des deux ostz il y eut grans noyses et grans crys, et firent moult bien leurs devoirs dun coste et daultre, car Fulgenes fut navre a mort, et Sever [2] y fut occys.[3] Et ainssy ne lune partye ne laultre neut victoire, mais [4] les Rommains emporterent le corps de Sever leur seigneur a Euroic, en grant honneur, et les Picz emporterent daultre part le corps de Fulgenes, car il morut anchoyes que la nuit feust venue ; sicque on nen scavoit bonnement a laquelle partie donner lonneur. Sever avoit deux filz de deux femmes, lun romaine et laultre brete, desquelz cellui qui fut nez de la Rommaine eut non Gatain, et cellui qui fut nez brete [5] ot non Basian, lequel estoit de moult grant lingnage de par sa mere. Les Romains firent roy Getain, et les Bretons Basian ; sy se tint chascun des deux freres a ce quil polt avoir pour ceste foiz, mais Getain ne vesqui que un peu ains fut occys occultement et ne polt on scavoir la maniere comment ce fut fait.

Quant Getain fut mort, son frere Basian prinst toute la terre, pour quoy cette guerre fina, et demoura ce roy Basian long temps en paix ; mais il y avoit lors sur la mer plueseurs pirates ou escumeurs qui aloyent robant parmy les rivages cha et la, lesquelz vindrent pillier aulcuns ports en la Grant Bretaigne ; sy en vindrent pluiseurs complaints a Basien,[6] lequel nen tenoit compte ne ny mettoit quelconcques remede.

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[1] *legions Rommaines.* C. 2.
[2] *et Sever.* B. *et le preteur Rommain.* C. 2.
[3] *occis inhumainement.* C. 2.
[4] *car.* B. C.2.
[5] *de la Bretone fut nomme.* C.2.
[6] *au roy Basian.* B.

En ce tems y avoit en la Grant Bretaigne ung compaignon routier de guerre appelle de son non Karras, lequel se prinst garde de ces choses, considerant la negligence du roy Basian, et comme homme soubtil et malicieux quil estoit, prinst aulcuns maulvaix garnemens avec lui, sy sen ala a Romme devers le senat, et illec en presence de tous remoustra bien et[1] par poins raisonnables comment le pays de Bretaigne estoit grandement traveillie par la negligence du roy Basian,[2] et comme homme soubtil dist que il souffroit que sur la mer se tenoient pillars et larons lesquelz pilloient et roboient les ports de Bretaigne, et tenoient les bons marchans en sy grant subjection quilz nosoient tirer celle part, qui estoit un grant prejudice du royaulme de Bretaigne et de la seignourie ou empire romain, et que se remede ny estoit mys, les bonnes villes et ceulx des rivages ne leur porroient payer[3] les treuz et longuez que a cause des ports et des creues leur devoient; mais[4] sil leur plaisoit a donner pleniere puissance et commissyon de la mer garder, deffendre et nettoier de telz pirates et larrons, comme capitaine-general de la marine de par les Rommains, il les feroit tres bien payer de leurs drois anchiens et accoustumes ; et ancores oultre ce leur prometoit de payer chascun an grosse somme de deniers.

Les Rommains, qui avaricieulx estoient et ancorres sont, oyant la promesse que Karras leur faisoit, lui accorderent tout ce quil demandoit ; sy lui baillerent[5] chartres et bulles sellees du grant seel de Romme ; et ce fait, Karras atout ses lettres sen retourna le plus tost quil polt en Bretaigne.[6]

Quant il fut venus il moustra en pluiseurs lieux la puissance quil avoit empetree devers les Rommains, et

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[1] *bien et par.* B.
[2] *Basian, car il souffroit que.* B.
[3] *payer leurs treuz que a cause.* C. 2.
[4] *mais saucunement leur.* C.2.
[5] *baillierent lettres chartres.* C.2.
[6] *au royaume de la Grant Bretaigne.* C.2.

puis se pourchassa ca et la de navire et de gens, sy que en peu despace il assambla grant nombre de vaisseaulx et de gens, car tous lui estoient a point larrons, pillars, fourbains et gens de maulvaise conversation, mais que ilz feussent vaillans de leurs corps ; et tant fist que finablement il assambla tous les maulvais ribaux quil polt trouver ou pays.

Or doncques quant Karras ot assamble[1] toute cette merdaille il se trouva a grant compaignie, puis se myst en mer et aloit nagant dun rivage a laultre en passant maintenant par une isle, aultresfoiz par une aultre, robant et pillant tout ce quil pooit trouver,[2] car il nespargnoit nul quel quil feust, gentil ou villain, mesmement ses voysins desroboit il, ne en lui ne en ses compaignons navoit nulle mesure, car il prenoit partout ce quil trouvoit, et lui croissoient gens de jour en jour, car pluiseurs villages se bouterent avec lui.

Karras doncques, qui avoit promis aux Rommains de garder et deffendre ses voysins et ceulx[3] de Bretaigne, fist tout le contraire, car il leur faisoit pis que oncques nul navoit fait, et fist aliance avec les Picz qui habitoient en Cathenais, et recepvoit toutes manieres de gens, et sy promettoit aux ungz et donnoit aux aultres ; il assambloit et prenoit chateaulx et villes, gastoit, roboit et ardoit, sicque finablement oncques nulz navoit fait[4] tant de maulx au pays comme faissoit ce Karras. Et oultre il sacointoit[5] secretement et alioit aux Bretons ou il pooit avoir acointance amyste et cognoissance, et leur promettoit grans dons, libertez et franchises, disant que il en chasseroit les Rommains par tel fachon que jamais nauroient treus ne exactions sur le pays de Bretaigne, mais quilz le feissent[6] leur roy.

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[1] *ot ainsi assemble.* B. C.2.

[2] *pooit avoir et trouver.* C.2.

[3] *et tous ceulx du royaume de la Grant Bretaigne.* C. 2.

[4] *nulz navoit paravant fait.* B.

[5] *oultre ce sacointoit il et alioit secretement.* B. *oultre ce il sacointoit et secretement alioit.* C. 2.

[6] *couronnassent.* C.2.

Apres ce parla pareillement aux Picz qui moult estoient grant[1] gent, et tant fist quilz lui promisrent que sil advenait[2] quil eut discension entre le roy Basian et lui tant que bataille ensievyst, que encontinent la bataille encommencye, ilz layroient[3] le roy sy se tourneroient de sa partie, et tant feroient que le bon roy seroit vaincus.

Endementiers que ces choses se traytoient entre Karras et ses complices, pluisuers grandes et griefves complaintes vindrent au roy Basian de ce Karras et ses compaignons, pourquoy le roy manda a ce Karras quil se deportast desoremais de vexer[4] son peuple et son royaulme, ou aultrement il y pourveroit de remede convenable ; mais Karras[5] nen tint conte, ains dist aux messages du roy Basian que se le roy vouloit riens dire contre lui, quoy que feust bien ou mal, il estoit tout prest de respondre, et que des lors il le deffioit sil voloit contre lui proceder par voye de fait. Quant le roy Basian oy ces responces sy orguilleuses et plaines de oultrecuidance il en eut grant despit,[6] sy menneca forment Karras ; et vint le jour quilz sassamblerent[7] lun contre lautre, mais quant ce vint au milieu de la bataille, les Picz es quelz le roy plus se fyoit, le laisserent comme traytres, ja soit che que le roy leur eust donne du sien plus largement que aux aultres pourceque par leur moyen il contendoit avoir victoire. Quant Karras vey que les Picz avoient en lui tenant promesse guerpi leur droiturier seigneur trayteusement, il en eut grant joye, sy se feri en lost du roy Basyan ou il ala tant cerchant les rens que il encontra le roy Basyan, sy loccyst, sicque quant le roy fut mort chascun se saulva

[1] *grant nombre de.* C.2.
[2] *que si nullement advenoit quil eust.* C.2.
[3] *delairoient.* C. 2.
[4] *usurper.* C. 2.
[5] *mais le mauvais larron nen.* C. 2.
[6] *despit en son couraige, sy menassa.* C.2.
[7] *sassamblerent a bataille.* B. C.2.

qui polt.[1] Quant la bataille fut finee, Karras saisy et myst en sa main tout le royaulme, puis envoya les Picz en Escoce cha et la, sy leur donna villes, chasteaulz, terres et grans fiefz, telement[2] que les Picz jusques a ores sont meslez avec les Bretons.

Comment Aeller et Gallus furent envoyez de Romme en Bretaigne[3] *pour gouverner, et comment les Bretons firent roy Asclepidos et desconfirent les Rommains*
LE CHAPITRE XLIII[e].

LES nouvelles vindrent a Romme du gouvernement de Karras et comment il sestoit maintenu, sy eslurent deux vaillans chevaliers desquelz lun ot non Aeller et laultre Gallus. Ces deux chevaliers estoient sages et courtois et a merveilles vaillans et hardis.

A ces deux chevaliers baillerent les Rommains troix legions, sy les envoyerent en la Grant Bretaigne pour remettre le pays en la subjection rommaine. Mais sy tost que Karras sceut leur veneue il leur ala alencontre atout son ost, et furent grans les crys et la huee au rencontrer, car maints en y eut qui y perdirent la vie tant dun coste comme de laultre, mais enfin y fut Karras occys avec une grant partye[4] de ses gens, et apres la bataille finee sen alerent les Rommains parmy le pays[5] forment guerroiant ceulx qui avoient fait ayde a Karras en portant prejudice a la dignite Rommaine.

Les Bretons voyant que les Rommains faysoyent tant

[1] *se saulva au mieulx comme il peut.* C.2.
[2] *telement que depuis ce tempz jusques a ores les Picz ont este et sont meslez.* B. C.2.
[3] *en la Grant Bretaigne pour la bien.* C. 2.
[4] *quantite.* B.
[5] *royaulme.* B. C.2.

de maul en leur pays en eurent grant despit, sy sassamblerent et firent leur roy dun hardy[1] et vaillant chevalier appelle de son non Asclepidos, qui sires estoit de Cornevaille, car moult leur pesoit destre tributaries aux Rommains, et pour ce se vouloient deffendre contre eulz. Puis quant ainssy furent assambles ilz sen vindrent a Londres en un jour de feste ou ilz trouverent Aeller en un temple oyant le service divin, lequel quant il oy la noyse issy dehors atout ce peu de gens quil avoit, sy commenca illec la noyse entreulz, mais les Rommains ne peurent soustenir le grant effort des Bretons ains se mysrent en fuite chascun pour soy saulver, mais Aeller y fut par les Bretons prins et occys.

Quant Gallus sceut la mort de Aeller son compaygnon il se mist en chemin vers Londres avec tous ses Rommains, mais il ny trouva mye les Bretons ains sestoyent[2] partis ; et quant Gallus fut en la ville entres il fist fermer les portes, puis myst bonnes gardes sur les murs.

Le roy Asclepidos, sachant les Rommains estre enclos dedens Londres, fist un grant mandement a ses amys, et quant tous furent venus il sen ala assegier Londres, et tant fist par assaulz et par engiens que atoute sa puissance il entra dedens la cyte ou il fist sy grant occysion des Rommains que cestoyt grant horreur a regarder. Et fut Gallus sy effrae quant il vey les Bretons dedens la ville que avec aulcuns de ses gens il senfui en une forte tour ; mais il fut sy constraint des Bretons par assaulz continuelz quil se rendy au roy Asclepidos, sa vye saulve, et il y fut receu moiennant quil sen retourneroit a Romme avec[3] ce quil lui estoit demoure de gens, lesquelz quant ilz furent tous assambles[4] furent environ une legion.

Quant lacord des Rommains fut ainssy fait, comme

[1] *dun homme hardy.* C.2.

[2] *sen estoient.* B. C.2.

[3] *avec tout ce qui lui estoit demoure de Rommains.* C.2.

[4] *rassamblez.* B.

vous avez oy ilz sempardirent[1] parmy la ville pour eulz un peu rafreschir avant que de partir, mais les Gaulles et les Escotz qui navoient pas este a la prinse de la tour ne a lacord des Rommains, estoient sy esprins de cruaulte que partout ou ilz trouvoient les Rommains ilz les tuoyent sans remede, meismement Gallus qui senfuioit fut rataint sur le bord de la riviere qui court parmy la ville, sy loccyrent et le getterent dedens leaue, pour laquelle cause ilz appellerent lors la riviere Galvie,[2] mais depuis les Englois lappellerent Unawort,[3] lequel nom lui dure ancorres jusques aujourdhui.

Quant les Bretons eurent ainssy nettoye leur pays des Rommains, ilz couronnerent le roy Asclepidos, lequel apres son couronnement rengna dix ans grandement et bien en paix et nettoia tout le royaulme de la Grant Bretaigne de pillars et de larrons et les fist tout prendre[4] et justicier selon ce quilz avoient[5] deservi. Ou temps de ce roy Asclepidos lempereur Dioclesien persecuta grandement leglise et toute la crestiennete, et de fait envoya es parties doccident le tyrant Maxence ou Maximien pour destruire tous ceulx quilz trouveroient creans en Jhesu Crist. Et estoit lors presques par toute crestiennete la guerre et le martire,[6] et sy nestoit espargniez arcevesques, evesques, clers ne prestres.

Au bout de dix ans du regne Asclepidos esmeut guerre contre[7] lui et Choel, conte de Leycestre, et tant quilz se combatirent, a jour[8] nomme, et y eut grande et forte bataille ou il morut pluiseurs vaillans hommes dune part et daultre dont ce fut tres grant dhommage, mais en la fin le roy Asclepidos fut occys et ceulx de sa partie vaincus et desconfys quant ilz veyrent leur roy mort.

[1] *sesparderent.* C.2.
[2] *la rivierette Gatine.* C. 2. *la rivierette Galnie.* B.
[3] *Unabwort.* C. 2.
[4] *pendre et justicier.* B. *pendre par justice.* C.2.
[5] *lavoient.* B. C.2.
[6] *Et estoit lors par toute Crestiennete guerre et martyre.* C.2.
[7] *entre.* B. C.2.
[8] *a ung jour.* B. C.2.

Donc Choel voyant se avoir [1] la victoire en remercia grandement ses amys, puis saysy le royaulme et se fist couronner, et gouverna bien et bel les Bretons.[2]

Comment Constant vint en Engleterre et espousa Helaine la fille du roy Choel, de la nativite Constantin, comment il enchassa[3] *lempereur Maxence, et comment Helaine*[4] *trouva la croix.* LE CHAPITRE XLIIIe.

GRANT joye eurent les Rommains quant ilz sceurent la mort du roy Asclepidos, car moult les avoit villenez en pluiseurs manieres, car il avoit leurs gens occys et tailli [5] leurs treulz, sy envoyerent un noble et puissant senateur atout grant chevalerie [6]; ce senateur avoit non Constant et estoit navoit gueres retourne dEspaigne, ou il avoit tant fait par armes quil avoit soubmys tout le royaulme a la seignourie rommaine,[7] dont il avoit acquis grans los et hault prys. Quant Constant fut arrives en Bretaigne avec son ost le roy Choel ne sosa esmouvoir contre lui car moult le doubtoit, tant pour sa grant puissance comme pour sa renomme, sy eut conseil que il envoieroit pardevers luy messages souffisans, puis fist escripre ses lettres par lesquelles il mandoit a Constant quil desiroit a avoir sa grace, samour et son acointance et que voulentiers il tenroit de lui la terre de la Grant Bretaigne, et que sil avoit occys le roy Asclepidos il ne lui en debvoit point scavoir de maulvais gre, veu le mal et le tort quil avoit fait aux Rommains, ains lui en debvoit scavoir bon gre, et lui prometoit Choel de rendre treu tel quilz ordonneroient entreulx ensamble.

[1] *se voyant avoir.* B.
[2] *et sen fist gouverneur et gouverna bien et honnestement les Bretons.* C. 2.
[3] *il chassa.* B.
[4] *Madame Saincte Helaine.* C. 2.
[5] *toulu.* C.2.
[6] *compagnie.* C.2.
[7] *tout le royaulme en la domination et seignourie Rommaine.* C.2.

Quant les messages[1] Choel vindrent devant Constant ilz lui firent la reverence et lui presenterent les lettres de par le roy leur seigneur, sicques il les lysi et regarda[2] que le roy Choel ne demandoit que raison, sy lui ottroia le royaulme, et ainssy fut la paix fermee entreulx.

Or advint environ deux moys apres que la paix fut toute fermee[3] entre les Rommains et Bretons que le roy Choel acoucha malade, et au bout de huit jours morut. Sy navoit nulz enffans hoirs[4] fors une seulle fille qui avoit non Helaine, laquelle estoit moult belle et courtoise, sage et bien moriginee merveilleusement, car son pere lavoit mou[5] bein fait introduire en toutes les sciences des arts liberaux, afin quelle sceut bien sa terre gouverner apres son deches.

Quant le roy Choel fut mort, Helaine par le conseil de ses parens espousa Constant, car il la voult avoir a femme, pourceque en ce temps on ne scavoit pucelle ou il[6] eust tant de sens, de bonte et de valeur comme en elle. Apres ce que Constant ot espousee Helaine et il ot prinse la couronne du royaulme, il desira moult davoir hoir masle et prya souvent nostre Seigneur quil lui envoiast un filz, et aussy[7] faisoit sa femme Helaine, et tant pryerent que nostre Seigneur oy leurs oroisons,[8] car la royne Helaine devint grosse et enfanta un beau filz qui fut nomme a son batesme Constantin, dont Constant et Helaine merchierent loerent et benyrent grandement le benoit[9] createur du monde, sy nouryrent et endoctrinerent moult diligamment leur fils Constantin, lequel navoit que onze ans et un mois quant le roy Constant son pere trespassa.

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[1] *messagiers.* B.
[2] *et regarda comment Choel roy des Bretons ne.* C.2.
[3] *confermee.* C.2.
[4] *hoirs* omitted in B. C.2.
[5] *moult.* B. C.2.
[6] *il y eust.* C.2.
[7] *pareillement.* C.2.
[8] *oy leurs prieres et oroisons.* C.2.
[9] *nostre Sauveur Jhesu Crist en lhonnourant moult grandement comme.* C.2.

Apres la mort du roy Constant la roine Helaine sa femme gouverna le royaulme de Bretaigne[1] jusques ad ce que Constantin son filz eut eage sens et prudence pour terre[2] gouverner, car moult bien se prouvoit dez sa jeunesse a tout bien faire. Quant il fut parcreus il se fist moult bien des chevaliers du pays[3] de la Grant Bretaigne ; moult estoit larges et courtois, amant Dieu et sainte eglise, et amoit moult les Rommains pour lamour de son pere et les Bretons pour lamour de sa mere et du pays dont il estoit nez.

Se le roy Constant avoit este bon, ancores fut Constantin son filz meilleur, car oncques depuis quil peult armes porter il ne voult estre en siour,[4] il soubmyst a luy tous ses voysins rebelles, il amoit raison et justice et estoit sage[5] et discret et sy amoit tous ses parens.

En ce temps estoit empereur de Romme Maxence, un cruel tyrant, fel, malicieux et en orgueil moult oultrageux.[6] Cest empereur[7] destruisy tous les senateurs et les honneurs rommains ; il persecutoit les Crestiens et les faisoit honteuzement destruire par divers tourmens ou il les trouvoit ; et fut cellui qui fist morir madame sainte Katerine par divers tourmens, sicque pour la grant cruaulte de lui une grant partye des plus notables Rommains laissierent leurs fiefs et leurs beaulx manoirs en despit de lui et sen alerent devers Constantin en la Grant Bretaigne, pourcequil estoit leur parent. Le roy Constantin recepvoit tous ses parens lyement et aussy fist la royne Helaine en leur portant grant honneur. Moult se complaindirent les Rommains a Constantin des grans maulz que lempereur Maxence leur avoit fayt et faisoit tous les jours, sy ladmonesterent et lui enhorterent daler a

[1] *de la grant Bretaigne.* B.
[2] *terre et royaume.* C.2.
[3] *de tout le royaume.* C.2.
[4] *sejour.* B.
[5] *rebelles, si avoit raison et justice en lui ; il estoit homme sage.* C.2.
[6] *et en orgueil trop oultrageux.* B. *et orgueilleux et trop oltrageux.* C.2.
[7] *Maxence.* B.

Romme atout son ost contre lempereur Maxence, en disant que legierement le chasseroit hors de lempire,[1] considere quil estoit moult hay de tous les Rommains et aussy faisoient tous ses voysins. Dont fist Constant[2] grant mandemente[3] pour aler en Rommenie, sy mena sa mere avec luy et ses trois cousins[4] quil avoit de par elle, dont lun avoit non Leominus,[5] laultre Trahen et laultre Maurius, puis ala tant par mer et par terre atout son ost quil parvint en Rommenye, et tant fist quil deposa Maxence[6] de la dignite imperiale et le fist retraire de sa felonnie, puis saisi lempire et fut seul empereur. Ce fait, Madame Helaine sa mere passa la mer et ala en Jheruzalem ou elle fist assambler tous les anchiens Juifz, et tant fist quelle trouva la croix de nostre Seigneur qui long tems avoit este muchee. Constantin maria Leominus son cousin[5] moult haultement a une noble dame de Romme, de laquelle il ot un filz appelle Maximien.

Endementiers que Constantin estoit a Romme, Ostones, le duc de Gallez,[7] prinst tous les officiers qui de par le roy Constantin estoient establis a garder son royaulme de la Grant Bretaigne dont il en occyst aulcuns et les aultres mist en prison, puis se fist couronner a roy de la Grant Bretaigne, car il se disoit y avoir droit. Quant lempereur Constantin sceut ces nouvelles il envoya son cousin[8] Trahen atout deux legions, et tant singla quil vint au port de Porcestre ou il descendy, et lui fut la cyte rendue, puis sen ala vers Guincestre, mais Ostones lui vint audevant, et se combatirent ensamble, mais Trahen fut vaincus, sy le convint rentrer en ses nefz et ala tant en costoiant quil vint en Escoche ou il fist grant dhommage, car il pilla et roba tout le

[1] *que moult legierement lenchasseroit hors de Romme et de tout lempire.* C.2.
[2] *Constantin.* B.
[3] *par tout son royaulme.* C.2.
[4] *et ses trois de par sa mere.* B. *trois filz.* C.2.
[5] *son oncle Leoninus.* B. *son oncle Leonynus.* C.2.
[6] *le tres mauvais empereur Maxence.* C.2.
[7] *Gaullois.* C.2.
[8] *oncle.* B. C.2.

pays et les chasteaulz et villes, car il gastoit tout partout ou il passoit. Mais quant Ostones en fut adverty il rassambla sez hommes au plus tost quil polt pour venir en Escoce, et lui sambloit que Trahen ne loseroit atendre, ce quil ne fist pas, ains latendy francement ; et se[1] combatirent lun contre laultre telement que Trahen obtint la victoire et fut Ostones vaincu et senfui devers le roy Compart[2] de Norwegue pour avoir secours devers Trahen. Or avoit Ostones pryet[3] tous ses amys que sils pooient trover Trahen a leur advantage, quilz loccesissent.[4] Quant Trahen se vey estre audessus de Ostones il se tenoit tout asseure et comme roy, sans plus personne doubter, car chacun lapelloit roy. Sy advint un jour quil estoit parti de Londres pour aler esbatre en un sien chastel, de laquelle chose fut adverty un conte de lamistie Ostones, sy sembuscha en un bosquet prez dune valee par ou le roy debvoit passer atout cent hommes darmez, et le roy Trahen, qui riens ne scavoit de ceste traison, passoit a petite compaignie parmy ceste valee ou il fut occys par les gens du conte[5] devant dit. Puis manda Ostones, lequel y vint le plus tost quil polt, sy reprinst la possession du royaulme et puis fist occyre tous les Rommains quil polt trouver, mais pluiseurs se saulverent par fuite ; sy tint le roy Ostones depuis longuement le royaulme de Grant Bretaigne en paix et union.

Comment le roy Ostones envoya[6] *querir Maximien pour espouser sa fille, et comment il gaigna le royaulme de Armorique, dont il fit roy Conant.*[7]

LE CHAPITRE XLV^e^.

QUANT Ostones eut vesqui longue espace il demanda conseil a ses barons a qui il laisseroit son royaulme

[1] *si se.* B.
[2] *Comprat . . . . contre Trahen.* C.2. *contre Trahen.* B.
[3] *prie.* C.2.
[4] *loccissent.* C.2.
[5] *de ce mauvais conte.* C.2.
[6] *a Romme.* B. C.2.
[7] *Conan* and *Conant.* A. B. *Couvant* and *Covan.* C.2.

apres son deches, car il navoit que une seulle fille. Aulcuns de ses amys lui conseilloient que il eslysist[1] quelque noble homme de son pays a qui il donnast sa fille et son royaulme ; aulcuns aultres luy conseilloient que il mariast sa fille a aulcun prince hors du[2] pays, sy lui donnast tout son avoir et laissast[3] Conant son nepveu gouverner le royaulme apres son trespas, pourceque le mary de sa fille se diroit avoir droit ou royaulme, car cestoit son plus prochain hoir apres sa fille. Le roy de Cornewaille, qui sage prince estoit, quant il eut oy ces consaulz[4] dist quil nestoit pas bon que le roy herystat[5] Conant, son nepveu, ne que il mariast sa fille hors de son rengne, car ce ne seroit que rihote aprez son trespas, pourceque le mary de sa fille se diroit avoir droit ou royaulme de par sa femme, et ainsy nauroit jamais paix ou pays, mais il seroit meilleur quil envoyast a Romme querre Maximien, filz de Leominus, cousin germain de Constantin, qui estoit Breton de par son pere et parent aux Rommains de par sa mere ; il est extrait de tres hault lingnage[6] de tous costez et est tenu pour preux, sage et vaillant chevalier en tous endrois: "Donnez lui vostre fille, sy[7] feres bien."

Ad ce conseil saccorda le roy Ostones et envoya Amaury,[8] le filz Karadeux, conte de Cornvaille, a Romme pour ramener Maximien. Mais quant Amaury vint a Romme il trouva quil y avoit grant discord entre Maximien, Valentin et Gratien qui estoient freres, car Valentin et Gratien vouloient tenir tout lempire, sic que Maximien ne povoit nulle part riens avoir ; pourquoy Amaury, sachant ceste chose, parla priveement

[1] *elisist.* B. *esleut.* C.2.
[2] *de son.* B.
[3] *et laissast son royaulme a Conant son neveu apres son trespas, car cestoit son plus prochain heir aprez sa fille.* B. C.2.
[4] *ce conseil.* C.2.
[5] *heritast.* B.
[6] *lignage tant des Rommains comme des Bretons, et est tenu.* C.2.
[7] *et vous.* C.2.
[8] *Amauris.* C.2.

a Maximien auquel il conta son message bel et bien.[1]

Quant Maximien oy ces nouvelles il en fut grandement resjoy, car il pensa en soy que par ce moyen auroit il en temps advenir droit de ses deux freres Valentin et Gratien, sy ne fist point longue demeure ne grant appareil, ains se myrent a chemin lui et Amaurry, sy chevaucherent tant par leurs journees quilz vindrent a Londres, sicquez quant ilz furent arrivez le roy Ostones les receupt honnourablement, sy donna sa fille a Maximien et ladherita du royaulme de la Grant Bretaigne.

Quant Conant, lequel estoit nepveu du roy,[2] vey ce il se parti de la court par mautalent, sy sen ala en Escoce et se alia au roy et a ses barons, puis deffya son oncle et Maximien, pourquoy le roy Maximien commenca lors a guerroyer, laquelle guerre dura longuement.[3] Aulcunes foiz gaignoit Conant et autresfoiz perdoit, mais Maximien gaignoit plus quil ne perdoit, car le droit usage de guerre est de perdre et de gaignier. Enfin les barons regarderent que la guerre nestoit pas bien seant entreulx deux, sy firent tant quilz les acorderent ensamble, et Maximien promist a Conant de lui faire beaucoup de bien. Apres lequel accord fait Maximien assambla par lespace de troix ans grant tresor, puis assambla grant ost en intention de passer en Gaulle que maintenant nous appellons France, sicque quant son navire fut prest il monta sur la mer atoute sa puissance, et tant nagerent que ilz arriverent en Armoricque quy maintenant est appellee la Petite Bretaigne. Quant Maximien et son ost furent descendus ilz commencerent a piller et prendre villes et chasteaulz, sicque la nouvelle en vint a Humbaut, sire[4] de la terre,

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[1] *tout au long.* C.2.
[2] *lequel estoit nepveu du roy.* C.2. *quy.* B. Transposed in A.
[3] *grant piece.* B.
[4] *seigneur.* C.2.

lequel assambla sa puissance et vint alencontre de Maximien pour secourir son pays. Grande bataille y eult, dure et mortelle ; mais enfin Humbaut fut desconfi et y perdy bien quinze mille de ses hommes. Apres laquelle desconfiture il ny eult ville, cyte ne chastel que tout ne se rendist en lobeyssance du roy Maximien, lequel, quant il advisa [1] que il avoit en sy peu de temps concquis presques toute Armoricque, il appella Conant et lui dist: "Tu as perdu par moy la Grant Bretaigne " dont [2] je te veul rencompenser : il me samble que icy a " bon pays et fertille, de terre, boiz et rivierez moult " habondans ; preng la, je le te donne et sy le te " acquiteray toute, car tous les paysans en feray " widyer puis le peupleray de Bretons, sy sera appelle " la Petite Bretaigne pour lamour de noz Bretons, de " laquelle tu seras doresenavant roy et seigneur." Quant Conant oy ainsy parler le roy Maximien il lenclina et le remercya [3] grandement et humblement du beau don que il lui faisoit, en lui prometant a tousjours feaulte et hommage ; mais depuis ce temps perdy Armoricque son nom, car ilz lappellerent la Petite Bretaigne, qui lui dure ancorres jusques [4] a present. Puis sen alerent cerquelant parmy le pays ou ilz ne trouvoient quelconques resistence, car tous les habitans sen estoient fuiz pource-quilz estoient advertis que tous ceulx que les Bretons trouveroient ou pays ilz les meteroient a mort. Donc le roy Maximien, ce voyant, prinst bonnes villes, cytez, et chasteaulx es quelles il myst grosses garnisons, puis envoya en la Grant Bretaigne querre cent mille paysans pour peupler le pays, labourer et cultiver la terre, et fist aussy amener trente mille chevaliers et escuiers pour garder [5] la terre et le pays et les laboureurs.

[1] *sadvisa.* C.2.

[2] *dont maintenant comme homme de promesse ten vueil recompenser. Il me semble que icy a bon pays et tres bonne terre et fertille de bois.* C.2.

[3] *en le remerciant humblement.* B.

[4] *jusques,* omitted in B.

[5] *garder et deffendre le pays, les gaigneurs et les laboureurs.* B. C.2.

Puis fist Conant couronner a roy de la Petite Bretaigne et lui delivrer toutes les villes, cytez et forteresses. Apres ces choses ainssy faites, Maximien passa en France, et la concquist, et Lorraine aussy, puis establi a Troye son siege royal; mais ancorres ne fut il pas content, ains sen ala en Lombardye et le gaigna, puis vint a Romme ou il se combati a ses deux freres Gratien et Valentin,[1] lun occyst, lautre enchassa, et par ainsy tout lempire lui demoura, dont il fut bonne espace seul empereur.

Comment Conant, roy de la Petite Bretaigne, envoya a Ajonet[2] *roy de la Grant Bretaigne, de par lempereur Maximien, pour avoir Ourselle sa fille en mariage, et aussy pour avoir grant nombre de pucelles du regne*[3] *pour donner a ses hommes et peupler son pays.*[4] LE CHAPITRE XLVI[e].

MAXIMIEN quant il se parti de la Grant Bretaigne[5] il laissa son lieutenant un noble et vaillant chevalier qui avoit este frere de Karados, conte de Cornevaille, et oncle de Amaury, qui fut a Romme faire le message a Maximien de par le roy Ostones comme dit est cy-dessus. Cestui Adjonet[6] estoit regent de la Grant Bretaigne de par lempereur Maximien, lequel gouvernoit grandement le royaulme et avoit une belle[7] fille qui Ourselle estoit appellee, laquelle Conant, roy de la Petite Bretaigne, envoya rouver en mariage au regent son pere par notables messages,[8] et avec ce lui fist requerre que de sa grace lui pleust a envoyer une grande quantite de

[1] *Valentinien.* B.
[2] *Adjonet.* B. *Jonet.* A.
[3] *royaume.* C.2.
[4] *royaume.* C.2.
[5] *du royaume de la Great Bretaigne.* C.2.
[6] *Adjonet.* B.
[7] *moult belle.* B.
[8] *par notables hommes, saiges et dignes de ce faire.* C.2.

nobles pucelles et de celles des populaires tant comme il en poroit finer en prometant de donner a chascune tel mariage que a son estat appartendroit, car il ne voloit point mesler le sang britonicque avec aultres nations. Quant les ambaxadeurs de Conant eurent compte leur message a Adjonet, il accorda voulentiers sa fille au roy Conant, disant quil acompliroit a son pouvoir de tout en tout sa demande. Endementiers que ces choses se faisoient, les Francois qui avoient grant despit de ce que les Bretons sestoient logies si prez deulz et veoient quilz ne tenoient conte de leurs filles, par grant despit quilz eurent envahirent le roy Conant et les siens,[1] quy si bien se deffendirent que les Francoiz ny gaignerent riens, ains sen retournerent tous confus[2] en leur pays. Adjonet pour satisfaire a la requeste de Conant comme promis lavoit, il assambla parmy le royaulme de la Grant Bretaigne onze mille jones pucelles toutes vierge et procreez de noble parente ou lingnie, et soixante mille que petites que grandes aultres pucelles nees des gens du peuple, lesquelles estoient toutes bien ordonneez de quancques il leur falloit; puis les fist entrer en vaisseaulx sur mer avec ceulx qui les devoient conduire, et de la sen alerent nagant fort et ferme, en demenant grant joye et leese mais assez tost leur mua en tristresse, car une merveilleuse tempeste se monta qui norcy lair et les nuees; le vent austral se leva grant et terrible, dont commenca la mer a fremir et les grandes waghez[3] a lever contremont vers le ciel. Dont la mer se commenca a enfler et tempester par force du grant vent;[4] lors veissies voilles tourner, matz rompre et nefs froissier, hommes crier, femmes plourer, peres et meres regretter, nefz sur aultres reverser et lune laultre casser, hommes[5] et

[1] *le roy Covan et tout son povoir.* C.2.
[2] *comme recreans et confus.* C.2.
[3] *vagues.* B.
[4] *par force du grant et impetueux vent.* C.2.
[5] *hommes et pucelles.* B. *hommes* omitted in A.

pucelles noyer, palmes batre, cheveux tirer; grans haulz et piteux crys faisoient en reclamant Dieu [1] et ses sains devotement. Moult grant pitie estoit de les veoir ainsy morir,[2] car bras a bras sacolloient et en morant sentrebaisoient: toute laquelle chose faisoit le [3] deable denfer envieux, adfin que par elles la sainte [4] crestiennete ne feust multipliee. Maintes nefz y ot perillies [5] et pluiseurs [6] pucelles noyees. Et aulcuns dient que celles quy du [7] peril eschapperent arriverent entre payens qui les occyrent et aulcunes furent vendues et tenues en servage, mais onze mille en furent menees [8] en Allemaigne a [9] Coullongne sur le Rin, ou elles furent toutes decollees et [10] Ourselle avec elles, et ce sont les onze mille vierges de quoy sainte eglise fait feste le xxi jour dOctobre. Le roy Gavianus de Honguerie et Melga syre [11] de Seice aloient parmy la mer nagant, sy en trouverent pluiseurs lesqueles ilz occyrent parcequelles ne se [12] volrent consentir a leur mauvayse voulente. Ces deux princes avoient oy dire que le royaulme de la Grant Bretaigne estoit tout widie de chevalerie, car Maximien et Conant avoient tout amene avec eulz, et a ceste cause sestoient adcompaignies ensamble pour envahir le royaulme des Bretons; sy arriverent atout leur armee en Escoche, ou ilz commencerent a pillier et rober tout le pays, ardoir et exillier, car ilz ne trouvoient nulle resistence, pourceque au dit royaulme dEscoche navoit que labourers, quilz occyoient comme brebis. Aulcun pou de nobles hommes qui demourez y estoient se rassamblerent es forteresses ou ilz se tindrent contre ces Ullagues; sy envoyerent a Maximien lempereur pour avoir secours, mais ancois

[1] *Dieu notre Seigneur et tous ses.* C.2.
[2] *morir inhumainement.* C.2.
[3] *mauvais deable.* C.2.
[4] *foy et.* C.2.
[5] *perdues.* C.2.
[6] *pluiseurs maintes pucelles.* C.2.
[7] *de ce.* C.2.
[8] *par fortune de vent* C.2.
[9] *en la ville de.* C.2.
[10] *et Madame Saincte.* C.2.
[11] *seigneur.* C.2.
[12] *vouloient nullement consentir a leur mauvaise et ode.* C.2.

que secours venist ces Ullagues passerent la riviere du Hombre et gasterent tout le pays. Sy tost que lempereur Maximien sceult ces nouvelles il tramist[1] un chevalier appelle Gratien avec deux legions[2] pour secourre le pays et les habitans. Lequel Gratien avec layde de ses gens et ceulx du pays de Bretaigne fist tant quil desconfi et enchassa les Ullagues. Entredeux que ces choses se faisoient, Valentin qui par Maximien avoit este deboute de lempire[3] salia a un puissant roy appelle Theosien et pria tous ses amys, sy assambla une grant armee et puis courut[4] sus a lempereur Maximien[5] impourveu, lequel fut occys en Acquilee et aussy furent tous les Bretons que len y trouva; puis saisy le dit Valentin lempire. Quant Gratien eut chassye le roy Gauianus et Melga hors de la Grant Bretaigne il saysi le royaulme, et sen fist couronner.

Ce roy Gratien ama et honnoura moult les nobles hommes, mais il traveilloit les menuez gens et ne leur laissoit riens; sy sassamblerent une foiz une grant tourbe de villains lesquelz lespierent a un passage ou ilz le misrent tout par pieces et par morseaux. Quant le roy Gauianus et Melga sceurent comment le roy Gratien estoit mort, ilz assamblerent derechief un moult grant ost de Goullandois, Norrois et Dannois et Escochois et Illandois, puis vindrent en Northumbellande ou ilz passerent la riviere du Hombre et commencerent a gaster villes, cites, chasteaulx et forteresses et sy metoient a lespee tous ceulx quilz povoient tenir[6] femmes et enffans. Quant les Bretons veyrent le meschief que ces Ullagues leur faisoient, ilz envoierent a Romme pour avoir secours, mais les Rommains entre-

[1] *il y tramist un noble chevalier.* B.
[2] *Rommains pour aller secourir.* C.2.
[3] *de lempire rommain trouva maniere de sallier a un tres puissant.* C.2.
[4] *comme couruce quil estoit.* C.2.
[5] *lequel nestoit de riens.* C.2.
[6] *tant les hommes.* C. 2. *hommes femmes et enfans.* B.

dirent moult les messagiers en eulz rudement reprouvant les grans traysons et tromperies que les Bretons leur avoient faittes par pluiseurs fois ; mais les[1] Bretons dirent et pryerent[2] tant les senateurs quilz ordonnerent seullement une legion[3] pour le secours des Bretons, laquelle legion sexploita tellement de chevauchier que en assez brief temps ilz arriverent en Bretaigne. Quant les Rommains furent venus ilz se combatirent sy vigoureusement aux Ullagues avecques les Bretons de la Grant Bretaigne quilz les vaincquirent et chasserent en oceant[4] jusques en Escoche, et puis firent sur un grant fosse un hault et espes mur, fort a merveilles, entre Escoche et la terre de Ire.[5] Quant ilz eurent paracheve le mur ilz y firent tours, portes et beffrois ou ilz misrent grandes et bonnes gardes. Ces choses ainssy faittes et achevees, les Romains se trayrent a Londres, ou ilz tindrent un grant parlement avec les Bretons, sy leur remoustrerent et ramenturent les grans paines et travaux que ilz et leurs ancesseurs avoient souffers et soustenus pour eulx et leurs predecesseurs, et oultre leur metoit[6] audevant comment par pluiseurs foiz ilz leur avoient leurs gens occys, lesquelz estoient venus en leur ayde, toutes les foiz quilz sestoient veus au dessus deulz, et sy leur avoient denee par pluiseurs fois a payer leur treu, et quant ilz se sentoient au dessoubz de aulcuns de leurs ennemis adont scavoient ilz bien beau parler et demander leur confort et ayde. Pour les causes et raysons dessus alleguies nous[7] disons ceste fois pour toutes que de cy en avant nous ne voulons plus endurer vos guerres ne vos tenchons ains nous depor-

[1] *les messagiers Bretons.* B.

[2] *par plusieurs fois.* C.2.

[3] *une legion des Rommains pour donner aucun secours aux Bretons, laquele legion Rommaine . . . en la Grant Bretaigne.* C.2.

[4] *tout en occiant.* B. C.2.

[5] *Ire. Lequel mur estoit tant merveilleusement fort qua peine homme le pourroit croire.* C.2.

[6] *remettoient.* B.

[7] *nous vous disons.* B.

tons de vous de tout en tout. Sy soyes desormais hardis et corageux pour vostre pays deffendre; souviengne vous de vos ancesseurs, qui furent sy conquerans et sy puissans quilz concquirent les terres jusques a Romme: nous vous avons bien enclos dun coste, deffendes vous et ne fourlignies pas. Ces parolles et pluiseurs aultres dirent les Rommains aux Bretons, puis rentrerent en leurs nefz et sen alerent a Romme; et les Bretons demourerent couroucies et maris pour les parolles que les Rommains leur dirent[1] a leur departement, car ilz leur dirent tres ad certes que jamais pour quelconcques pryeres ny contendoient a retourner; et sy doubtoient les Bretons que quant leurs ennemis seroient advertis de ces choses et du partement des[2] Rommains quilz ne leur courussent sus, comme ilz firent; et droit ycy defailli laliance entre les Rommains et les Bretons de la Grant Bretaigne, qui longuement avoit dure.

Comment Gauianus et Melga retournerent en la Gran Bretaigne et casserent[3] *le fort mur que les Rommains avoient fait, et comment les Rommains ne volurent plus aidier aux Anglois.* Le Chapitre XLVII^e^.

Asses tost sceurent Gauianus et Melga le departement des Rommains et comme ilz avoient au partir,[4] renoncie a laliance des Bretons dont ilz estoient grandement desconfortez et moult afoiblis, sy sassemblerent comme dessus pour faire guerre aux Bretons, et tant firent quilz eurent un moult grant ost, puis passerent en Northumbellande ou ilz commencerent a pillier et destruire le pais. Et[5] les Bretons coururent au fort mur que les Rommains avoient fait pour les garder, mais ilz ne le

[1] *dirent et pour leur departement.* B. *avoient dit.* C.2.
[2] *des vaillans.* C.2.
[3] *et rompirent* C.2.
[4] *departir.* C.2.
[5] *Mais.* C.2.

porent longuement tenir contre la force des Ullagues, ains les convint eulz enfuir, et les Ullagues effondrerent le mur et aonnyerent[1] le fosse ; sy se bouterent dedens le pays, ou ilz prindrent et gasterent villes et chasteaulx, et y tuerent tant de peuple que on ne list point que oncques puis que la Grant Bretaigne fut premierement habitee y eust sy grant occysion ; sicque grant pitie estoit de veoir exillier sy noble terre et tant de peuple. Helas ! ce dist lacteur, Bretons qui jadis avoient este sy preux estoient villainement venus au dessoubz, et sy navoient nulle esperance de jamais pouvoir recouvrer leur perte silz navoient ayde de quelque lieu. Pourquoy, nonobstant ce que les Rommains leur avoient dit au partir toutesfois envoierent ilz a Romme devers les senateurs[2] a eulz humblement requerre secours ; mais ilz respondirent simplement et absolutement : " Les Bretons " facent au mieulz quilz peuent, et ne satendent plus " davoir nostre secours ou ayde, car asses avons ailleurs " a entendre, trop de paines avons eu pour eulz passe " long temps dont mal nous ont guerredonnes." Aultres parolles neurent les Bretons des Rommains, pourquoy ilz sen retournerent[3] en Bretaigne courouchies et dolens, sy dirent a leurs seigneurs tout au long la responce que ilz avoient eue des Rommains, laquelle oye ilz furent moult troublez, car moult doubtoient que ceste gent estrange ne gastassent toute la crestiennete. Dont sassamblerent tous les prelats de sainte eglise, entre lesquelz estoit Guiscelin evesque de Londres homme eloquent sage et lettre, lequel fut depuis arcevesque de Cantorbie. Sy fut advise entreulz quil seroit bon que Guicelin alast en la Petite Bretaigne devers le roy Aldroen pour avoir secours, car moult bien lui scauroit dire et moustrer la grant necessite

[1] *raemplirent.* C.2.

[2] *les senateurs.* B. *le senat pour.* C.2.

[3] *ansi quilz estoient venus a Romme, en Bretaigne.* C.2.

ou ilz estoient.[1] Le bon Guicelin[2] dist que voulentiers yroit puisque par leur electione lavoient ordonne, sy se parti et tant erra[3] quil vint en la Petite Bretaigne, ou il trouva le roy Aldroen qui joyeusement le requist de scavoir de ses nouvelles, et moult honnourablement le receupt, pourceque beaucop avoit oy parler des grans biens qui estoient en lui, et aussy estoit il[4] reverente personne. Sicque le bon evesque[5] luy conta au mieulx quil polt son message et la cause de sa venue ; et derechief luy dist comment les Rommains leur avoient denee[6] leur secours et que du tout les avoient guerpis, en lui remoustrant comment lui[7] et ses hommes estoient tout procreez de ceulx de la Grant Bretaigne et de leurs parens, pourquoy ils estoient tous tenus de aydier et secourir lun laultre plus que nulz aultres, et comment depuis que Maximien et Conan avoient desgarnie leur terre pour peupler Armorique il navoient eu paix ne ne sestoient peu deffendre contre leurs voysins. Quelz merveillez, disoit levesque Guicelin ; nos Bretons ancesseurs souloient concquerre les estranges regions et maintenant ne pouvons mie garder nostre propre hiretage[8] ne nostre gent. Ancores avons nous asses gens se nous eussions un roy ou un prince qui sceut maintenir la guerre contre noz ennemis qui sont gens de loy barbarienne, et sy nous ont sy grevez et tant concquis sur nous quil est a doubter que nous ne noz[9] porons jamais resourdre se tu ou aulcun bon prince ne nous[10] ayde de secours et remede convenable. Je ne te puis mye tout dire ne recorder nostre dueil et mesaventure qui asses a este longue et ancorres dure. Sire Aldroen, je suis

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[1] *ou maintenant se trouvoient.* C.2.

[2] *Guinsselin.* C.2.

[3] *chemina.* C.2.

[4] *tres reverente.* C.2.

[5] *evesque qui estoit envoye devers lui honnourablement et au mieulx quil peut lui compta.* C.2.

[6] *denee.* B. *denyee.* C.2.

[7] *il.* B.

[8] *heritaige.* C.2.

[9] *ne nous.* B. C.2.

[10] *nous donne.* C.2.

a toy venus car tu es renomme estre bon et leal; tu es nesz de nostre gent et de nous vindrent tout ty parent.[1] Tu es Breton et nous Bretons, sy sommes amys et parens, pourquoy nous debvons[2] estre tout un. Et pourceque nous avons mestier dayde et secours, requerons nous ta personne. Sy sera a toy grant honneur se tu nous seceurs, car tu le dois faire par nature de parente et de droiture. Quant Guicelin eut sa parolle finee et remoustre au roy Aldroen bien et souffisamment la necessite des gens et du pais de la Grant Bretaigne le roy en ot sy grant pitie quil encommenca moult tendrement a plourer, et dist en plourant a Guicelin: " Syre arcevesque, je vous aideray de deux mille cheval- " liers et de la personne de mon frere Constantin lequel " sera vostre connestable, car il est prudent et duit de " guerre, et sy est fort, puissant, hardy et corageux; " maint estour a il vaincquu[3] par sa vertu et proesse." Adont manda le roy son frere Constantin, lequel quant il fut venu levesque le regarda, sicques quant il le vey bel,[4] grant et fort, il leva sa main dextre contre luy, sy le seigna du signe de la croix, et Constantin lenclina[5] en disant ces parolles: "*Christus vincit, Christus regnat, "Christus imperat.*" Puis manda le roy[6] deux mille chevalliers des meilleurs de sa terre,[7] et puis fist garnir autant de nefz quil leur en besongnoit, de tout ce que mestier estoit en tel cas. Sy entrerent dedens, et dist listoire que le roy Aldroen y feust ales lui meismes en personne se neust este la guerre quil avoit contre les Fransois. Tantost que Constantin et sa compaignie furent entre en mer ilz eurent sy bon vent que en briefz jours ilz parvindrent a[8] port en la Grant Bretaigne, sy descendirent a terre, et le bon prince Con-

[1] *tes parens.* C.2.
[2] *debvons par droit estre.* C.2.
[3] *vaincu.* B.
si fort, si beau et si grant. C.2.
[4] *senclina.* C.2.
[5] *Aldroen.* B. C.2.
[6] *royaume.* C.2.
[7] *au port.* C.2.

stantin les admonesta moult de bien faire; sicque ilz furent sy animez contre les mescreans leurs ennemis que chascun deux cuidoit valoir un roy ; puis adrecherent leur chemin vers Londres. Mais sy tost que les Bretons sceurent la venue de Constantin ilz se rassamblerent tous et vindrent[1] devers lui, ja soit ce que par avant ilz se feussent tapis ou muciez[2] es boscages pour paour de leurs ennemis, sy reprindrent en eulz sy vertueux corage quilz envahirent leurs ennemis par tel fachon quilz les vaincquirent, et fut toute celle maulvaise gent[3] destruite. Ce fait, ilz tindrent un grant parlement ouquel les Bretons tout dun accord esleurent Constantin a roy de la Grant Bretaigne, lequel en fut tantost couronnez sans contredit, puis ilz le marierent a une noble dame de Romme nee, de laquelle il ot trois filz dont le premier ot non Constant, lequel fut nourris a Wincestre ou il fut fait moisne; le second ot non Aurelius et le tierc Uther, et cestui vesqui plus longuement que nul des deux aultres. Le roy Constantin ne rengna gueres, qui fut dhommage, car sil eust longuement vescu le royaulme en feust grandement amende ; mais il avoit un sien serviteur qui estoit des Picz, lequel lavoit longuement servi, et toutesfois le hanoit[4] il mortellement, la cause pourquoy on ne scet. Sy advint que un jour le roy Constantin sestoit ale esbatre en un gardin et navoit personne avec lui que ce Pic, lequel tira un coutel et occyst le roy, qui garde ne sen donnoit, puis senfui le plus secretement quil polt.

Quant le roy Constantin fut mort les barons apres le dueil fait sassamblerent pour faire un roy ; mais ilz ne scavoient bonnement comment faire, car Constant, laisne filz de Constantin estoit moisne, sy ne losoient traire hors de son cloistre, et les aultres deux enffans estoient ancorres trop jeunes pour terre tenir. Entre les aultres

[1] *vindrent en grant nombre.* C.2.
[2] *muchies.* B.
[3] *mauvaise maisnie.* C.2.
[4] *hayoit.* C.2.

sailli avant un baron de Gaulles[1] rice et puissant lequel estoit a merveilles cault et malicieux et avoit non Wortigerius, qui, quant il vey que les seigneurs du pays faysoyent[2] difficulte de eslire a roy Constant pour cause de labit de sa religion, il dist en audience: " Constant est " droit roy; ostons lui labit de moisne et soit couronnez, " car chascun scet bien que ses freres sont trop jeunes, " et se vous doubtes que de ce faire feust pechie, tout " le pechie sur moy en soit." Et ce dit, se parti Wortigerius qui tout ce faisoit par cautele, et sen ala droit a Wincestre, ja soit il que ce ne feust pas du consentement des aultres[3].

Quant Vortigier fut venus en labbaye il parla a Constant et lui conta comment son pere estoit mort et que lonneur du royaulme demouroit a ses freres pour tant quil estoit moysne, mais sil voloit croire son conseil il osteroit les noirs draps de son veu et vestiroit habis royaulx. Sicques Constant a ladmonestement de Vortigier mua son corage, car il convoita le royaulme et naconta riens a oster son habit; sy promist et jura a Wortigier que sil le povoit faire roy il auroit de lui tout ce quil vouldroit demander; et oultre ne feroit jamais riens que ce ne feust par son conseil. Adont parla Wortigier a labbe et au couvent et leur dist[4] quil venoit querre Constant pour le faire couronner roy, en leur allegant tant de cause quil ne loserent desdire.

Lors fut Constant despoullie des noirs draps et le revestirent de nobles habis. Puis partirent de labbaye Constant et Vortigier, sy sen vindrent a Londres, mais quant Constant y fut venus pour estre enoint a roy, il trouva que larcevesque a qui loffice de ce faire appartenoit estoit mort et une grant partie[5] de ses gens

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[1] *Galles.* B.

[2] *faisoient.* B. C.2.

[3] *aultres barons* B. *aultres barons du royaume.* C.2.

[4] *dist comment il venoit.* B.

[5] *des prelas et des barons estoient ja partis de la, et de ceulz quy la estoient nul ny vouloit mettre la main.* B. C.2.

et pareillement sestoient partis la plus grant part des prelats et des barons, et de ceulx qui la estoient nul ne vouloit entendre ne mettre la main. Quant Vortigier vey ce, il[1] meysmes le couronna et seigna de sa main sans aultre, ne oncques neut Constant aultre benichon.[2] Il laissa lordre quil avoit voue de tenir, pour la convoytise de la couronne il laissa et guerpy le service de nostre Seigneur pour devenir roy terryen, mais la fin en fut laide et mauvaise, et jay assez ouy dire que oncques ne prinst bien a homme profez ou service divin quant il sen part[3] par convoytise de honneur seculiere avoir.

Quant Constant fut fait roy ainssy comme vous avez oy il tint bien son convenant a Wortigier car il ne faisoit riens sans[4] conseil. Ce Wortigier faisoit[5] tout et passoit tout par ses mains quancques le roy vouloit faire, et donnoit[6] ce que Wortigier vouloit estre donne et tolloit[7] ce quil vouloit estre tolu. Wortigier congneut tantost que son maistre ne scavoit gueres a royaulme gouverner et paroit bien quil avoit este nourry en cloistre ; daultre part il regarda que ses deux freres estoient petis enfanchons et aussy que les plus haulz barons du rengne[8] estoient mors et que de ceulx qui estoient demourez en vie il estoit le plus puissant, sy advisa aussy que les populaires nestoient pas vrays ensemble, ains avoient grans discentions entreulz, pourquoy toutes ces choses considerees il sadvisa quil mettroit la main au royaulme,[9] ce a quoy long temps il avoit contendu,[10] endementiers que le temps luy estoit a ce faire assez convenable. Lors

[1] *lui.* C.2.
[2] *beneychon.* B. *beneisson.* C.2.
[3] *partoit.* C.2.
[4] *son conseil.* C.2.
[5] *faisoit ainsi quil vouloit ; tout passoit par ses mains.* C.2.
[6] *ce roy.* C.2.
[7] *tolloit.* B. *toulloit.* C.2.
[8] *royaume.* C. 2.
[9] *mettroit le royaulme en sa main.* B. C.2.
[10] *pretendu.* B.

par malice couvert sen vint Wortigier au roy et lui dist quil avoit oy dire que pour certain les Dannoys et les Norroys sestoient assambles pour venir guerroyer lui et son royaulme, et oultre lui disoit comment ilz scavoient bien quil nestoit pas chevalereux ne prisies en armes, et aussy estoient les dits Dannoys advertis par leurs espyes quil nestoit pas assez fort de gens pour resister contre eulx, par quoy il estoit necessaire de mettre garnisons de gens darmes parmy toutes les forteresses de son royaulme adfin de mieulx [1] resister aux ennemys; toutes lesquelles choses Wortigier disoit par tricerie.

Quant le roy Constant ouy Wortigier ainssy parler il respondy en ceste maniere: "Syre Wortigier, je tay " baillye [2] le gouvernement de moy et de tout mon " royaulme, et la cure en est [3] sur toy; et par ainssy " preng [4] le pays en ta garde et en pense sy bien que " nulz ne nous puist [5] grever ne riens tollir ne meffaire, " ne que nostre peuple ne soyt en nulle maniere " exactione de personne."

Quant Wortigier se vey avoir tel puissance, autorite et commandement sur le royaulme de Bretaigne il en fut moult joieulx, car cestoit [6] ce quil queroit; et lui sembla bien quen la fin il aparvendroit a son intencion. Sy dist au roy quil seroit bon de mander les Picz quilz le venissent [7] servir pour gaignier sauldees car cestoient vaillans gens de guerre et qui scavoient parler pluiseurs langaiges, sicque par eulx on pouroit scavoir lestat et maintien de pluiseurs gens ou generations. A quoy le roy saccorda et manda aux Picz que servir le venissent en sez affaires pour ses sauldees gaignier, ausquelz se ainssy le faisoient il

[1] *adfin daucumement mieulx.* C.2.
[2] *je te donne tout le.* C.2.
[3] *mest.* C.2.
[4] *prengs.* C.2.
[5] *puist riens tollir.* B.
[6] *tout ce.* C.2.
[7] *voulsissent.* C.2.

prometoit a faire moult de biens. Les Picz, qui povres estoient, oyans ces nouvelles, sassamblerent une grande multitude des plus fors, habilles et mieulx usytes de guerre,[1] et puis passerent en Engleterre disant quilz estoient illec venuz prestz dobeyr au mandement du roy. Quant le roy Constant sceut que les sauldoyers estoient venus, il dist derechief en audience a Vortiger quil leur feist bonne chiere et leur donnast tout ce que bon luy sembloit.[2] Adont maistre Vortiger, qui ce voulentiers oy,[3] receupt les Picz grandement, sy les tint bien aises et longuement et leur donnoit de foiz a aultre tant a boire quilz sennyvroient[4] et tant deservi envers eulz par les grans biens et beaux dons quil leur faisoit quilz disoient entreulx quil estoit mieulz digne destre roy que Constant, lequel quant il sceut quilz disoient et semoient telles parolles de luy il sen commenca a glorifyer et plus fier devenir, et sil avoit paravant bien fait aux Picz ancorres leur fist il beaucoup mieulx en toutes manieres.

Or advint un jour que Vortiger convia les Picz au disner lesquelz il tint bien aises et leur donna sy bien a boire quilz furent tous yvres; puis quant ils se furent ainssy bien et joyeusement festoiez, Wortiger parla a eulz faignant quil se vouloit partir de la court, disant quil sen vouloit aler en estrange terre pour concquerre aulcun pays, car il avoit pou a despendre et navoit mye gages du roy pour bonnement entretenir quarante serviteurs; mais sil advenoit quil eust mestier deulx quelque part quil feust il les manderoit. Sy leur pryoit que ilz ne luy vaulsissent[5] mye faillir, en disant a eulx se jamais avoit puissance il leur feroit voulentiers moult de biens; "mais a present je ne vous puis " mieulx faire, car combien que jaye maintenant le

[1] *usitez en armes.* B.
[2] *sambleroit.* B. C.2.
[3] *oyoit.* C.2.
[4] *bien souvent.* B. *moult souvent.* C.2.
[5] *voulsissent.* B. C.2.

" gouvernement du royaulme, ou en partye, sy nest " il pas mien, ains men convient compte rendre au " roy Constant, pourquoy je ne vous puis tant de bien " faire comme je vouldroye bien." Apres ce que le desleal Vortiger eut assez dit de son vouloir aux Picz et quil eut bien et beau prins congye il se parti deulx ; sy les laissa en ce point, et quant ilz se trouverent ensemble a part ilz commencerent a parler de luy, disant quil estoit sage,[1] courtois et liberal a tous, pourquoy il estoit mieulz digne destre roy que Constant, et que silz le perdoient, jamais ne trouveroient[2] qui tant de bien leur feist. Puis dirent ensamble :[3] " Ce " moysne ne nous sert de riens ; il nous en convient " le pays descombrer ; sy sera roy le vaillant Vor- " tigier." Ainssy quilz le deviserent, ilz le firent, car tous, yvres et estourdis quils estoient, entrerent en la chambre du roy, sy luy copperent la teste, puis sen coururent hastivement la ou Vortigier estoit et lui dirent : " Syre Vortigier nous tavons retenu ; tu nas " garde de ten aler, car nous avons le roy occys pour " lamour de toy. Vecy sa teste que nous rapportons,[4] " et a roy te courronnons."

Comment le tirant Vortigier fist copper les testes aux Picz qui de son propre consentement couvert avoient le roy Constant occys, et usurpa le royaulme, et comment il retint les Saxons de sa court, par la puissance desquelz il obtint victoire alencontre des Picz et Escotz. LE CHAPITRE XLVIIIe.

QUANT Vortigier oy les Picz ainssy parler et congneut le chief du roy, son seigneur, il fut moult liez en son

[1] *homme saige.* C.2.
[2] *homme.* C.2.
[3] *tous enssamble.* C.2.
[4] *tapportons.* C.2.

courage pardedens, car cestoit tout ce quil desiroit le plus en ce monde, mais pour[1] couvrir sa felonnye et grant mauvaiste il fist samblant destre moult couroucye, sy fist prendre les malfaiteurs et leur fist copper les testes a tous entierement, sans en nul exepter ja soit ce que pluiseurs disoient entreulx que jamais les Picz neussent touchye la personne du roy ne en felonny ne leussent oze regarder se ce neust este par le commandement de Vortigerius. Ceulx qui gardoyent les deux freres, quant ilz sceurent que le roy estoit mort, ilz doubterent tres grandement que ceulx qui avoient le roy Constant occys ne feissent autel[2] des deux enffans, sez freres, pourquoy ilz les menerent en la Petite Bretaigne au roy Pudis qui leur parent estoit, lequel les receupt honnourablement et lyement sy les nourry moult chierement et voulentiers. Nonobstant ce, Vortigerius qui tenoit en sa main les villes, cytes et chasteaulx de Bretaigne se fist couronner roy et usurpa la couronne. Moult fut fier et orguilleux, mais il avoit grant desplaisir en son ceur[3] de deux choses, dont lune estoit que les Picz le mennechoient[4] de tuer et de fait leur faisoit mal de ce quil avoit occys leurs parens, pourquoy ilz lui faisoient guerre. Et laultre estoit de ce que les Bretons disoient que en brief terme les deux enffans seroient grans, sy revendroient en leur pays[5] ou ilz seroient receuz des barons, sy lui toldroient le royaulme dEngleterre et vengeroient la mort du roy Constant leur frere.

Endementiers que ces parolles couroyent en Bretaigne arriverent au port de Saumis troix petites nefz[6] chargies de gens estranges, beaulx de corps et de viaire, desquelz le seigneur estoit appelle Englist,[7] et avoit un frere

[1] *pour aucunement couvrir sa mauvaise felonnye.* C.2.
[2] *autant.* C.2.
[3] *cuer.* C.2.
[4] *menassoient.* C.2.
[5] *royaume.* C.2.
[6] *chargies.* B.
[7] *le seigneur deulx estoit appelle Enguist.* B.

bel et grant de corps qui Orsus estoit appelle,[1] lesquelz gens parloient moult estrange langaige, sy fut tost rapporte au roy Vortigier que en sa terre estoient arrivez gens estranges, lequel quant il oy ces nouvelles commanda que on leur donna treues et sceurete de venir parler a lui, car il les vouloit veoir. Lors vindrent Englist et Orsus son frere avec leur gens devant le roy, lequel les regarda longuement anchois quil desist[2] mot, car ilz lui samblerent belle gent,[3] et en especial les deux freres, puis leur demanda dont ilz venoient, qui ilz estoient, et quilz queroient. Englist qui, comme vous avez oy, estoit leur capitaine, respondy quilz estoient Saxons, nez de Saxongne, et queroient terre ou ilz peussent habiter; puis dist au roy: "et se tu veulx scavoir la cause je le te diray, "mais que jaye sceurete du dire." Auquel le roy respondy quil deyst sceurement toute sa rayson. "Syre roy," dist Englist, "nostre terre est si habondant "et fructifiant en generation de peuple que la fertilite "du pays[4] ne souffist mye a nourrir les habitans du "pais, ains convient que les barons de la terre eslisent "chascun an par sort tous les plus fors et habilles "pour les bouter hors de la terre, sy les envoient en "estranges regions pour eux chevir et querir mansions, "car telle est la coustume et usage. Or est cheu le "sort sur nous, pourquoy nous avons guerpy nostre pays, et nostre dieu nous a gouvernes et icy amenez." Adont leur demanda le roy quelle estoit leur creance et qui estoit leur dieu. Et Englist respondy quilz avoient pluiseurs dieux, mais entre les aultres ilz en avoient quattre, cest a scavoir Phebus, Saturnus, Jupiter, et Mercurius; mais sur tous les aultres ilz servoient et aouroient Mercure, car leurs ancesseurs luy avoient con-

[1] *qui Orsus avoit a nom.* C.2.
[2] *deist.* C.2.
[3] *belles gens.* C.2.
[4] *fertilite des biens ne.* C.2.

sacre le quatriesme jour de la sepmaine et lappelloient en leur langaige Woden, mais pour lamour de luy ilz appelloient ledit quatriesme jour Wodesday. Entre lesquelz dieux nous aourons[1] une deesse que nous appellons Free, et lui avons consacre le sixieme jour de la sepmaine, lequel pour lamour delle nous lappellons Freeday, Free cest dame Venus, et Freeday cest le Vendredy.

Quant Englist eut ainssy parle de leurs dieux, le roy Vortigier lui dist quilz creoyent follement et que faulx dieux aouroient dont il lui desplaisoit, mais puisque la estoient venus par ceste adventure il les retenroit a sa court et leur donroit sauldees silz vouloient demourer avec luy, car beaulz hommes estoient et vaillans lui sambloient, et oultre lui dist que plusieurs larons Picz et Escochois lui pilloient sa terre et son pays, lesquelz il chasseroit a destruire par le moien de leur aide.[2] Adont dist Englist au roy Vortigier: "Sire ne doubtez personne," car ilz le metteroient bien au-dessus de tous ses ennemys: pourquoy le roy les retint de sa court et en son service.

Ne demoura gueres apres que les Picz et ceulx de leur aliance entrerent en la Grant Bretaigne a grant ost, sy commencerent a gaster et destruire tout le pays oultre la riviere du Hombre, sicque cestoit grant inhumanite de veoir leurs villains fais[3] pourquoy toute la terre estoit desolee et desconfortee. Sy en vindrent les nouvelles au roy Vortigier et lui fut dit que cestoit grant faulte a lui de ainssy laissier ses ennemis foursener parmy son royaulme. Le roy oyant ces nouvelles fut moult trouble, sy assambla le plus tost quil polt toute sa chevalerie avec tout ce quil polt assambler de gens, et prinst en sa compaignie

[1] *honnourons.* B. C.2.
[2] *par le moien de leur.* B. *par le moyen deulz.* C.2.
[3] *leurs mauvais et villains fais.* C.2.

les Saxons, puis passa la riviere du Hombre avec toute sa puissance, sy estoient Englist et son frere Orsus capitaines de leurs gens. Quant[1] les Picz sceurent la venue du roy Vortigier et de sa gent,[2] ilz ordonnerent leurs batailles bien et bel selon leur[3] coustume, puis sen vindrent bien et hardiement alencontre des Bretons car pluiseurs foiz lavoient chassie devant eulx et vaincqu, pourquoy ilz chevaucherent de tant plus hardiement. Vortigier voiant ses ennemis approchier avoit ordonne ses batailles bien et adroit, sy pria et henorta[4] ses gens de bien faire, car a ceste heure en avoit il grant besoing.[5] Et les Picz qui moult estoient bonnes gens darmes se ferirent moult vigoureusement en lost des Bretons lesquelz les receuprent moult asprement. La commenca la bataille forte, grande et perileuze, plaine de grant occysion[6] dune part et daultre, laquelle dura longuement anchois que len peust congnoistre qui[7] avoit le meilleur, car les Picz avoient grant esperance de[8] la victoire, sy se combatoient moult ataingneusement, et aussy faisoient les Bretons, sicque la bataille fut longuement egale en perte et en gaing dune part et daultre. Quant Englist qui estoit duc de ses[9] Saxons vey que les Picz se maintenoient sy vigoureusement en leur bataille moult en ot grant desdaing et fut grandement entalentez de faire aulcune proesse darmes parquoy il peust acquerir la grace du roy Vortigier son maistre, sy parla haultement en son langaige a Orsus son frere et a tous ses compaignons en eulx admonestant de bien faire, puis se feri en la bataille sy impetueuesement quil la fist rompre et diviser en pluiseurs parties.

[1] *Quant le Roy Vortigerius fut aux champs et les Pics.* C.2.
[2] *de sa puissance.* C.2.
[3] *leur ancienne coustume.* C.2.
[4] *enhorta.* C.2.
[5] *moult grant mestier.* C.2.
[6] *dune grant occision de mort.* C.2.
[7] *quy en avoit.* B.
[8] *davoir la victoire.* C.2.
[9] *des Saxons.* B. C.2.

Il se combatoit dune hache a deux mains et tous ses Saxons le sievoient par sy grant fureur quil nestoit ja besoing aux Bretons deux combatre.

Tant firent les Saxons par leur vaillance que les Picz tournerent en fuite, mais ce ne fut pas sans grant dhommage a[1] Saxons car[2] mainctz en occyrent les Picz anchois quilz perdissent le champ. Moult envys sen aloient les Picz et grandement estoient esbahis de ce que eulx qui maintes fois avoient vaincu les Bretons, et leur roy fait fuir honteuzement, et lors[3] a sy pou deffort ilz estoient desconfis. Les Saxons chasserent les Pics bien loingz, tout occyant, et en y eult grant quantite de mors dun coste et daultre, sicque tout le champ ou la bataille se fist[4] en devint vermeil, mais plus y ot de Picz mors que des aultres selon listoire, et par ainsy ot le roy Vortigier victoire des Pics a ceste foys.

Comment Englist deceupt le roy Vortigier par sa malice; comment il se fist donner par le roy une forte place en laquelle il ediffia le chastel de la Couroye, et des Saxons quil fist venir, et comment Vortigier espousa sa fille Ronixe qui estoit payenne. Le Chapitre XLIX[e].

Apres ce que le roy Vortigier eut eu victoire de ses ennemis par la proesse de Englist et des siens il en fut moult joyeux sicque pour ceste cause il ama moult et tint en grant amour les Saxons, sy leur donna de mou[5] beaulx dons et leur distribua en une marche de son royaulme que on dist Linsoye[6] rentes et revenues habondamment pour eulx gouverner et entretenir.

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[1] *grant dommage aux.* B.
[2] *car tant maints.* C.2.
[3] *maintenant.* C.2.
[4] *avoit este.* C.2.
[5] *de moult.* B. C.2.
[6] *Linsoye* or *Luisoye.* B.

Englist qui soubtil et enginueux estoit se penoit moult de bien servir le roy et scavoit bien dissimuler en lieu et temps; il estoit a merveilles beau parlier et qui bien sçavoit flater ceulx quil voloit traire a sa poste. Sy lui advint une fois quil se trouva seul avec le roy dont il encommenca a parler a lui en telle maniere: " Syre roy, certes jay grant doleur en mon ceur pour " lamour que jay a toy de ce qui mest venu a con- " gnoissance, et pourceque je suis ton leal serviteur et " tenu de garder ton honneur, te veul je [1] advertir de " ce qui est car certainement je suis veritablement " informe que tous les nobles et citoyens de ton " royaulme te heent mortellement,[2] quelque semblant " quilz te moustrent, et dient entreulx coiement que " bien brief ilz manderont [3] et envoyeront querir " en Armoricque-Bretaigne Aurelien Ambroise et te " deposeront de la [4] royaulte pour couronner le dit " Aurelien. Et saches sire que pluiseurs de tes ennemis " ont sur moy [5] grant envye, que jen suis en grant " doubte et soupechon de mort, sicque je nen dors ne " repose pas sceurement. Pourquoy se tu me vouloyes " croire pour la sceurete [6] de ta personne et de ton " royaulme je envoyeroye querir des sauldoyers en " Saxone, et est le plus pourfitable conseil que je te " saroye [7] donner a present [8] pour ces perilz echever car " par ainssy on ne te poroit sourprendre ains serois " prestz a toute heure pour resister a tous tes ennemis. " Syre roy cest [9] ce que je tavoye a dire comme ton " leal serviteur que je suis, mais encores te feroye je " volontiers une requeste se ne feust pour doubte de " icelle non obtenir."

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[1] *plainement.* C.2.
[2] *et amerement.* C.2.
[3] *manderont querir.* B. C.2.
[4] *de ta.* B. C.2.
[5] *sur moy si grante envye.* C.2.
[6] *sceurete mesme.* C.2.
[7] *scauroie.* B.
[8] *a present au moins pour.* C.2.
[9] *Cest tout ce.* B.

Adont le roy Vortigier qui bien amoyt Englist respondy simplement a ces parolles doubteuzes, falacieuses et proditoires: " Envoie tes legatz en ton pays " de Saxonne et mande et semons ceulx que tu volras " provocquier aux armes. Et ne doubte point destre " de moy [1] escondit de chose que tu me demanderas, " mais quelle soit juste et raisonnable ains le demande " hardiement."

Lacteur

Malheureux Vortigier decheu et aweugle par les vaines parolles et adullations decepvables du Saxon Englist cuides-tu quil envoye querir cette [2] armee pour ton honneur ne pour lutillite de toy ne de ton royaulme? Certes nennil, ains ne pourchasse que ta perdition totale et le trebuscement de ton pays et de ton peuple, car se tu feusses prudent [3] tu debvroiez considerer que les Saxons exillies de leur terre par povrete ne quierent ne ne desirent fors trouver voye et maniere de povoir dominer sur [4] terre daultrui.

Ce traitre Englist congnoit bien que le roy ploioit de son coste et que le temps lui estoit propice pour mettre affin sa tres parverse voulente, et on dist: " tandis que le fer est chault que len le doit battre." Sy sagenoulla devant le roy [5] moult humblement et dist: " O noble roy, ta benevolence et liberalite ma " eslargy et donne a la substentation de moy et " de mes amys pluiseurs riches dons, tant en joyaulx " comme en champs, terres ou aultres possessions, " parquoy nous sommes grandement vers toy obligiez; " mais comme il soit vray que je soye extrait en " mon pays de noble lingnie et filz de roy, il me " samble que je ne suis pas en ton service et avec

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[1] *de moy nullement en riens escondit.* C.2.
[2] *celle.* B.
[3] *homme prudent.* C.2.
[4] *sur terre et peuple.* B.
[5] *le roy en parlant moult.* C.2

" toy en tel estat et honneur comme[1] a ma personne " appartient et[2] pourtant je te supplie comme ton " humble serviteur que avec toy tu me donnes aulcun " noble recept, chasteau, cyte ou ville atout les appar- " tenances adfin que je apere estre noble entre les " aultres barons de ce pays,[3] et que jay dignite de " prince, car de telz gens suis je venus."

Ceste requeste fut aulcunement doubteuze au roy Vortigier, sy respondy en telle maniere : " Englist, " dons de villes, cytez et forteresses me sont deffen- " dues par les barons du pays de Bretaigne, et " especialement a vous qui estes payens et estranges " ou loingtains de nos manieres et coustumes ; vous " nestes pas de nostre loy ne ancorres ne me sont " voz volentes ou cermonies magnifesteez ne evidentes, " par quoy injuste chose et mal affreant extemeroye " vous[4] exauchier en dignitez et vous faire egaulx a " mes nobles citoyens et barons crestiens. Et aussy " se ainsy faire le vouloye sy ne le me souffriroient " pas mes chevaliers, ains le deffenderoient par euvre[5] " de fait se a leur conseil ne volloye obeir."

Adont le[6] Saxon Englist, qui moult estoit falacieux, dissimula et ne voult pas ennuyer le roy, ains dist : " Au moins, Sire, a moy ton petit[7] serviteur veulles " donner congye et licence que en la terre que tu " nous as[2] donnee en autant dempresure que pora " avironner la chainteure dun cuir de beuf, je puis " ediffyer une petite maison forte ou je me peusse " retraire se mestier mestoit et ou je puisse dormir et " reposer sceurement, car vraiement ou que je soye je " te seray bon et leal, et te[8] garderay ton honneur."

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[1] *que.* C.2.

[2] *et pour tant humblement te supplie comme ton tres obeissant serviteur.* C.2.

[3] *de ce royaume.* C.2.

[4] *vous eslever et exauchier.* B.

[5] *voye.* B. C.2.

[6] *le mauvais Saxon.* C.2.

[7] *ton povre.* C.2.

[8] *et toujours.* C.2. *et garderoy.* B.

Lors le roy Vortigier quy pensa [1] que pou de terre il poroit chaindre ou environner de la couroye dun cuir de buef lui ottroya sa demande et luy commandast que il envoyast en Saxonne pour avoir grant nombre de sauldoyers, comme paradvant ilz avoient [2] conclud.

Lacteur.

Tres [3] malheureux roy Vortigier et mal conseillie davoir ottroye au traitre Saxon ce [4] quil te demandoit ! Saches certainement que tout ce quil ta conseillie et requis il la fait malicieusement et pour toy decepvoir, et soies asseure que lediffice quil tent a faire sera la premiere cause de la destruction de ton royaulme et de tes citoyens.

Le traitre [5] Saxon remercya le roy moult humblement du don que il luy avoit fait, puis prinst congie et sen ala en Linsonie ou il se fist aporter un cuir de beuf le plus grant quon sceut [6] trouver, lequel il fist taillier par deliez couroyes et en fist chaindre un rocq fort et hault a merveilles lequel avoit long temps paravant malicieuzement convoitie atraire a soy pour le forteffyer comme le plus esleu de celle marche. Quant Englist ot ainssy compasse le lieu pour faire la forteresse, il envoya ses messages en Germanie pour eslever des sauldoyers [7] et amener vers lui en Bretaigne mais entredeux il fist ediffyer son chasteau lequel fut acheve en brief terme, sy lapella Chast de Couroye, et les Bretons lapellerent Kaecordy.[8] Environ que ce chastel fut parfait revindrent les messages de Saxonne

[1] *Vortigier pensa un pou et luy sambla quun pou de terre pourroit chaindre ou envirronner le courroye.* C.2.
[2] *avoient ensamble conclud.* C.2.
[3] *O tres.* C.2.
[4] *tout ce.* C.2.
[5] *le mauvais trahitre.* C.2.
[6] *peut.* C.2.
[7] *soldoyers.* B.
[8] *Kaercordy.* B. *Caercordy.* C.2.

lesquelz amenerent la fille Englist qui estoit a merveilles belle et avoit non Ronixe. Quant Englist vey son chasteau ferme et sa fille venue avec grand nombre de saldoyers il sen ala devers le roy Vortigier et lui prya moult quil lui pleust aler esbatre a Linsonie veoir sa maison et les chevaliers Saxons qui estoient illec venus pour lui servir. Laquele chose le roy lui ottroya et y ala a privee maisnie, mais quant il vint a la Couroye et il eut bien advise ce nouvel ediffice il le prysa moult en son corage. Puis fist Englist les nouveaulz saldoyers venir devant le roy qui moult[1] les regarda et les retint de son ordonnance. Endementiers que ces choses se faisoient fut le disner appareillie, sy sen ala le roy seoir au mengier ou il fut moult ricement servi de pluiseurs mes selon lordonnance Saxonnicque[2] et aussy de diverses manieres de beuvrages. Puis quant le roy eut este receu et festoye comme vous avez oy,[3] il se leva et furent les tables ostees, mais quant ce vint a la collation que len fait apres disner ou on prent vin et espicez, vecy la fille Englist qui yssy dune chambre tenant en sa main une coupe dor plaine de vin, sy se vint agenouillier devant le roy en lui tendant la coupe et disant en son langaige "*Verd Cing, Weissiel!*" Le roy le regarda sy lui sembla moult belle et demanda a son interpreteur que la damoiselle lui avoit dit, et il lui respondy quelle avoit dit: "Sire roy, boy a moy!" Dont il demanda comment[4] il debvoit respondre. "Sire," dist linterpreteur, "tu dois dire, '*drinquail*' qui vault "autant comme[5] 'je boys a vous.'" Et le roy Vortigier en prenant la coupe respondy a la pucelle: "*drinquail!*" et commanda que on baillast du vin en

[1] *moult longuement.* C.2.
[2] *selon la costume Saxonnique.* C.2.
[3] *vous oez.* B.
[4] *Dont luy demanda le roy.* B. C.2.
[5] *comme a dire.* C.2.

une aultre coupe a la damoyselle Ronixe, puis beut moult joieuzement en la coupe quelle lui avoit baillie, car ja estoit ferus de lamour delle ; sy la commenca grandement a loer en son ceur. Il avoit bien beu,[1] pourquoy il seschauffa bien estrangement en la dissolue et tres luxurieuse amour de celle fille, car laguillon de folle plaisance le prinst a poindre parmy le ceur mout desmesureement.

Depuis ce temps de lors dont nous parlons jusques a present a este ceste coustume de boire lun a laultre entretenue ou royaulme dEngleterre quant ilz menguent ensemble, laquele maniere de faire commenca[2] le roy Vortigier et Ronixe la pucelle ; et dist cellui qui boit premiers : *" Verd cing, Weissiel !"* et laultre respont : *" drinquail ! "* Le trompeur Englist qui aultre chose ne desiroit[3] que de decepvoir le roy apperceupt bien a la contenance de Vortigier quil estoit amoureux de sa fille Ronixe et pour le mieulz bouter au fille des las[4] damours il sapprocha de lui tenant sa fille par la main et lui fist dire canchonnettes joyeuses en son langaige pour ancores plus grandement plaire au mal conseillie roy Vortigerius qui tant lamoit quil ne scavoit son sens ne sa contenance garder, et sy ne scavoit maniere comment bonnement il en peust venir a bout synon quil la demandast a son pere par mariage, sicque sans adviser sil faisoit bien ou mal prinst Englist par la main, sy le trayst a une part de la salle ou ilz estoient et lui demanda sa fille par mariage. De laquelle chose[5] Englist eut moult grant joye, sy sagenoulla devant le roy en le[6] humblement remerciant du bien et de lhonneur quil lui faisoit, en suppliant quil lui donnast respit de respondre tant quil

[1] *bien peu beu.* A. *il avoit bien beu.* B. C.2.
[2] *commencerent.* B. C.2.
[3] *ne convoitoit.* C.2.
[4] *lats.* C.2.
[5] *demande.* C.2.
[6] *en luy.* B.

eust parle a son frere et a ses aultres amys. Le roy Vortigier accorda ceste chose a Englist, mais il lui prya quil le fesist le plus brief que faire se [1] poroit ; laquele chose le traitre Englist fist, car il parla a son frere Orsus et aux aultres haulx hommes de son lignage qui la estoient en leur comptant le cas tel quil estoit, dont ilz parlerent assez, mais en fin ilz saccorderent ensamble que le roy auroit Ronixe par tel sy quil leur donroit la province de Chancie. Apres ces conclusions Englist vint devant le roy, sy lui baillia sa fille et lui prya [2] que en faveur delle il leur donnast la conte de Cancie. Et le fol roy Vortigier, qui estoit [3] tout foursene en lamour de la pucelle, ottria [4] tres voulentiers a Englist tout ce quil lui demanda sans le sceu du conte Goroganch a qui la conte [5] appartenoit de son [6] heritage. Ainssy que vous oez espousa le maleureux Vortigier la pucelle payenne et coucha celle mesme nuyt avec elle ; et Ronixe qui moult bien estoit instruite es sciences ou ars Saxonnicques faisoit a Vortigier tous les plaisirs que femme peult faire a homme. Vortigier avoit eu de sa premiere femme, qui moult estoit noble dame,[7] sage, courtoise, bonne et bien lettree, trois filz, laquelle les avoit moult bien aprins et instruis en toutes bonnes meurs, desquelz laisne avoit non Morcymer [8] le deuxieme Karticheru [9] et le tierch Pascent. Quant ces trois enffans et aussy les barons du royaulme de la Grant Bretaigne [10] sceurent comment le roy avoit espouzee une payenne moult en furent courouciez et indignez contre lui, sy le commencerent a hayr oultre mesure, et ce a bonne et juste raison.

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[1] *le.* B.
[2] *humblement.* C.2.
[3] *qui estoit comme tout.* C.2.
[4] *ottroia.* B. C.2.
[5] *conte de Chanchie.* B. C.2.
[6] *comme de son droit.* C.2.
[7] *belle, sage.* B. C.2.
[8] *Morchymer.* B. (Vortimer.)
[9] *Karthiceru.* B. *Karticery.* C.2.
[10] *de Bretaigne.* B.

Lacteur.

O tu, roy Vortigier, le plus mechant de tous les mechans, malicieux en mal, usurpateur daultrui dignite, non digne de nom[1] de roy par les vices de ton propre corps, relenquissans[2] tes enffans et tes[3] leaux subjets, vil et abhominable langoureux, dy moy qui ta meu de toy lyer de lyen dissolu a sexe payenne ? navoies tu pas pluiseurs haultes[4] dames en ton royaulme et aussy[5] belles ou plus dont tu pooies sans reproce avoir et eslire celle qui mieulz teust pleu ? comment as tu este sy bestourne que par le regard dune seulle femme quy pas nestoit de ta loy, tu tes soubmis en la seignourie et obeissance de ce tres puant vil et horrible pechie criminel qui les corages humains dolloureux et consentans de leur mal entachies de toute pouriture efface par ses obscurs tenebres de tous benefices espirituelz et mondains que nostre bon createur et redempteur Jhesu Crist departist et envoie a ses subjets tenans sa loy et ses commandemens a leur pouvoir. Et toy qui debvrois estre vray miroir et exemplaire a tous les vrays catholiques de ton royaulme et ailleurs par tout le monde universel, par ton oultrecuidance et desir bestial as mys le royaulme de Bretaigne auquel tu navoies quelque[6] droit de raison, ains le usurpas indeuement, en tribulation dollereuse, dont tu auras ton loyer, car jamais le vray Dieu ne souffriroit tel meffait demourer impugny. Or me dy maleureux qui[6] as pechie enormement contre ta loy, cuides tu que Englist et les aultres Saxons ses parens et amys aprestez a ses commandemens qui ja par ta legiere creance sont sy puissans en ton pays, taient donne Ronixe seulement

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[1] *nom.* B. *usurpateur daultri royaume et dignite, non digne devoir nom.* C.2.

[2] *relenquissant.* B. C.2.

[3] *tes bons et leaux.* C.2.

[4] *haultes nobles et puissans dames.* B.

[5] *autant.* C.2.

[6] *qui maintenant.* C.2.

pour saouler ton ort et destable[1] delit? Saces que non, mais en eux mocquant de toy machinent secretement par pensees incongneues toy et tous tes citoyens exterminer et destruire adfin quilz puissent seignourir et dominer sur Bretaigne.[2]

Comment Saint Germain dAuxerre et Saint Leu de Troyes vindrent en la Grant Bretaigne, et de la multiplication des Saxons en icelle, et comment le Roy Morchimer[3] *fut couronne.* LE CHAPITRE L^e.

EN ce temps que la Grant Bretaigne estoit ainssy infectee et corrompue de celle erreur pelagienne, cest a dire de la mauvaise erreur que les Pelagiens y avoient semee et aussy en aulcunes aultres parties du monde, et aux Bretons plus que a nulz aultres par laffinite des Saxons payens qui frequentoient et participoient[4] communement, furent envoyes Monseigneur Saint Germain, evesque dAuxerre, et Saint Leu, evesque de Troyes, de par le Pape de Romme en Bretaigne preschier la foy pour revocquier et ratiffyer les Bretons a la foy crestienne qui presques tous estoient devenus hereses; mais ces deux sains hommes y prescherent sy dilligamment que en brief temps par le moyen de leurs predications et miracles la sainte foy et religion de nostre Seigneur fut restituee et remise ou royaulme de Bretaigne en sa fermete, car les deux sains confesseurs, par linvocation[5] de nostre Seigneur, faisoient miracles innumerables, desquelz miracles un Anglois hystoriagraph fist un dittier moult bel et melodieux. Dame Ronixe dont[6] donnee au roy Vortigier par mariage, un pou de temps apres Englist

[1] *detestable.* B. C.2.
[2] *sur le royaume de Bretaigne.* C.2.
[3] *Morchimer, Norcimer, Vorcimer.* MSS. for *Vortimer.*
[4] *avec eulz.* B.
[5] *du saint nom de.* B. C.2.
[6] *doncques.* B.

le Saxon vint devant le roy et lui dist: "Noble roy, " puisque par ta benignite il ta pleu[1] joindre a moy par " le moyen du mariage de ma fille Ronixe, et de toy " desoremais suis je ton pere et ton serviteur et ton " leal amy, et[2] tu es mon filz sy me doibz amer comme " le filz fait le pere, pourquoy nous devons estre unis " ensamble ainssy que une ame et un corps, sy te veul " donner conseil de salut a la sauvegarde[3] de ton corps " et de ton royaulme, mais je te prye que tu ne veulles " point passer ne revocquier ma persuasion soubz dissi- " mulation daultrui[4] conseil, car sans nulle doubte par " la vertu et puissance de ma gent baptilleresse[5] tu " sourmonteras tous tes ennemys. Envoyes[6] donc en " Saxonne querir mon filz Cocta lequel amenra en ce " pays grant nombre dhommes nourris et instruis en " disciplines darmes, et par mon conseil, sil te plaist, tu " lui donras pour lui et ses gens habiter celle partie de " terre de ton pays[7] qui est opposee a tes barbarins " ennemis par devers Acquilon" (cestoit la contree ou les Picz habitoient qui siet entre Galles). " Certes, sire, " et filz," ce disoit le traitre Saxon, " syl te plaisoit " a moy ottroyer ceste requeste qui est a ton pourfit, " saches que Cocta mon filz et ton frere a layde de sa " gent arrestera les impetueux mouvemens des Picz et " Escochois qui sont tes mortelz ennemis, et ainsy seras[8] " tu en paix et useras le demourant de ta vye en grant " transquillite et felicite paysible." Lors le roy Vortigier qui tous aveuglez estoit de lamour de sa femme Ronixe dist que cestoit bien son plaisir que ainsy feust fait que Englist lavoit devise et quil envoyast en Germanie semondre Cocta son filz et tous ceulx qui lui

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[1] *toy joindre.* B.
[2] *et maintenant.* C.2.
[3] *et tuition.* B. C.2.
[4] *daultre.* B. C.2.
[5] *batilleresse.* B. *batailleresse.* C.2.
[6] *Envoyons.* B. C.2.
[7] *royaume.* C.2.
[8] *seras toute la vie en union et en paix.* C.2.

sambleroient utilles pour sa guerre mettre a fin. A laquelle parole oyr Englist sesjoy[1] grandement, car il lui sembla bien que en fin par ce moyen il advenroit a son emprinse, sy envoya un sien seur message en Saxonne devers son filz Cocta et les aultres barons du pays, qui eurent moult grant joye des[2] nouvelles que le message leur apporta, sicque pour obeir au mandement du prince Englist ilz assamblerent en peu de temps trois cens nefz chargies de chevaliers et serjans bien armez selon lordonnance de leur pays; puis singlerent parmy la mer tant quilz arriverent en Bretaigne. Quant ilz furent descendus a terre ilz vindrent devant le roy Vortigier qui les receupt lyement en les retenant tous a ses gages et[3] les honnourant de beaux dons, puis les envoya tous aux frontieres contre ses ennemis ou ilz furent mys et establis en certaines forteresses; et partout ou le roy Vortigier[4] se combatoit il obtenoit la victoire par le moyen et ayde des[5] Saxons, car leur desmesure hardiesse fureuse sourmontoit toute force darmes, pour laquelle cause le roy Vortigier les ama moult et les guerdonnoit grandement. Englist en dissimulant sa tres malvaise volente transmetoit continuellement navire en Germanie pour avoir gens; par quoy[6] il croissoit en puissance de jour en jour. Les Anglois apperceurent bien celle cautelle pourquoy eulz doubtant la trayson des Saxons persuaderent au roy Vortigier quil leur donnast congie et boutast hors de son royaulme, en lui remoustrant et disant par bonne maniere: "Sire, tu sces bien que la communica-
" tion et compaignie des payens est deffendue a nous
" crestiens de par leglise de nostre Seigneur. Or
" regarde maintenant la grant multitude de ces paiens

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[1] *sesjouy.* B. *sesjouist.* C.2.

[2] *de bonnes nouvelles.* C.2.

[3] *en.* C.2.

[4] *Vortigier de la Grant Bretaigne.* B.

[5] *de ces.* B.

[6] *parquoy tousjours.* C.2.

" Saxons qui occupent ta terre. Tu peus bien scavoir " certainement quilz font grant paour et grant effroy " a tous tes citoyens. Tu voys que a paines peut on " congnoistre[1] qui est crestien ou paien ; ilz acom- " paignent noz filz, nos filles et nos femmes, et les " traient a eulx. Quelle merveille ! Certes qui ny " mettra remede il nous suppeditront et destruiront la " loy[2] crestienne, et la foy[3] de Jhesu Crist[4] en perira " en ce pays." Par tels et semblables parolles prioient les Bretons a leur roy quil ne tenist plus celle gent infame affin quil ne veist a ses yeulx par leur cause les morteles occysions de ses citoyens ; mais en verite les doulx baisiers et acollemens, les embrachemens et voluptueux plaisirs de la roine Ronixe sa femme le tenoient en amours sy ferme que en nulle maniere il ne vouloit oïr icellui saint conseil ne chose qui feust au contraire des traitres Saxons, ains amoit ce maleureux roy la dampnable compaignie de ces maudis Saxons mieulx que celle de ses leaulx catholicques barons et citoiens.[5] Laquelle chose tant vile et abhominable ne volrent plus souffrir les nobles barons dEngleterre, anchois luy firent substraction de toute[6] obeissance et esleuerent Morcimer[7] son aisne filz a roy, sy le couronnerent ; il estoit vertueulx, preux aux armes, begnin et courtois chevalier. Ce jovencel Morcimer promist aux barons que sans doubte moiennant leur bonne ayde faveur et conseil il bouteroit hors du royaulme celle gent ydollatre ennemis de Dieu et de son peuple. Sy assambla sa puissance le plus tost quyl peut, puis commenca la guerre grande et forte contre les Saxons, moult leur courut sus asprement et leur fist maintes nobles envahyes car il les detrencoit

[1] *maintenant.* B. C.2.
[2] *foy.* C.2.
[3] *loy.* C.2.
[4] *nostre Saulveur.* B
[5] *celle de ses catholicques leaulx hommes et citoyens.* C.2.
[6] *toute humilite et.* C.2.
[7] *Morcimer, Norcimer, Vorcimer, Vortymer.* MSS. for *Vortimer.*

et occyoit tous sans nulle raenchon et fist grant occysion deux en pou de temps. Et eut contre eulz quattre nobles batailles lesquelles il obtint et victoria mais ce ne fut mye sans grant effusion de sang crestien ; la premiere fut sur la rive du fleuve dEured [1], la seconde fut demprez le val dEpiford [2]. En ceste bataille jousterent lun contre laultre, Pascent qui tenoit la partie Morcimer son frere, et Kartigeru qui tenoit la partie de son pere Vortigier,[3] laquelle jouste des deux freres fut moult dure et piteuse, car ilz se porterent tous deux par terre et percherent leurs corps tout oultre de leurs lances dont Kartigeru morut, mais Pascent, ja soit ce quil feust navrez morteillement, toutesfoiz par le bon ayde que il eut il recouvra sancte. La tierce bataille et la moins memorable fut sur la rive de la mer, car les Saxons furent vaincus a peu deffort et senfuirent en lisle de Thainet pour leurs vyes saulver ; laquelle [4] fut victoire plainiere car tantost que le roy Norcimer sceut quilz sestoient en celle isle arreste il prinst grant navire et assega lisle de tous lez, sy les commenca a molester par dures assaulx et fortes escarmuces. Sicque quant les Saxons veirent quilz ne se povoient saulver par quelconcques resistence neschapper au roy Norcimer ne a ses barons,[5] ilz envoyerent le roy Vortigier qui avoit tousjours este avec eulz en ces batailles en legation devers son filz le roy Norcimer pour traittier de leur paix ou au moins davoir la licence deux partir a sceurete et retourner en leur pays. Et le roy Norcimer a la requeste de son pere assambla son conseil a scavoir comment il porroit ouvrer sur celle besongne. Quant les Bretons sceurent quon traittoit de la paix ilz lais-

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[1] *dErued.* B. C.2.

[2] *le fleuve dEpiford.* C.2.

[3] *Pascent qui tenoit la partie de son pere Vortigier, et Carthigeru qui tenoit la partie de Morcymer son frere.* C.2.

[4] *la quarte.* B. *la quatriesme.* C.2.

[5] *ses Bretons.* B. C.2.

sierent leurs nefz sans garde et sen alerent tous au parlement, pourquoy les Saxons sachans ceste adventure que les gardes de lost bretonicque avoient laissies toutes leurs nefz, ilz se misrent tost et hastivement dedens les vaisseaux et laisserent illec leurs femmes et leurs enffans, sy senfuyrent nagant parmy la mer vers Germanie[1] a force de vens et de navirons. Sy commencerent les femmes, qui demourees estoient toutes desconfortees, a faire si grans et miserables crys pleurs et ulemens que le dueil quelles faisoient fist scavoir aux Bretons la fuite de leurs ennemis ; et par ainsy senfuirent, quant a celle fois, les Saxons hors de la Grant Bretaigne.

Comment la roine Ronixe fist empoisonner le bon roy Vorcimer, et comment il conforta ses barons au lit de la mort, et de ses ordonnances. LE CHAPITRE LI^e^.

LE noble roy Norcimer[2] apres ce que les Saxons sen furent ainsy fuis cauteleusement il pensa bien que ce avoit este par le faux malice de Englist le traitre, pourquoy il fut moult desplaisant de ce que[3] eschapez lui estoit,[4] toutesfois nientmoins il commenca a parler a son pere devant les[5] barons en lui disant moult doulcement par belles parolles que pour lamour[6] de Dieu il desfachast[7] et ostast de son ceur toute la faveur et amystie quil avoit eue envers ces paiens desloiaux, ennemis de la sainte foy catholicque.

Apres ces choses le roy Vorcimer sen retourna a Londres, sy honnoura moult les[8] barons et leur resti-

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[1] *la mer Germaine.* B.
[2] *Vorcimer.* A. *Norcimer.* B. for *Vortimer.*
[3] *ainsi.* C.2.
[4] *estoient.* C.2.
[5] *Bretons et barons.* C.2.
[6] *lhonneur.* C.2.
[7] *deffachast.* B. *deffassast.* C.2.
[8] *ses.* B. C.2.

tua leurs dignitez ou possessions que son pere par son erreur leur avoit ravyes et usurpees, puis distribua au peuple les champs qui devolus estoient en la main des Saxons ; et depuis quil ot toutes ces choses faittes et deuement adcomplies il honnoura Dieu et sainte eglise et rediffia celles qui avoient este desertes et leur acreut leurs rentes par ladmonnestement[1] de Saint Germain dAuxerre.

Mais lennemy qui tousjours a envie sur ceulx qui servent Dieu et gardent ses commandemens en obeissant a lui, se mist ou cors de Ronixe, marastre au bon roy Morcymer, adfin quelle se meist en paine de ce bon roy grever et ne le laissast point longuement vivre ne joir de sa bonne prosperite ; et celle qui sentoit ou savouroit la nature saxonnicque avoit grant dueil en son cuer de ce que son pere et ses aultres parens et amys estoient ainssy honteusement chassies hors du royaulme de la Grant Bretaigne et son mari deppose de la dignite par le dit roy Vorcimer son filz, sy le commenca le deable grandement a tempter adfin quelle inginast aulcune trayson occulte pour faire morir le roy Vorcimer, son filastre, sy lenhorta tant lennemy quelle concquelly et assambla poisons de toutes manieres de venins, puis pourchassa affinite et acointance avec un famillier du roy Vorcimer lequel elle corrumpy par grant finance dor quelle lui donna, et le desloyal traitre, infect de convoytyse, donna a boire a son seigneur le buvrage mortel, et sy tost que le venin fut respandu[2] parmy le corps du noble roy il senti bien quil estoit ferus a mort, sy se coucha au lit moult malade ; mais quant len sceut veritablement quen sa sante navoit nulle recouvrance, adont commencerent toutes manieres de gens a demener grant deuil et piteuses lamentations en eulx desconfortant.

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[1] *de Monseigneur Saint Germain.* C.2.

[2] *espandu.* B. C.2.

Quant le bon roy senti que la mort lapprochoit il fist apporter devant lui tout son tresor, tous ses joiaulx distribua aux eglises, et lor et largent donna egalement a ceulx qui loyalement lavoient servi ; mais les cris, pleurs et gemissemens lempeschoyent ; pour laquelle cause il commanda que chascun se tenist de faire deuil et venissent tous devant lui. Et quant ilz furent tous venus devant lui il les regarda piteusement en disant : " O vous, mes loiaux amys[1] compaignons, et vous mes " tres chiers amez confreres citoiens et bourgois, pour " lamour de Dieu nostre Seigneur, confortes vous : " quelle foursenerie ou fureur vous maine de vous " ainsy desconforter ? Vous scavez bien que ce nest pas " chose nouvelle dun homme mort recepvoir, car cest le " droit treu quil convient payer toute creature. Il faut " que nostre Seigneur face sa voulente ; morir convient " ou tempre ou tard, ce treu nest pas commencie pour " moy, maintz vaillans preudhommes ont passe ce " passage devant moy et aussy feront autres apres " moy. Pour Dieu reprenes force et vigeur en vous, " sy ostes ces pleurs et manieres femenines, et soïes " ensamble vertueulx et unis, en gardant et deffendant " la foy de nostre Seigneur et vostre pays."

Apres ce il se tourna envers les nobles combateurs quil congnoissoit estre haux, preux, hardis et courageulx en armes, et leur dist en souspirant tendrement : " O " vous, mes loiaulx chevaliers, compaignons et amis en " honneur, et vrays obeisans par bonne volente, a ceste " derreniere extremite et compaignie mamonneste vostre " haulte[2] proesse vous animer de vos ceurs eslever et " provocquier a combatre pour vostre pays citoïens et " amis contre vos ennemis, par celle meismes vertu par " laquelle soubz mon conduit et empire je les vous vey[3]

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[1] *et compaignons.* C.2.
[2] *et honncurable.* C.2.
[3] *vis.* C.2.

" detrenchier et destruire. Et sy [1] prye et requier que
" tantost que mon esprit, qui ja a adcompli presque
" tout son pelerinage humain, sera parti de son corps
" vous ordonnes un piller de pierre sur le rivage du
" port par ou les mauldis Saxons seulent[2] venir et
" arriver en cestui [3] pays de la Grant Bretaigne dont
" nagueres nous les avons villainement boutez et
" echassiez[4] qui a este chose pourfitable a tout nostre
" peuple et moult honnourable a la noblesse de Bre-
" taigne, car par ce moyen la foy crestienne chatolicque
" est restituee en ce pays, de laquelle chose veoir ay
" este et suis moult joieulx avant mon trespas, sy en
" loe et regratie mon benoyt createur et redempteur
" Jhesu Crist. Et dessus le piller devant dyt soit
" assize une ymage de keuvre creust[5] faitte et compassee
" a ma semblance, dedens laquelle sera mise la poudre
" de mon corps ars en la forme et maniere que fut
" celluy de Cesar quy premierement fist ceste isle
" tributaire a la majeste rommaine; et soyez certains
" et asseurez que se ilz reprenoient entreulx corage ou
" volente de retourner en ce pays pour guerroïer, sy
" tost quilz verront ma statue et representation ilz sen
" retourneront fuiant en leur pays paternal."

Les seigneurs barons et aultres qui la estoient oyans leur bon seigneur naturel ainsy parler en eurent grant pitie, sicques tous moult tendrement plourant lui accorderent sa demande en disant que pour la grant hardiesse qui en lui avoit este voirement ilz ne cuidoient mye que nulz des ennemis du royaulme peust regarder son ymage sans avoir paour. Apres ce que cestui bon roy eut ainssy ordonne ces choses et admoneste ses chevaliers et citoiens davoir amyste et concorde ensamble en toutes manieres, especialement en leur pays

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[1] *vous.* C.2.
[2] *souloient.* C.2.
[3] *cestuy nostre.* B.
[4] *vaillamment deboutez du royaume.* C.2.
[5] *creuse.* B. C.2.

deffendant, il rendy son ame a nostre Seigneur,[1] mais sa mort mua la volente des Bretons pour lamour quilz avoient eu a luy car ilz ne tindrent pas la[2] promesse ne ne firent ce quil avoit ordonne, ains mysrent son corps moult honnourablement en sepulture en leglise Saint Pol a Londres avec ses ancesseurs les aultres nobles roys[3] de la Grant Bretaigne depuis appellee[4] Engleterre.

Comment Vortigerius fut reslevez en la dignite royal et comment par ladmonnestement de sa femme Ronixe il remanda Englist, par lequel les Bretons furent destruis. LE CHAPITRE LII[e].

LES barons de la Grant Bretaigne apres le trespas du bon roy Vorcimer restituerent derechief la couronne royal a Vortigier comme paravant, sy se reconseilla a ses barons apres ce quil ot receus ses hommages au mieulz quil polt et leur fist grans dons et promesses ; mais sy tost que la mauvaise roine Ronixe sa femme vey toutes ces choses estre apaisies et que chascun se tenoit en paix, elle commenca de requerre continuellement au roy quil ly[5] pleusist mander son pere Englist adfin quil retournast en Bretaigne, et tant fist au roy par ses blandissemens quil lui accorda et envoya dire a Englist quil retournast hardiement en Bretaigne, mais que ce feust a privee maisnie, car sil amenoit grant ost de gens darmes jamais les barons de Bretaigne ne le[6] souffriroient prendre terre en son royaulme ne habiter

[1] *nostre sauveur Jhesu Crist.* C.2.
[2] *sa.* B. *leur.* C.2.
[3] *roiz.* B.
[4] *jusques a present Engleterre.* B. C.2.
[5] *luy.* B.
[6] *ne les.* B. *ne leur.* C.2.

entreulz. Quant Englist le tirant oy le messagier breton et sceut certainement la mort du vaillant roy Vorcimer il en fut grandement resjois ; pourquoy il assambla un moult grant ost et une moult grant navire, puis singla tant parmy la mer quil arriva en la Grant Bretaigne, avec lui trois cens mille homes armes. Laquelle chose quant elle fut denoncye au roy Vortigier et aux barons du royaulme ilz en furent grandement espoventez, sy sassamblerent a conseil sur ceste besongne, et comme la vertu des victoires du bon roy Vorcimer qui ancores estoient assez fresches et nouvelles leur donnast cuer et hardement de obvier[1] la fureur cruelle des mauldis Saxons, saccorderent tous ensamble deux combatre en deffendant leurs terres et subjetz. La roine Ronixe qui pas nestoit oyseuse ains encqueroit tousjours dilligamment au roy son mary des fais et ordonnances sur la guerre, quant elle sceut ce conseil, le fist tantost scavoir a son pere Englist, lequel quant il sceut que les barons de Bretaigne estoient ainssy concludz contre lui et ne tenoient conte du grant nombre de gens quil avoit, il fut moult pensif et plain de sollicitude, sicque lui estant en ceste perplexion sadvisa que plus convenant lui estoit user des ars saxonnicques plains de traysons dont il estoit[2] bien usite et coustumier que soy et son ost mettre en[3] perilz ou dangier de fortune, et pour ceste chose parfaire il machina pluiseurs voyes et manieres, mais de toutes icelles il eslust a son advis la plus decepvable et la plus couverte en doubte, ce fut que soubz umbre de paix et de soy soubzmettre a humilite devers les barons de Bretaigne il les trayroit et mettroit tous a destruction. Or doncques le felon traitre Englist pour son intencion mettre a effect il se parti de son ost a petite compaignie, sy sen

[1] *obvier a la.* B. C.2.
[2] *seroit.* B.
[3] *es.* B. C.2.

ala ou lieu ou [1] les barons estoient, disant a eulz quil sesmerveilloit moult comment ilz lui voloient coure sus par puissance darmes, veu que ancores ne scavoient ilz pas son intencion : "Car," dist il, "cestui mon grant ost nay " je pas amene ne adfin quil [2] demeure en ceste terre ne " quil face a nul homme ne a nul province de ce royaulme " injure ne moleste ouquel plus quen nul aultre je desire " user ma vye, sil plaisoit a vos volentez pour la " sauvegar et la laytion dicellui moy expose jusques " a la mort, mais [3] certes je cuidoye pas que le roy " Morcimer [4] feust mort, pourquoy je avoye amene cest " ost adfin de a lui pooir resister, se par adventure " il meust volu repugner,[5] mais puisque le roy Vorcimer " est mort je soubzmetz moy et mon peuple a la bonne " disposition et voulente du roy Vortigier, adfin que " ceulz quil volra eslire pour estre en son service " demeurent paysiblement, et tout le remanant sans " quelque dilation je feray retourner en Germanie, sy [6] " ainssy plaisoit au roy et a son conseil. Sy vous prye " que le roy et vous elisies un jour et lieu convenable " pour ces choses faire et adcomplir selon vostre bonne " discretion et ordonnance." Apres ceste intimation proditoire plaine de fallace pour destruire les habitans de la Grant Bretaigne, le tirant Englist sen retourna en ses nefz et les barons sen retournerent [7] devers le roy qui moult fut lies et joieux de ceste condicion de paix, car il eust este moult courouchies sil eust convenu Englist et ses payens estre deschassies et bannys hors de Bretaigne, sy ordonna que es kalendes de May lui ses barons et citoiens iroient en un certain lieu pour

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[1] *ou tous.* C.2.

[2] *cestui moult grant ost nay point amene adfin quil.* C.2.

[3] *Mais certes disoit le tyrant je ne cuidoie pas* B. *Mais certes disoit le mauvais tyrant je ne cuidoie pas.* C.2.

[4] *Norcimer.* B.

[5] *repugner en aucune maniere.* C.2.

[6] *se.* B. *si.* C.2.

[7] *sen allerent.* B. C.2.

ceste besongne mettre a fin, lequel jour fut adnuncye a Englist le desloyal traitre qui tantost lexplicqua a ses privez amys et parens, puis leur descovry la mortel trayson quil avoit machinee : "Pourquoy," dist il, "il " convient chascun de vous a celle journee mettre un " coutel agu et bien trenchant dedens ses chausses, et " quant nous serons assambles a conseil et vous mores " dire et crier par signe ceste parolle, *Nimet oure* " *axas !*[1] et a ceste parolle prinst le roy Vortigier par " la robe, et se ainsy le faites gardes que chascun " de vous soit prest a tuer cellui qui devant lui " sera sans quelque contredit de personne, vous estes " et demourrez seigneurs de ceste terre." Laquelle chose moult liberalement ilz lui promisrent de faire tout pareillement que devize leur avoyt. En ceste fainte dissimulation vint au jour establi et assigne par le maleureux roy Vortigier, le faulx traytre et[2] tirant Englist ou le roy adcompaignie de ses barons estoit ja venus, ou il latendoit, sy entra ou parlement, puis apres la salutation faitte soubz ombre damistie couverte Englist sassist dempres le roy et les barons empres ceulx de Bretaigne, chascun selon son degre, et puis Englist repeta sa requeste en la presence du roy et son conseil selon la forme et maniere quil avoit premierement mise en terme aux barons de Bretaigne, comme oy avez cy-dessus, a quoy les barons entendoient dilligamment sans[3] aultre chose regarder, et quant il eut sa parolle finee, les Bretons le voloient replicquer sans mal engien penser ; mais le felon païen voyant quil avoit temps et heure convenable pour parfurnir sa trayteuse et desloyalle emprynse bailla le seigne devant dit a ses gens, disant a haulte voix,

[1] *oure saxas ! gardez que chascun de vous soit prest a tuer cellui quy devant luy sera, et se ainsi le faites sans quelque contredit de personne, vous estes et demourez.* B. C.2.

[2] *et inhumain.* C.2.

[3] *sans a.* B.

"*Nimet oure saxas !*" et a celles parolles prinst le roy Vortigier par la robe, quil ne se meist a deffendre, et ses gens oyant leur signe tirerent les couteaulx et commencerent a ferir et tuer les princes Bretons qui de ceste morteile trayson ne se doubtoient en riens, sicque en peu dheure ilz en occyrent quattre cens[1] et soixante sans grant force, car les Bretons nestoient pas armes. Toutes fois ne morurent pas tous les Bretons sans cop ferir, car assez en y ot qui eulx estans tous navrez tollirent aux Saxons leurs couteaulx et firent deux grant occysion. Aulcuns en y ot aussy qui de pierres et de bastons craventerent grant plente de traytres. Entre les barons de la Grant Bretaigne estoit Eldol, le noble conte de Clocestre, a qui fortune donna un levier de boiz grant, fort et pesant, lequel vaillant conte quant il tint le levier en ses deux mains, il commenca de fraper a destre et a senestre, devant, deriere et a tous costez comme cellui qui estoit grant, fort, hardy et courageux, sy occyoit tant impetueuzement celle gent sarasine quil sambloit homme foursene car il en occyst en bien peu despace soixante de sa seulle main et nataindoit homme quil ne tuast ou rompist teste, bracz, rains ou jambes ; pourquoy ils fuioient devant lui comme tempeste. Laquelle chose faisoit grant joye aux Bretons et grans freur[2] aux mauldis Saxons. Mais quant le bon et vaillant chevalier vey que rien ne lui valoit sa proesse, il sen retourna[3] devers le lieu ou il avoit son cheval laissie quant il vint a ce piteux parlement, mais ce fut apres ce quil en avoit[4] bien soixante occys six vingt et sept[5] affolez a tousjours, sy monta francement sur le cheval et se parti de la place maulgre les traitres païens ; et sachies veritablement que oncques

[1] *quatre cens.* B. C.2.
[2] *frayeur.* C.2.
[3] *sen tourna.* B. C.2.
[4] *en eut.* B. C.2.
[5] *six vingtz et ung.* C.2.

Breton sans armures ne fist si grant proesse comme fist ce noble conte Eldol de Clocestre, dont il est digne de grant recommendation ; pourquoy les aultres chevaliers de Bretaigne voyant ce vaillant homme user de si grant hardement entre les ennemys reprindrent force et viguer a lexemple de lui et se mirent a grant deffence, mais rien ne leur valut, car les Saxons estoient plus de cent contre un, armez et garnis couvertement, et les Bretons estoient despourveus de toutes armures deffensables. Par ceste trayteuse[1] maniere furent morz, detrenchiez et occys les nobles chevaliers Bretons qui la estoient venus a tiltre de bien et au commandement du maleureux roy Vortigier.

Apres ce que les Saxons orent ainsy ouvre vers[2] les Bretons qui la estoient et occys la pluspart deux exepte que aulcuns qui porent senfuirent, ilz vindrent devers Englist leur seigneur qui tenoit le roy Vortigier par my le geron et de fait le vouloit[3] tuer, de laquelle chose Englist le preserva, mais bien souffri quil feust lye estroitement comme un laron criminel.

" O tres desloyal traytre ! puisque ta foy ou ta loy " ne nulle religion ne tont peu avec ton serment ou " promesse moliffier ne contraindre[4] entretenir ce que " tu avoies promys, et que toutes choses faintes feussent " ou soyent par toy, au moins te deussent avoir esmeu les " grans honneurs et benefices que tavoit fait le roy Vor- " tigier ad ce quil nest[5] pas este sy honteusement menez " ne en sa royale personne sy injurieusement traities. " Que doit on dire de ta fille Ronixe que Vortigier avoit[6] " amee et honnouree ? Or me di quel bien il ly en est " venu ?[7] Premierement il en fut depose de sa majeste " royal ; secondement il en a perdu ses deux enffans

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[1] *trahiteuse.* B.
[2] *envers.* B. C.2.
[3] *vouloient.* B. C.2.
[4] *ne contraindre a entretenir.* C.2.
[5] *neust.* B. C.2.
[6] *avoit tant amee.* B. C.2.
[7] *advenu.* B. *Or dis que il lui en est advenu* C.2.

" gentils et vaillans,[1] cest a scavoir le noble Vorcimer
" et aussy le noble Kartigern,[2] lesquelz deux cheva-
" liers estoient plains de grant hardiesse, et lui meismes
" est maintenant vilipendyeusement tenus en liens de
" fer comme murdrier ou larron."

Lacteur dist quil nest pas chose pourfitable[3] de bien faire aux maulvais, et[4] la parverse pensee des maulvais ne se recorde jamais du bien que on luy a fait, ne sy ne doubte pas non estre memorable du benefice quelle a receu daultrui; et oultre dist que un traytre de sa nature se delite a rendre mal pour bien, venin en lieu de miel, paine en lieu de fruit, ou de merite, barat, sedition, tricerie et cruaulte en lieu de pitie ou misericorde. Tout ce dist lacteur pour Englist, qui ainssy en fist au roy Vortigier pour la remuneration des haultes honneurs[5] que fays lui avoit. Cestui acteur parle moult de cest Englist et de sa fille en mal et les point durement par parolles qui trop seroient longues a raconter, et puis retourne au roy Vortigier disant en telle maniere parlant a sa personne: " O tres inscipient
" aveugle et non sachant roy Vortigier, qui par les
" blandissemens venineux[6] de ta femme tes haste den-
" voyer querre ton morteil ennemy, regarde la grant
" desconfiture de ton pays, regarde les deplourables
" gemissemens de ton peuple, regarde la grant desolation
" de tes citoyens, regarde la grant effusion de sang que
" les Saxons font; voyant tes yeux des nobles et non
" nobles de ta terre, advise et considere que par toy et
" ta coulpe le service de Dieu et toute sa loy deffaillent
" en ton royaulme. A mal heure fus nez! quelle
" merveille! tu entras frauleusement ou royaulme, sy
" est bien raison que tu en ayes ton payement et en

[1] *vaillans chevaliers* B. C.2.
[2] *le proecheuz Kartigern.* B. *le preux Carthigern.* C.2.
[3] *proufitable aux mauvais faire nul bien, car la.* C.2.
[4] *car.* B. C.2.
[5] *honneurs et benefices innumerables.* B. C.2.
[6] *venimeux de ta inhumaine femme,* C.2.

" recoipves sauldees selon ta deserte, et en soyes exillies " et mys hors par celle meismes voye par laquelle tu " y entras."

Quant doncques le roy Vortigier se vey ainsy atrape et que Englist souffroit que ses Saxons ladmonestoient par reproces injurieuses et parolles vilaines, il dist :[1] " Helas ! se jeusse creu mes loyaux amys que " je voy huy mors par mon pechie je ne feusse pas " ainssy demene ; mais fol ne croit jusques ad ce quil " prent[2] et ainsy men est il advenu." Comme le maleureux Vortigier se dementoit les maulvais Saxons quy pas nentendoyent son langage lui commencerent a lui inferer morteles manaches, disant quilz mettroient son corps par pieches se pour la raenchon de sa vye il ne leur delivroit toutes citez, villes, chasteaulx et[3] forteresses. Pourquoy il se voyant en si grant danger de la payenne gent Saxonnicque leur ottroya tout ce quilz lui demanderent en lui saulvant la vie, et leur fist foy et serment. Puis le deslyerent et lui donnerent congie daler partout a sa voulente. Ce fait, sen alerent les Saxons tous ensamble vers la cyte de Londres laquelle ilz prindrent assez legierement, car ilz estoient bien quattre cens mille.[4] Et tous ceulx de la Grant Bretaigne estoient sy desolez quilz navoient voulente ne pooir deux deffendre. Puis prindrent la cite d'Euroic, celle de Lincolnie et celle de Guitonie en mettant tout a mort par glaive, quancques ilz trouvoient du peuple crestien et les faisoient morir par divers et intollerables tourmens ou martires cruelz, et estoit leur tirannye tant horrible quilz nespargnoient eglises ne moustiers ne crestien quelconcques, laquelle persecution les tirans loupz enragies Saxons concquirent[5] grant espace parmy toutes

[1] *il commenca a dire.* C.2.
[2] *pert.* C.2.
[3] *et pareillement toutes forteresses.* C.2.
[4] *quattre mille.* C.2.
[5] *concquirent.* A. *continuerent long espace.* B. C.2.

les villes, cites et chasteaulx ou ilz entrerent, et tant firent quilz orent la domination de tout le pays de Bretaigne et en furent seigneurs.

Quant le roy Vortigier vey la grant calamyte et nephan de destruction que les Saxons obstines faisoient de son peuple il senfuy en Galles pour eschiever leur fureur et cruaulte, comme vous orez cy apres en poursievant ceste nostre presente matere.

Comment le roi Vortigier prinst conseil a ses devineurs de sa miserable vye et de la tour quilz luy conseillerent a ediffyer pour soy saulver. Le Chapitre LIIIe.

Quant doncques Vortigier vey la grant mortalite que les Bretons enduroient par les mauldis Saxons et tant de corps humains gisans mors par les villes et parmy le plat pays sans sepulture lesquelz mengoient les chiens, les loux et aultres bestes saulvages, lui non seur de sa personne senfuy, comme exillie de son pays, en Cambrie Sytost quil fut la venus il manda[1] les devineurs, augures et ingromanciens et tous ceulx quil polt scavoir qui sentremetoyent de lart de magicque, comme cellui qui estoit tout infect de la payenne erreur, car Englist et sa fille len avoient bien introduit ; mais vous devez scavoir que en ce temps que les Saxons persecutoient les Bretons ainssy comme dist est, il ne demourra nul[2] en lisle de la Grant Bretaigne depuis le fleuve du Hombre en cha que ne feussent tous[3] mys a mort, fors ceulx qui eschapperent par fuite, et ceulx de Galles et de Cornevaille qui vaillamment se deffendirent et garderent leur terre contre les Saxons. De ces Saxons

[1] *manda tous.* B. C.2.
[2] *nullui.* C.2.
[3] *que tous ne fussent.* B.

sont descendus les Anglois qui ancores saydent volentiers de sorceries[1] et des arts magicques, et ce nest pas grant merveille silz scentent[2] la nature de leurs ancestres qui concquesterent lisle de la Grant Bretaigne par la trayteuse maniere devant ditte, et nous meysmes avons veues[3] leurs traysons et veons journelement,[4] car oncques ne tindrent loyaute ne verite ne chose quilz eussent promis ne ne feront jamais.[5]

Or revenons a nostre[6] propos en parlant de la gent superstitieuse qui vindrent devant ce tres maulvais catholicque Vortigier ausquelz il dist et expliqua la cause pourquoy il les avoit mandez, cest a scavoir quilz lui voulsissent donner conseil comment il poroit user sceurement le demourant de sa vye, veu et considere quil vivoit en grant peril de sa personne en grant paour et calamite. Ces magitiens oyant la voulente du roy demanderent delay de respondre pour ainchoys faire leurs invocations diabolicques, puis au jour que prins avoient ilz retournerent devers luy, disant quilz avoyent trouve en leurs devinailles[7] que a luy estoit expedient pour la tuison et sceurete de sa personne que il feist faire en aulcun lieu convenable une forte tour pour soy retraire, et que cestoit le meilleur conseil ou remede quilz luy sceussent donner.

O meschant Vortigier![8] regarde quelle devinaille et combien elle est digne de louier, car autant ten eust dit un pastour ou un bosquillon du boiz. Et ancores luy disoyent ces magitiens telles paroles: "Puisque " tu es exillies de ton pays et desnuez de tes cites, " villes, chasteaulx, et forteresses, il te convient avoir " en quelque[9] lieu sceur retrait pour ton refuge."

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[1] *depuis un tempz.* C.2.

[2] *et ce nest pas trop grant merveille silz scentirent.* C.2.

[3] *leu.* C.2.

[4] *et aincores voyons souvent par escript.* C.2.

[5] *promis tant que furent baptisies.* C.2.

[6] *nostre prumier.* C.2.

[7] *devinemens.* C.2.

[8] *O tres meschant roy Vortigier.* C.2.

[9] *en aucun.* C.2.

Lors Vortigier qui bien cuidoit estre conseillez fist tantost cerchier parmy le pays de Galles adfin de trouver un lieu fort et ydonne sur une montaigne bien propice a celle tour ediffier, puis fist faire grant pourvision de pierres, de chiment, de piement et aultres choses necessaires a son œuvre. Sy manda tous les machons et pionniers quil polt trouver ou dont il pot finer ; mais une grant merveille advint de cest ouvrage, car tout ce que les ouvriers faisoient par jour, la terre engloutissoit par nuit [1] ensieuvant, sicque la trache ne quelconcques apparition de leuvre encommencie ne demouroit, ne ne scavoient les maistres [2] que devenoyt leur matiere. Ceste merveille fut comptee au maleureux Vortigier, lequel manda derechief ses [3] sorciers pour avoir leur conseil sur ceste chose et ilz lui respondirent que sa tour ne les fondemens dicelle ne poroient jamais estre fermes sil navoit un enffant ne sans pere duquel il prenderoit le sang pour arouzer le chiment, et par ainssy la tour seroit fermement fondee. Adont le roy, qui mout desira que sa tour feust parfaite, adjousta foy aux parolles des magitiens, sy envoya pluiseurs messagiers en divers provinces a scavoir sils poroient trouver nul [4] tel enffant. Sy tracerent en maintes terres et pays, mais il advint que aulcuns de ces messages vindrent a une cyte qui estoit assez pres de Kaercordy et devant la porte dicelle il vey [5] daventure un tas de petis enffans jeunes qui se juoient a la pelote, sy sarresterent illec daventure ces messages qui traveillies estoient de cheminer et en regardant lesbatement encqueroient aux gens quilz [6] la estoient nouvelles de ce quilz volloient trouver, et entandis [7] quilz se devisoient rihote sesmeut entre deux de ces jovenceaux dont lun avoit non Dinabuch et

[1] *tout la nuit.* B. *tout par nuit.* C.2.
[2] *massons.* C.2.
[3] *ses mauldis sorciers,* C.2.
[4] *aucun.* C.2.
[5] *il vit.* C.2.
[6] *qui.* B. C.2.
[7] *Mais tandis,* C.2,

laultre Merlin Ambroise. Et ainssy quilz se combatoient ensemble, Dinabuch, qui estoit fier et orguilleux, dist a Merlin:[1] "Va fol quy te fait a moy estriver ou " tenchier, quant entre toy et moy na nulle comparoyson " de noblesse, destat ou de lingnage, car je suis ne " de royal lingnie tant de par pere comme de par mere, " mais il nest nul qui sache qui tu es, comme tu " navoyes[2] point de pere." Quant les messages de Vortigier entendirent celle parolle, ilz se tournerent vers Merlin en le regardant songneusement, puis encquirent a ceulx de la cyte qui estoit cestui jeune filz. A quoy ilz respondirent que lon ne scavoit pas le pere qui lavoit engendre, mais sa mere congnoissoit on bien, car elle estoit fille du roy de Demecie et elle meismes estoit rendue nonnain sacree au monnastere de monseigneur Saint Pierre de ceste cyte.

Comment les messages du roy Vortigier emmenerent Merlin quon disoit lenfant[3] *sans pere, et des choses quil dist au roy Vortigier, au grant reproce de ses devinneurs de lestablete des fondemens de sa tour.* LE CHAPITRE LIV^e^.

CES choses oyes comme il est dessus touchye, les dis messages senalerent au prevost de la ville en luy pryant quil envoyast Merlin et sa mere au roy Vortigier leur seigneur, laquelle chose le prevost leur accorda voulentiers quant il sceut la cause de leur legation, et leur delivra Merlin avec sa mere, lesquelz les menerent devant le roy Vortigier qui les recheupt honnourablement car il congnoissoit la dame et scavoit bien quelle estoit fille de roy, sy parla a elle a part et le[4] conjura

[1] *Merlin en la regardant moult forment et fierement.* C.2.
[2] *tu naies.* B. C.2.
[3] *lenfant Merlin quon disoit sans pere et disoit plusieurs choses a advenir et des choses quil.* C.2.
[4] *la.* C.2.

par la loi de Dieu et par son ordre ou religion quelle luy deyst de qui elle avoit eu cest enfant. A quoy elle respondy : " Sire, mon ame vyt par la grace de " nostre Seigneur et sy fait la vostre, mais par la " vertu dicellui meismes Dieu oncque ne congneulz " homme qui en moi layt engendre excepte que je " vous diray une chose que je scay certainement, cest " a scavoir quant jou estoye[1] en noz chambres de- " mourant avec mes campaignes il me apparoit souvent " un esperit en espece dun[2] jovenceau, lequel souventes " foiz me basoit et membrachoit,[3] puis apres ce quil " avoit este une espace avec moy, soubdainement il ses- " vanuissoit en telle maniere que riens ne demouroit " de lui, et aulcunes fois seul a seul il me interrogoit, " et quant en ceste fourme il meut longuement fre- " quente finablement il en la samblance dun[4] jeune " home corumpy ma virginite et eult par plusieurs fois " ma compaignie tant que je conchus et enfantay cest " enfant que vous vees icy present. Et sachies, sire, " par la foy que je vous ay juree ne par mon veu que " oncques aultrement ne fuch[5] corumpue ne nul aultre " neult sa carnalite adcomplie a moy."[6] Le roy apres ce quil ot oy la dame ainssy parler pensa un peu, sy sesmerveilla grandement comment il porroit estre ainssy que la dame disoit, sicque pour scavoir certainement se cestoit chose possible il envoya querir un philosophe de grant renon qui Magentius[7] estoit appelles ; et quant il fut venus le roy lui conta tout le fait par ordre mot a mot, puis respondy le philosophe au roy que bien estoit possible de cest enfant avoir este concheu par la maniere dessus ditte, car, dist il, nous lisons en plusieurs et diverses histoyres pluiseurs

[1] *jestoye.* C.2.
[2] *en espece dun.* B. *en fourme dun.* C.2.
[3] *membrassoit et amoureusement me baisoit.* C.2.
[4] *dun moult beau jeune homme.* C.2.
[5] *je ne fus.* C.2. *ne fui.* B.
[6] *ne nul aultre neult sa carnalite adcomplie en moy.* B. C.2.
[7] *Magentius.* B. *Nagentius.* A.

telez hommes estre concheuz en cestre propre maniere,[1] car, dist il, Apuleyus en son livre intitule Des Natures[2] ou Secret des Dieux raconte que entre[3] la lune et la terre habitent certains esperits que nous appellons incubes ou deables, lesquelz participent la nature humaine et angelicque, et quant il leur plaist ilz se transfygurent bien en corps humains visibles, par lequel moyen ilz peuent habitter a femmes, et peult estre que un de ceulx la sest apparus a ceste dame et lui a engendre cest enfant. Toutes ces parolles oy bien Merlin par divin esperit ja soit ce quil ne feust pas present, sy senala lors devant le roy et lui dist haultement: "Di moi, Vortigier, pourquoy as-tu fait amener "ma mere et moy de nostre pays devant toy?" A quoy le roy lui respondy: "Mes sortisseurs ont dit "pour vray que ma tour que je veul avoir faitte ne "peult estre fondee se je nay du sang dun enfant[4] sans "pere pour en arouser les fondations." Et Merlin respondy: "Fay venir tes sorchiers devant moy." Le roy Vortigier doncques qui bien percheut a la parolle de Merlin quil estoit constant, sage et corageux, dont moult sesmerveilla en son ceur, commanda que prestement on feyst venir les magitiens devant luy, lesquelz quant ilz furent venus il fist asseoir devant Merlin. Mais sytost quilz furent assys Merlin les myst a raison en eulx demandant ou disant: "O vous meschans "ygnorans decepveurs des hommes superstitieux, et "enchanteurs des simples gens, dites-moy quelle chose "empesche les fondemens de la tour encommencye par "le commandement du roy estre non fermes ou estables; dites-moy quelle raison vous meult davoir loe "au roy quil face arouzer le chiment dicelle par leffusion de mon sang, et que se ainssy estoit fait "louvrage de la tour demourroit lors ferme et estable,

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[1] *en cestre propre facon et maniere.*

[2] *du secret et nature.* B. *ou nature.* C.2.

[3] *que entre le spere de.* B. C.2.

[4] *dun enfant que soit ne sans pere.* C.2.

" ainssy comme se vous voulsies[1] dire que mon sang " eust en luy ceste vertueuse establete ou fermete et que " tout tenyst en la propriete ou[2] vertu de mon sang " tant seulement. Mais vous fantasticques demoniacques " dites quest ce quil[3] se muche desoubz ces fondemens " qui ne seuffre iceulx soustenir ou[4] estre fermes ?"

Quant les magitiens oyrent Merlin ainssy parler ilz devinrent tous paoureux et esbahys, sy ne sceurent que respondre. Pourquoy Merlin les voyant ainssy desbaretez se tourna verz le roy sy lui dist :[5] " Faites " fouir par vos pionniers la terre desoubz les fon- " demens, et sans doubte ilz y trouveront un[6] lacq " deaue qui est la cause pourquoy les fondemens de la " tour ne se peuent fermer." Laquelle chose le roy commanda tantost estre faitte, sy fut trouve lestang ou lacq ainssy comme Merlin lavoit dit, qui causoit toute linstabilite de la tour. Pour laquelle chose le roy et les assistens loerent grandement la prudence de lenfant Merlin, lequel quant il vey le roy estre ensement resjoy se tourna vers les ingromantiens et leur dist : " O vous, seducteurs diabolicques plains " de parnicyeux venins desulation[7] or me dittes quelle " chose a il desoubz cestui lacq ?" mais les trompeurs ne respondirent pas a son interrogation, ains se teurent sans dire mot et se tindrent en silence tous espoventez. Et Merlin dist au roy : " Sire, faites espuisier " leaue de cestuy lacq tant par instrumens comme par " petis conduis ou ruisseaulz, et vous trouverez au " fons deux pierres cavees dedens esquelles il a deux " dragons dormans." Vortigier qui creoit la parolle Merlin comme divine fist espuisier le lacq par son commandement, sy furent illec trouvees les deux roches

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[1] *volsissies.* B. *voulsissies.* C.2.
[2] *et.* B. C.2.
[3] *quy se.* B. C.2.
[4] *ne.* C.2.
[5] *lui dist : " Sire, faites."* B. C.2.
[6] *un grant.* B. C.2.
[7] *desulation.* MSS. ; for *dadulation.*

ou estoient les[1] dragons, et lors le roy et tous les assistens qui ce veyrent en leur presence sesmerveillerent moult de la grant science ou devinaille de lenfant Merlin, et disoient lun a laultre : " Certainement il est " prophete[2] divin et a en lui nature angelicque, car " bien nous apert par ses euvres."

Comment maistre Gauffroy Monemutensis, qui cestui livre compila de langue Brete en Latin, sexcusa sur la translascion des propheties Merlin Ambroise, disant en ceste maniere. LE CHAPITRE LV[e].

ANCORES navoie je pas trait a fin mon labour que javoye entreprins de faire, cest a scavoir de translater les istoires britoniques de langage breton en latin jusques a la fin du roy Vortigier, quant la publication et rumeurs des propheties merlines sespandit en esveillant les pensees des escripveurs qui en cellui temps furent concuranz avec moy, qui fut la cause qui me[3] constraingny et mesment levesque de Lincole, homme tres religieux, de haulte et souveraine prudence, lequel sans doubte navoit point de per en debonnairete, benignite, largesse et mysericorde, pourquoy je me soubmis a son service en prenant la charge quy tant poyse, ce sont les propheties Merlin trancripre de breton en latin, lesquelles myses en fourme de buec tote[4] je tramys[5] au dyt evesque une lettre protestatoire en moy excusant du pesant fardel.

Cy apres sensieult la teneur de la lettre envoyee :

Alexandre evesque, lamour de ta vertueuse noblesse me constraint de translater les merlines propheties de langaige breton en latin, et sache ta sainte discretion que javoye propose en ma pensee anchoys que je obeysse a tes commandemens de parfaire et mettre a fin les

[1] *les deux dragons.* C.2.
[2] *un prophete.* B. C.2.
[3] *avec moy en la cause qui me,* C.2.
[4] *buee torte.* B. C.2.
[5] *je transmys.* C.2.

hystoires des roys de la Grant Bretaigne se la divine puissance le meust consenty, ains que jeusse riens explicquie des propheties haultes et plaines de sentences doubteuses, et puis en la fin selon la foiblesse de mon petit engyn jeusse subjoint la forme de la sentence Merlin en ses propheties selon lordre dicelles au moins mal que jeusse peu. Toutesfois je vollant obtemperer a ta voulente et plaisir jay la chambre de mon entendement deliberee ad ce que la subtilite de mon esperit ne souffit porter par metre[1] latine et plebeyenne[2] modulation pourquoy jay interprete la chose a toy ygnorante par sermon bien[3] ordonne, mais maintenant oultre mesure mesmerveille de ce que tant haulte matere as daignie commettre a ton petit povre serf[4] que je suis comme soubz la verge de ta juridiction tu aies tant de notables clers plus souffisans de moy imbutz de divines sciences ou doctrines et historiaux disciplines trop plus rices et esleves en scientifficales meditations et poeticques[5] fictions coulourees darmonye tulyenne par ditiers melodieux mesurez par rieulle[6] consonante qui te existeroient ta science a solas, plaisance et delectation, comme tu soyes cellui seul sans vergongne lose je bien dire qui entre tous les phylosophes de la Grant Bretaigne touchies[7] de plus noble couleur ou instrument les doux chants des vers retoricques se ce ne feust la haulte honneur de ta dignite pontificale qui te semont et induist a faire plus grans negoges.[8] Puis doncques quil te playst que Gauffroy Monemutensis sonne la fluite[9] aux divinailles merlines, plaise toy donner faveur a ses modulations, et se aulcune notte, inaournement ou par vice y est proferee,[10] ramaine la par la ferule de tes muses en sa droiture.

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[1] *metre.* B. *mettre.* A. C.2.
[2] *phebeyrune.* A. *phebeyenne.* B. *phebayonne.* C.2.
[3] *mal.* B. C.2.
[4] *serviteur.* C.2.
[5] *poeticques.* B. C.2. *preticques.* A.
[6] *riaulle.* B. *rigle.* C.2.
[7] *touches.* B. C.2.
[8] *negoces.* B. C.2.
[9] *le fleuste.* C.2.
[10] *proferee.* B. C.2. *profercree.* A.

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Le translateur :

Quelle merveille moy imbecille et obscurcy en lobfuscation de ma char qui mes sens lye et conculque par sa prison et hebete la rudesse de mon paresseux et povre engyn comme[1] je deusse pretendre a protester moult legitismes excusations quant cestui tres hault latinier de quy lentendement reluist par les couleurs darmonibles consonances et par parolles dorees de resplendisseur tulienne les pretent la ou sa excellente retoricque[2] fait mon sens ainssy comme le ray sollaire retrogarder et couvrir de ses paupieres par ambigue extasye voire certes et les suspensivez sentences de la construction, et especialement en ces propheties ou Merlin par poeticque fiction et soubz couverture methaphorienne donne son intencion qui a mon entendement invisible par lopacite corporelle sont inconceptibles, car elles excedent sa capacyte et doncques par plus forte raison a moy tres difficyle doit estre de les en propre franssoiz exposer comme faconde et aperte eloquence ad ce necessaire soient de mon sens absentes et privees, mais ce neantmoins que la rudesse de mon natif langage bourbonnois[3] souffira au Dieu plaisir par faire a son povoir ensievra la sentence de lacteur en la declarant la ou sa sentence est obscure, plus amplement que ses dits ne se suffisent entendre[4] et mesmement en ces propheties ou les sentences dune methaforicque et fallacieuse couverture jouste la delactation de la faculte de mon petit engyn je exposeray icelles en franssois legier, et entendibles par exposition clere et evidente, pourquoy je prye a ceulx qui ce present livre liront que silz y treuvent aulcune chose mauvaisement ditte ou mal sonnant quilz le me veullent pardonner et le bien dit ilz veullent a Dieu tribuer.

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[1] *comment.* B. C.2.

[2] *ou la subtilite de sa excellente rhetoricque.* C.2.

[3] *bonnement souffrira.* C.2. *Bourbonnois souffira.* B.

[4] *estendre.* B. C.2.

Cy apres parle des propheties Merlin quil denoncha au roy Vortigier, et parle premierement de la signiffiance des deux dragons qui issyrent des pierres du lacq expuissie comme dist est cy-dessus. LE CHAPITRE LVI^e.

COMME doncques le roy Vortigier feust assis sur la rive de lestang pour veoir les merveilles des deux dragons qui apparoient dedens leurs cavernes rouscheuses, lesquelz incontinent quilz sentirent lair issirent hors, dont lun estoit rouge et lautre blancq, mais sy tost comme ilz sentrevirent[1] ilz coururent sus lun a lautre moult aigrement en jectant feu et flambe parmy la bouce et cryoient horriblement. Mais le blanc dragon fut le plus fort au commencement, car il en fist fuir le rouge et le chassa jusques a la rive de lestang, et apres le rouge dragon se fut un peu repose il se ravisa et retourna horriblement contre le blancq dragon, sy recommenca lors la bataille entreulz plus forte que devant, et en peu dheure le rouge vaincquy le blancq et le chassa jusques en la fin du lacq, et demoura le champ au rouge dragon paisiblement.

Le roy Vortigier qui de ceste merveille estoit durement esbahye prya a Merlin quil luy exposast la signyfiance des dragons et de leur bataille. Adont Merlin en larmoyant des yeulx de sa teste sesleva en esprit de prophetie, disant: " Vee cestui rouge dragon! " Sa fin approche et son extermination, car ses cavernes " seront occupees par cellui mauldit blancq dragon, qui " signefye le peuple Saxonnicque par toy invite et ap- " pelle de Germanie, entens-tu, roi Vortigier! Et cestui " rouge dragon signifye la gent britonicque laquelle " sera usurpee du blanc dragon saxonnicque, et lors " ses[2] valees seront faittes egalles aux montaignes, et " les eaues qui parmy les rivieres courent rougiront

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[1] *ils se sentirent et veirent.* C.2. | [2] *les.* C.2.

" par flux de sang quy en istera, et les cultemens [1] de " la religion crestienne seront effacies et la ruyne des " eglises ou [2] se fait le divin office sera magnifestee; " mais finablement le rouge dragon,"—cest la gent Britonicque opprimee des Saxons, " se redreschera tres " vigoureusement pour resister a leur tyrannye, car le " seingler de Cornubie leur donra secours "— cestui saingler fut le roy Artus,—" et desfoulera leurs colz " a ses piedz, et seront submys a sa puissance les isles " Occeanes et possidera les saulz neis; la maison de " Romulus le doubtera, et sera son issue de ce morteil " monde doubteuze; sa loenge et sa glore sera celebree " et diwlgue par tous les peuples jusques en la fin " du monde."

Iay dit cy-devant que Merlin dist au commencement de ceste prophetie, " vee ! " or est il a scavoir que ceste vocalle " vee ! " a maulvais signifficat, car il signiffye mal adventure, male mescheance, malediction, equivocquement, et toutes ces maleychons [3] et males adventures estoient a advenir aux Bretons par la prophetie de ce seul nom " vee ! "

" A la royaulte de cestui noble dragon rouge succ- " cederont six hommes qui isteront de sa lingnie, mais " aprez se levera le ver et dragon germanicque lequel " sera mys sus par le loup maritain "—celluy loup fut le roy dAuffricque qui fut lors conferez [4] avec les Saxons et firent leur aliance—" es boiz dAuffricque. Et " adont derechief sera efface la sainte religion, et la " transmutation des premiers sieges sera; la dignite de " Londres laquelle ordonnera la cite Urclernie [5] et le " pastour de Hebroic sera frequente du royaulme " armoricque, et meneue [6] sera la paille noblesse de Le- " gionne." Ces propheties furent adcomplies ou temps du roy Katherith [7] qui sema la guerre civile comme listoire

[1] *cultivemens.* B. C.2.
[2] *ou maintenant se fait le divin service.* C.2.
[3] *maudissons.* C.2.
[4] *confrere.* C.2.
[5] *la cite Viclerme.* C.2.
[6] *meue.* C.2.
[7] *Cartherith.* C.2.

declarra cy-apres. "Et lors,[1] le prescheur de Hybernye " sera fait muet a cause du petit enfant qui croistera ou " ventre." Ce fut au temps Saint Augustin[2] ou les pastres bretons ne luy volrent obeyr pour preschier la foy de Jhesu Crist aux hommes Saxons, a cause de la hayne qui estoit et toudis croissoit en leurs ceurs pour la douler du natif pays dont ilz estoient exillies. Hee! disoient-ilz sera par nous espandue la semence de la divine parolle a la salvation de nos mortelz ennemys, adfin de les rendre possesseurs de nostre paternal pays voire et glorieux par merites envers Dieu? Certes nennil! ains se fortune nous volloit administrer son ayde, les mettrions a leur fin par tourmens intollerables. " Et adont pluies sanguines descendront du chiel et en " telle faim tourmentera les mortelz." Ceste prophetie fut veriffye en la dejection et depulsion de lisle de Bretaigne de Cadvale, qui rengnoit oultre le fleuve du Hombre, par le roy de Northumbellande auquel il avoit denies les loix et confederations paternales et mesmement icelles faveurs es quelles ilz avoient tousjours ensamble parsevere en leur jeune eage. " Mais lorsque " ces merveilles venderoient[3] le dragon rouge"—cest Cadvale Briant et les aultres Bretons chassies de leur pays—" se complaindra de sa doleur, et reprinse vertu et " hardement il florira par force darmes, et linfortune " du blancq dragon sy se hastera, et les ediffices de ses " mors seront rompus, et sept sceptres royaulz seront " lors acraventez, et un diceulx sera saintiffyie." Ceste infortunite du dragon blancq germain quy sera moult noble de victoire digne de triumphe comme ilz occupent et usurpent en ce temps toute la monarchie[4] de lisle et entreulz sera divisee et devolue la domination en sept royaulmes, car adont y aura sept petis

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[1] *lors.* B. C.2. *Lotis.* A.

[2] *Ce fut au temps Saint Augustin.* B. C.2. *Ce fut Augustin.* A.

[3] *vendroient.* B. *viendroient.* C.2.

[4] *la monarchie.* C.2. *la Normantie.* A. B.

roys, lesquelz seront tous evocquies a la lumiere de la verite chatolicque par la predication et benefice du glorieux docteur monseigneur Saint Augustin ; et en ceste dollereuse destruction laquelle fera chassier deux et de leurs ediffices moiennant layde par soy amenee des freres Armoritiens sera lun deulx ou dyceulx roys, appelle Ozimath, saintiffye par sa foy et religion beneuree, et adont sera loccysion et les plourables lamentations pitoyable chose a oyr. Et ce manifeste assez Merlin au texte qui sensieult, ou il dist : " Et " les ventres diceulx seront detrenchies et les enffans " es ventres de leurs meres amortis ; et se sieult cestuy " noble tourment des hommes adfin que les indignes [1] " soient restituez, et quil fera cestes choses certes le " veillart qui sera sur le cheval [2] dairain, et gardera les " portes de Londres ; et adont retournera le rouge " dragon en sa propre vertu et traveillera de ataindre " ses dignitez." Cestui tourment des Saxons appelle Merlin notable pour ce que par lui seront les Bretons propres citoiens et transfuges par povrete en lieux tenebreux et latens restituez a leur propre heritage par force darmes et par la proesse du roy Cadvale et aussy par layde des Bretons Armoritiens, lequel roy aprez sa mort sera eslevez en une statue de cuivre dessus un cheval dairain sy comme il apperra cy en arriere en listoire. Puis sensieult au texte : " Et lors sur le dragon rouge a cause " de ses iniquitez la tonnante ultion et vengence du " Createur cherra, qui tous les champs et les cultiveurs " diceulx destruira et a martire doulereux les soub- " metra, et grande mortalite sourprendra le peuple, " wydera dhommes toutes les nations, et le demourant " diceulx delaisseront le siege naturel et semeront les " extremites daulcuns grains de la cultiveure de la " terre. Et le roy benoit se preparra la navire et sera

[1] *indigenes.* B. *indigens.* C.2. | [2] *qui sera sur ung cheval.* C.2.

" anombrez a la salle glorieuse." Cest a dire que apres que la proesse des Bretons aura recouvre leur siege naturel et leur terre et que le glorieux benefice de paix aura chassie toutes guerres foraines, les Bretons myserables, plains dingratitude par laffluence des delicez mortelles et de longues prosperitez cherront derechief en voluptuositez et vices detestables, noncongnoissans soy estre restituez en leur paternal pays par le benefice de la puissance divine, et pour ce la vengance de nostre Seigneur vendra sur eulz en tant quil leur convendra relenquier leur pays desert dabitans, et eulz avec leur roy Caduvaladreth beneure par ses meritez, plain de desconfort de grant desolation nagier au pays de la Petite Bretaigne; et lors le blancq dragon, de la semence duquel seront ancores demorees aulcunes reliques aprez la destruction diceulx faite par le roy Cadvale, soubz le jouc tributaire de la servitude se dreschera en considerant lisle tant desiree et evocquera sa fille de Germanie, cest a dire ses freres, amys et compaignons, lesquelz passeront la mer et usurperont derechief lisle, et leur maudite generation sentant en soy les simulaires [1] de trayson Saxonnicque reluist aujourdhuy, car en bonne foy je cuide certainement quil nest religion, veu, foy [1] ne serment, ne paour de Dieu quy peust [2] lyer ou constraindre la mobilite des Anglois ou est enrachinee la perfidie, mauvaiste naturelle de leurs peres Saxons ausquelz a seullement communiquie vertu et distribue seignourie, inhumaine cruaulte et perfidie proditoire, intollerable. Et adont le noble roy Caduvaladrech sera appelle a la salle royal de la glorieuse Trinite, car langele de nostre Seigneur lui mettra terme oultre lequel il ne pora voller. Sy seront couronnez les Saxons de lisle, mais ce ne sera pas sans

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[1] *des trahisons Saxonnicques reluira au jour dit, car en bonne foy je seay certainement quil ne fut.* C.2.

[2] *qui peust lors constraindre.* C.2.

grief travaulx que leur feront les deux enffans du roy Caduvaladrech et le ramenant des Bretons quy se trairont en Galles et les tourmenteront par grandes et griefves batailles, et leurs successeurs par lespace de cent et chincquante ans; et cest ce que Merlin veult dire au texte ensievant ou il dist en telle maniere:

"Et adont sera la miserable desolation du royaulme, " et les moissons arables seront lors retournees en " saulz fructueulz." Cest a dire que les champs cultivez demourront en friche[1] car espines, ronches, genevres, saulz et buissons y croisteront en lieu de bled et de moissons. "Derechief dreschera la teste le dragon " blancq et semondra sa fille de Germanie, et lors " tous nos ors et courtis seront raemplis destrange se- " mence, et adont le rouge dragon"—cest a dire le pou de Bretons que demoure sera en lisle, " se tapira vers les " extremites de letang." Par quoy Merlin entent les extremites de lisle, sy comme Galles qui est a lun des boutz, et la senfuyront et se mucheront les Bretons. "Et le ver de Germanie sera couronnez de lisle " et du rengne, et le prince de chevalerie,"—cest a dire Caduvaladrech,—"sera enterrez,[2] car nostre Seigneur " lui mettera terme aultre lequel il ne porra voller; " et puis demoura lisle par cent et chincquante ans en " guerre," cest a scavoir les Saxons, qui sont entendus par le blancq dragon, aprez ce quils orent[3] usurpe la courrone, "ilz rengneront trois cens ans. Et lors se le- " vera Acquilon et gardera les fleurs que le doux vent " Zephirus aura engendres et sera debte aux temples ne " ne cessera dexcercer la pointe de son glaive jusques a " tant que a paines porra le dragon blancq obtenir ses " cavernes." Cest a dire que les Anglois, qui[4] des Saxons sortirent ou issirent en leur naissance, auront tenu le

[1] *friche.* B. C.2. *fache.* A.
[2] *enterrez.* B. C.2. *enternez.* A.
[3] *quilz aront.* C.2.
[4] *que puis que les Saxons.* B. C.2.

royaulme dEngleterre par lespace de troix cens ans apres la guerre finee entre les relicques des Bretons quy se tapissoient en la fin de lisle en la partye que nous appellons Galles, de quoy nous les nommons Gallois, le blancq dragon tenra en grant tranquilite et prosperite le royaulme dEngleterre: et de lan de lincarnation nostre Seigneur jusques a cellui temps aura[1] mil vingt huit ans, et de lexil des Bretons jusques alors quatre cens chincquante ans tous adcomplis. Et puis se maintendront les Anglois en leur naturel orgueil par longue fortune, mais aprez par leurs vices et iniquitez nostre Seigneur permettra tourner la roe de parvarsite sur leurs chiefs, car un noble duc devot en la foy de Dieu avec un grant ost de France passera mer et constraindra les Angloiz par force darmes a bouter en leurs cavernes, cest a dire en leurs forteresses; neantmoins finablement les Anglois, reprinse vigour en eulx, se combateront et auront victoire, mais le disme de Neuthrie, cest a dire de Northmandye, lui prestera ayde, cest a dire que le duc prendra le disme de Neutrye qui sera son pays natif[2] et aura droit en la Grant Bretaigne par le moyen de mariage; et cellui destruira la nation des Saxons et nettoyera les courtilz et les champs arables, sy les restituera aux Bretons, et le remanant de la gent Saxonnicque il mettra es lyens[3] de servitude, car la presente fortune en sera tesmoing, et ilz ployeront lamie par lyens dorez; cest la terre qui est mere de toutes choses vivans, et lappelloient les anchiens deesse pourcequelle a admonneste a tous les mortelz copieuse fertilite de tous biens pour leurs vyes soustenir. Et cest la sentence Merlin ou texte qui sensieult: "Car la playe ou[4] vengence de nostre "Seigneur," dist-il, "sourvendra sur sa trayson." Cest a

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[1] *aura mil xxviii.* B. *mille xxxviii.* C.2. *mil* omitted in A.

[2] *natil.* B. C.2.

[3] *es lieux de.* C.2.

[4] *et.* B. C.2.

entendre du blancq dragon. "Toutesfois il se resvi-
" gourera tout bellement, mais le disme de Neutrye lui
" nuira, et adont vendra[1] le peuple a[2] banieres, en
" robes de fer, qui prendra vengence de son iniquite et
" restituera aux propres cultiveurs leurs terres et pos-
" sessions,[3] et adoncques apparra la ruyne des estranges
" gens, car le germe du blancq dragon sera esrachye de
" nos courtilz et les relicques de la generation seront
" mys soubz jouc de servitude, car ilz porteront le disme
" de servitude." Et puis apres ne seront pas lon-
guement les citoiens sans vices, parquoy derechief perira
la seignourie diceulz et les estranges seront remis en
honneur par longue prosperite. Et puis dist Merlin:
" Aprez succederont deux dragons desquelz lun deux
" par envie sera estaint et laultre se tournera[4] soubz
" lombre de son nom." Cest a dire que ou temps que
Engleterre sera en grant felicite, deux puissans barons
succederont ou rengne, mais lun par envye fera laultre
morir secretement, et puis soubz faulses couvertures
proditoires et par divinemens superstitieux et sophis-
ticques recouvra[5] sa renommee. Et puis dist Merlin:
" Succedera le lyon au liepart de leesse par quy
" rouguement les tours gallicques et les barons des
" isles trambleront." Je croy que ce fut le Prince de
Galles aultrement dit Pie-de-plomb; les tours gallicques
ce sont les grans seigneurs de France lesquelz il fist
tous trambler, tel foiz fut especialement quant il deffist
le roy Jehan et desconfist en belle bataille a Poitiers,
car certainement il neut adont en tout le royaulme de
France cyte, ville, tour, chasteau ne forteresse quy
nen tramblast, sy comme je lay aultresfoiz oy recorder.
Et puis sensieult: "Et en son temps sera extirpe
" lor du lis et de lortie, et largent flourira et decourra
" des ongles." He Dieu! que les ongles des marchans,

[1] *rendera.* C.2.
[2] *a.* A.: omitted. B. C.2.
[3] *et leurs possessions.* B. C.2.
[4] *retournera.* B. C.2.
[5] *recouverra.* C.2.

citoiens, et bourgoys de cestui royaulme de France suent aujourdhuy largent et le font luer[1] et decourir! et comment les veez cy ilz sont agravez et pilliez par agravees et par endues actions,[2] car ilz sont tres souvent tondus ou par tailles ou par emprunts seront par misere vestus de divers criesmes, et demoustreront les choses de dehors les voulentez du cuer. O comme, sy[3] me loysoit prononchier verite, je porroye escripre pluiseurs choses quy me font souvent mal en ma teste, car je ne voy aujourdhuy en ce present royaulme synon desolation et desconfort, rapines, calamitez; justice y est morte, droit sen est fuyz, rayson dort, nulz ne cure ne ne pense du bien public, que fors a le exterminer et destruire par plourables miseres; on court sus aux eglises et procurent pluiseurs songneusement a les desheriter par extorcions pecunielles par nouvelles adinventions et faurles[4] illusions. Mais Merlin rent la cause de ces vices, disant ainssy: "Et sy seront trenchies les pieds abaïans." Cest vray car chascun se taist et fait silence, nul nose mot dire, verite sen est vollee, et quant est de moy je croy fermement que pluiseurs nobles chevaliers, escuiers et aultres gens de conseil quy par leur avarice et les pourfis quilz ont du roy ou daulcuns aultres nosent ou ne veullent dire verite, pourquoy ilz seront perpetuellement dampnez ou puicz[5] denfer avec les deables. Et puis dist Merlin; "auront les "seigneurs ainssy comme paix, cest a dire que la "prudence de fraternite humaine consollidera le tour-"ment, car elle deffendera leffusion de sang." Et dist apres que laliance deulz sera fainte et ne sera mye vraye, car les ceurs sediteux demainderont[6] tousjours en rumour a cause de la premiere hayne. Et

[1] *fleuer.* B. C.2.
[2] *et comment vous veez cy . . . par agues et par indues actions.* C.2.
[3] *sil.* B. C.2.
[4] *frivolles.* B. C.2.
[5] *fruictz.* B. *puits.* C.2.
[6] *remainderont.* B. C.2.

puis dist Merlin que "en icelluy temps le rond sera "fait demy." Cest a dire que la monarchye du rengne qui est rond par une vraye obeissance ou souverain seigneur du royaulme sera fait demy par cause de division, car la playe de la guerre civile les desjoindra et divisera le dyadesme royal en deux couronnes ou royaulmes. "Et adont perira la rapacite et exaction des "huas et les dens des loups seront hebetees." Les huas sont bestes vivans de rapine et signifyent les tirans qui esrachent[1] et rapinent la propre substance du peuple, qui adont seront corrompus et subvertis par leurs iniquitez, car le prince de justice rengnera qui desrompra la rapacite des tirans trayteurs qui a maniere de loups devourent la substance du pauvre peuple innocent. Puis dist Merlin: "Et sy seront les "chats du lion transformes en poissons maritains." Par les chats qui sont malignes bestes plains de staties proditoires car ilz festoient leurs maistres de la queue et leur groucent[2] des dens, sont entendus les flatteurs traytres qui tousjours invocquent par blandissemens proditoires le ceur du lion a mal faire, sy seront muez en poissons marins, car par leurs vices ilz seront exillies de leur pays, sy devendront escumeurs de mer ou les poissons les devoureront et mengeront. Et dist Merlin que "apres que laigle "du lyon sera vivifie dessus la montagne Morane." Cestuy lyon sera Angloiz, lequel par sa cruaulte sera occys a grant tourment, mais son aisne filz qui a laigle est figures sera nourry en la montaigne par la faveur daulcuns tirans, adfin que par luy soit ancores le peuple tormente. Et puis sensieult ou texte Merlin: "Vendosie[3] se rougira de sang maternal et la maison "de Corineus occira les six freres." Cest a dire que ou temps que Engleterre sera occupee par les six princes

[1] *arrachent.* C.2.
[2] *groussent.* C.2.
[3] *Vendocie.* B. C.2.

qui tous se diront estre roys, car tous six seront enffans dun roy dEngleterre, le duc de la Petite Bretaigne qui de la maison Corineus jadis compaignon de Bructus istera, et passera mer et occyra tous les six freres par forche darmes, et sera la plus grant occysion en Venedocie ou ilz senfuiront pour avoir secours, mais le duc armoritien les sievra et la les desconfira et seront tous detrenchies, eux et leurs gens, et pourquoy la terre sera toute vermeille par leffusion de leur sang, et ceulx du païs seront tous plains de pleurs a cause de la grant occysion; mais pour obvir[1] a la fureur des Bretons armoritiens ilz se tourneront a nostre Seigneur par pryeres et oroisons et envoieront devers le duc, lequel sera esmeu par leurs miserables gemissemens, desirant de rengner a lexemple de ses ancesseurs par lamour naturelle non pas vyollente ne tyrannique ou pays desert des citoïens, parquoy il reconcillera a soy[2] debonnairement a soy ses subjetz plus que nulz, puis rassamblera un ost grant merveilleusement et en soy confiant en la bonne fortune taindra son courageux hardement des dents du saingler et passera les haultesses des montaignes adfin de ramener et soubzmettre a la couronne du rengne des Bretons toutes les isles voysines et collateraulx, sy comme Hibernie, Escoche et les aultres, car a icelluy royaulme prindrent elles leur commencement, mais la diversite les en a ostees. Adont Galles et Albanie, indignees eulz soubmettre a sa seignourie assambleront grant compaignie de gens darmes et feront grant effusion de sang des gens du duc; mais le duc mettra fraim en leurs dentz maxillieres, et[3] il commetra un baron breton-armoritien qui portera laigle en ses mains et en ses armures, lequel il dorra par le triumphe de ses victoires et submetra les enne-

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[1] *obvier.* B. C.2.
[2] Omitted in C.2.
[3] *Car.* C.2.

mis a la juridiction de son seigneur le duc Armoritien. Et cest la sentence Merlin ou texte qui sensieult ou il dist: "Puisque la maison Corineus aura "occys les six freres, lisle sera ennoiee de nocturnes "larmes[1] et sera un chascun appelle a toutes choses. ". . . . et sefforceront[2] de voller jusques au ciel, mais "la faveur des nouveaulx sera esleve. Et nuira[3] "pitie aux cruelz jusqua ce quil se vestira de la memore "de son progeniteur, et lui chaint[4] des dentz de saingler trespassera les haultesses souveraines des montaignes, et lumbre galeasce.[5] Et Albanie en sera indignee, et appellez ses collateraulx voysins il fera grant "effusion de sang. Et sera donne fraim a ses maxilliers "quil fera forgier en Armoricque; et cellui dorra[6] "laigle par aliance rompue et en la tierche deffiance "sesjoyra." Et puis dist Merlin: "Et lors sesmerveilleront[7] les petis chatons regens lesquelz mys "derriere la chasse qui faire se soulloit aux boiz ilz "chasseront es cytez et entre les murs, et des resistans "ilz feront mortalite assez grande et copperont les "langues des chevreaulx,[8] et les cols des murmurans "chargeront de chaines de fer." Cest a dire que aprez que le bon duc aura en grant felicite finee sa vye les tirans, qui sont figurez par les chatz, leveront leurs testes et extermineront leurs tenebres en malmenant le peuple a maniere de chiens chassans parmy le boiz les bestes saulvages pour les devourer, autel feront iceulx tirans des justes hommes entre les murs des cytez et des villes, et les nobles combateurs acraventeront ilz pour cause de leur resistence par grant effusion de sang et par horribles prisons; les langues

[1] *larmes.* B. C.2. *larons.* A.

[2] The MSS. here omit several words (conf. Galf. Mon.) "Væ tibi ". . . . nitentur posteri."

[3] *mura.* A. *nuira.* B. *muira.* C.2.

[4] *saint.* C.2.

[5] *et hunbre galleace.* C.2.

[6] *donnera.* C.2.

[7] *sesmerveilleront.* A. B. C.2.; for *sesveilleront.*

[8] *cheveaulx.* C.2.

des hommes fermes seront coppees, car ilz seront corrumpus et obfucqueront verite; mais apres ce que la fureur des tirans sera appaisye, iceulx malfaiteurs destruitz et du tout adnichilles, les nobles et le peuple se convertiront a Dieu, et adont sera lisle dAlbion ainssy comme toute renouvellee, et cest ce que dist Merlin en la clause sievant ou il dist: "Et a vye[1] leur temps seront "renouvellez, cest a dire en bonnes meurs." Et puis dist Merlin: "Et de la du premier au quart, au tierch, "et du tierch au second, et sera le poulse roulle en "huille." Cest a dire que leurs poulses[2] et leurs mains quy toudis auront rapine et extorcquie la puissance des innocens en leur substance seront reformez et oingz de luille de rayson et de misericorde. O beau Sire Dieu! se les poulses[2] des seigneurs terriens et de leurs officyers plains de rapines et de larechins, se je losis[3] dire, feussent maintenant arrousees de cestui bon huille misericordieux, je croy, sans plus dire, que tout en alast mieulx. On porroit icy beaucop dire ou gloser qui voldroit, mais je men passe a[4] cause de briefte en tant. Et puis dist Merlin: "Et le sextille de "Hybernie vendra et descombera[5] les amis, et les "boiz muera en plaine, et ramenera diversez portions "en un, et sy sera couronnez en la teste dun lion." Cest a dire que en Hirlande naistera un prince aigre en batailles lequel aura six freres et pour ce lappelle Merlin Sextille. Cilz[6] passera la mer et vendra en la Grant Bretaigne a moult grant ost et concquestera par sa proesse maintes provinces[7] et demolira maints ediffices jusques aux fondemens, et pluiseurs belles places ediffiera, parquoy les boiz seront sy diminuez quilz sambleront plaines; et toutes les provinces et

[1] *Et a vye leur temps.* MSS. In Latin text "et avita tempora."

[2] *pousses.* C.2.

[3] *lozoie.* B. *lousoie.* C.2.

[4] *en tant a cause.* B. *a tamps pour cause de brievete.* C.2.

[5] *descouvrera.* C.2. *destombera.* B.

[6] *cestui.* C.2.

[7] *provinces et nations.* C.2.

nations quil concquerra unira et mettra tout en un royaulme, sy en sera couronnez et portera le lion en ses armes, et sera en sa jeunesse cruel et desordonne a tout vice, mais a sa viellesse il se convertira en bien et vivera sainctement, sicque son ame vollera aux cieulz. Et puis dist Merlin en la lettre qui sensieult : " Son commencement sera desordonne et soubmis a " choses vaines et toute son affection, mais sa fin " sy [1] vollera es cieulx, et renouvellera les sieges des " beneures, ce sont ceulx de paradis, et aussy renou- " vellera il les sieges des pasteurs de sainte eglise " quy avoient este destruis par les guerres et y mettra " ydoines pasteurs, et vestira deux cytes de pailles, " sy leur donra dons virginaulz." Cest a dire quil restorera pluiseurs eglises et les augmentera par beaux dons ; il fondera deux cytes esquelles il establira deux notables couvens, lun de religieux, laultre de nonnains, qui serviront nostre Seigneur en faisant loffice divin. " Parquoy son ame sera colloquie avec les beneurez en " Paradis."

Apres dist Merlin quil " penestrera [2] toutes choses et " magnifestera la ruyne de sa povre [3] gent et sera comme " le lin." Le lin est une petite beste, mais elle a la veue plus ague et plus soubtille que nulle aultre beste ; aussy aura cestui noble roy : par ses merites succedera aveuc les beneurez.[4] Cestui vaillant roy quy sera appelle le lin sera sy prudent et aura sy grant discretion en lui que par lexemple de vertu il magnifestera la ruyne de sa propre gent, et sy sera cestui roy moult sage et vaillant en bataille, car il concquestera toute la Neutrie et subjuguera les Rommains. Et cest la sentence Merlin, quy dist ainsy : " Par cely [5] proprement perdera

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[1] *si vollera.* B. *sen vollera.* C.2.
[2] *penestrera.* B. *penesterra.* A. *prenestera.* C.2.
[3] *propre.* B. C.2.
[4] *roy quy succedera au beneure roy par ses merites.* B. *roy quy succedera au bien heure roy ses merites.* C.2.
[5] *celluy.* B. C.2.

" Neutrye ses isles et sera despouillie de sa premiere " dignite." Puis sensieult : " Et adont retourneront les " citoiens en leur isle, car la division civille naistera " entre les estranges." Cest a dire que ou temps que celluy preux roy rengnera, qui sera appelle lin, en lisle de la Grant Bretaigne, le venin mortel de civille division[1] qui pluiseurs peuples a mis a declin sespandera sur les estranges nations quy adont seront remez en Engleterre, et les citoiens naturelz recouvreront une partye de leurs terres et propres heritages. Puis dist le prophete : " Doncques vivant le viellart en son " cheval blanchissant destourbera le fleuve de " Pieronne[2] et avec sa verge blance ediffiera dessus un " molin." Ceste parolle est figuree que cellui qui succedera au lin de justice blanchissant par la noif de viellesse considerant loportunite de concquerre Bretaigne par la guerre civille des princes dEngleterre arrestera le fleuve de Pironne et deviera de la mort de pechye adfin quil ne courre parmy les tenebres de ce monde, et dessus ediffiera un molin de vertu de provocquier les courages des Bretons sommeillans de paresse et maudre au molin de vye, adfin quilz emploient leurs ceurs et leurs forces vertueuses a recouvrer leur pays de tout en tout ; mais tant quilz auront esrachies leurs anchiennes iniquitez par vie vertueuse ilz nobtenront la monarchye, et demoustre Merlin ou texte qui sensieult, ou il dist : " Cadavaladrech[3] sy " appellera Caduvach[4] et prendra en sa compaignie " Albanie, et lors sera loccysion des estranges et " demourront les fleuves plains de sang et se rompront " les fontaines armoricques, et sera couronnes Bructus " du dyadesme, et Cambrie sera remplie de leese, et " les forces vertueuses floriront, et sera lisle appelle " du nom de Bructus ; le nom des estranges perira."

[1] *decision.* MSS.
[2] *Pironne.* B. *Perinoris.* C.2.
[3] *Caduvaladreth.* C.2.
[4] *Caduvath.* B. C.2. Conanum. (conf. Galf. Mon.)

Merlin veult dire que quant le prince de vertu lequel il figure par le roy Cadavaladrech, qui est du nombre des beneurez[1] comme cy devant a este dyt, car terme lui estoit mis[2] oultre lequel il ne povoit passer[3] il existera les aydes du rengne Conan[4] dArmoricque qui concquesta Maximien lequel nous appellons maintenant Bretaigne la petite; prins[5] doncques avec lui les aydes des Albaniens que nous appellons Escotz se transportera en lisle et destruira tous les Anglois, sicque par leffusion de leur sang la terre et les fleuves en rougiront, car les puissances courageuses des fontaines armoritiennes se moustreront par proesses darmes, sy sera couronnez de la monarchie de lisle de la Grante Bretaigne cellui noble prince[6] vertueux qui sortira sa naissance de la lingnie du noble roy Cadavaladrech, et adoncques les Cambriens que nous appellons Gallois seront raemply de souveraine leese pour cause de lexaltation de leurs anchiens freres armoritiens, et Cornubye, cest Cornvaille, par long tempes enviellie[7] soubz estranges juridictions, florira par proesse chevalereuse, et adont retournera[8] la grant isle de Bretaigne en sa premiere dignite et le non de son premier fondeur, et perira le non des Anglois. Et puis dist Merlin: "De Conan[9] naistra la bataille " du sengler qui dedens les forests gallicques cest a " dire francoises excessera la pointe ou le trenchant " de ses dentz et tronchonnera toutes les plus grandes " forces ou puissances et aux menues gens donra " sceurete et deffence. Ce prince sera doubte par " luniversel monde, car les Auffriquans et les Arabes

[1] *des hommes bienheurez si comme.* C.2.
[2] *lui a este mys.* C.2.
[3] *voller.* B. C.2.
[4] *Covan.* C.2.
[5] *puis.* C.2.
[6] *prince, homme vertueux.* C.2.
[7] *envillie.* C.2.
[8] *recouverra Bretaigne sa premiere dignite.* B. *recouverra la grant isle de Bretaigne sa premiere dignite.* C.2.
[9] *Covan.* C.2.

" voians quil concquerra toutes les Espaignes le " doubteront." Cestui puissant prince quy descendra du lingnage du noble roy Conan[1] dArmoricque sera hardy comme[2] sangler et le portera en ses armes, recouverra toute lanchienne seignourie de la Bretaigne, passera la mer franssoise a grant puissance et subjuguera tous les grans seigneurs fransois et soubmettra en sa seignourie toute Espaigne et sestendera la proesse de ses armes jusques en Auffricque et en Arrabe, lesquelles terres et royaulmes il fera tributaires, et toutesfois nientmoins que laigrete de sa fureur bellicque soit moult aigre et felonneuze envers les princes estranges, ce nonobstant sera il dous[3] et debonnaires envers les populaires et leur sera escu et port de salut.

Et puis dist Merlin: "A luy succedera le boucq " venerien, cest a dire plain de luxure qui aura barbe " doree et cornes dargent, qui de ses narines soufflera " sy grant fumee que toute la terre en sera obscurcye: " paix sera en son temps et de la fertilite de la terre " seront raemplis les gerbes. Et les femmes en leurs " sens seront faittes serpens et en toutes leurs ambu- " lations seront plaines dorgueil; les chasteaulx seront " nouvellez et ne cesseront point les sagettes luxurieuses " de dame Venus et convoitise de player." Merlin veult dire que apres ce que le noble prince de chevallerie figure par le sangler aura parfait lhumain lignage cest a dire le voiage ou pelerinage aux humains debte, le boucq lui succedera; cestui sera son filz bastard engendre es delitz de luxure oultre les termes du lyen de mariage. Cestui bastard sera preux, chevalereulx[4] et a merveilles hardis aux armes et sera rigoreus a garder justice, sans flecir quelque part et sans misericorde, sicque la renommee de sa rigoureuse

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[1] *Covan.* C.2.
[2] *un.* C.2.
[3] *doulz.* B. *doux.* C.2.
[4] *chevalereulx hommes.* C.2

justice le rendera sy espoventable quil ne sera nulz tant soit hardy de len contralyer ne contre lui trayson machiner. Ceste est la cause pourquoy Merlin dist: " Paix sera en son temps." Mais cestes nobles vertus seront en lui moult obscures par les tenebres de troix vices qui sur lui auront domination; le premier est, " ja aura la barbe doree " par lorgueil qui fait les ceurs humains apparoir dores par desordonnez maintiengz et pompes presomptueuzes; et si " aura cornes dargent," cest a dire de tirannye peccunielle et rapine fructueuse ou larchineuse. Il sera boucq en condition naturelle, car de son alaine luxurieuse,[1] puante, la feteur de ses narines umbragera toute lisle en voluptueulx delitz de[2] luxure, car largent habondant des mortelz delices et de la vye bestiale et obprobreuse du roy rengnant en guise[3] de boucq puant, luxurieuse, de vye desordonnee, les habitz vicieulx de femmes et leurs acointyses superflues excedans les mettes de rayson provocqueront les pensees des princes et des plebeyens de executer les sagettes luxurieuses qui assez par nature ad ce sont enclines. Et a cause de ce seront les hommes a luxure enclins ou esmeus ainsy comme boucz, et les femmes par leur deshonneste conversation seront comme serpens. Et puis dist Merlin: " Et les fontaines par eulx seront " tournes en sang et bataille sera faitte entre deux " roys, par amour de Helaine de Vado par bastons;"[4] cest a dire que la indeue et sans rayson vergongne acointise des femmes sera tant bestiale que leur ignominieuse et puant luxure sera cause et occasion de grans guerres et effusion de sang entre les barons, [4]sic que lisle en sera toute desconfortee et plaine de pleurs par leffusion du sang humain. Et ce dist Merlin

[1] *et.* C.2.

[2] *de mauvaise luxure.* C.2.

[3] *en maniere de boucq, homme puant, luxurieux.* C.2.

[4] *par amour de Helaine de Vado par bastons.* MSS. (conf. Galf. Mon.) " propter leænam de vado " baculi." After *bastons* transpose *sicque lisle.....sang humain.* C.2.

assez clerement en son texte sievant ou il dist : "Et " toute la terre sera plaine de fornication et ne laira[1] " ja humanite de luxurier." Et puis dist : "Et tous " ces trois siecles venront jusques ad ce que les roys " ensepvelys a Londres seront propaliez." Merlin veult dire que les trois siecles desquelz il a ja parle, cest a scavoir le premier en la vengance divine et lexillement des Bretons de lisle, au temps du roy Caduvaladrech lorsque le roy[2] Alain presidoit en Armoricque, pour leurs vices et iniquitez ; le second en la restitution du dyadesme dEngleterre qui sera faitte aux Bretons a la faveur de fortune fatale, car la pestilence divine cherra[3] sur les pestillentes testes des Anglois[4] car toute leur vye sera donnee a la mort du[5] pechye ; le tierch siecle sy verra les Bretons a cause prospere et debonnaire, tresbuchier en bestyalite de luxure, cest a dire en linfamete et viel reproce dycelluy pechye. Lacteur dist que siecle est lespace de cent ans, sy auront moult a souffrir cette gent jusques a tant quilz se convertiront en fais vertueux, sy comme firent pluiseurs de leurs predicesseurs qui justement et saintement vesquirent, et cest ce que dist Merlin assez au cler en la lettre qui sensieult ou il dist : "Et adoncques retournera lasprete de fammine[6] " et retournera aussy la pestilence mortelle, et de la " desolation ou desconfort des citez se plaindront les " citoiens ; mais le sangler quint sourvendra quy les " brebis esparces et divisees rappellera en leurs pas- " turages, et sera la poitrine viande aux mengans." Ceste lettre de Merlin veult dire que ce noble prince participant les proprietes du saingler en hardiesse ou magnanimite de grant courage, et qui mesmement le

[1] *laissera.* C.2.

[2] *ou temps du roy Caduvaladrech lorsque le roy Alain presidoit en Armoricque.* B. C.2. *Caduvaladrech lorsque le roy,* omitted in A.

[3] *lors.* B. C.2.

[4] *Bretons.* C.2.

[5] *de.* B. C.2.

[6] *aultreffoiz lasprete de famine.* B. *autrefois la perte de famine.* C.2.

portera en ses armes, florissant par glorieux merites reformera et[1] vertueusement confortera son povre[2] peuple en[3] nostre Seigneur par ses biensfais et bonnes euvres et leur restituera leur paternal pays, lequel ilz auront relenquy en leur adversite et miserable fortune, et sera poitrine viande, cest a dire que la voye[4] sera espirituelle vyande a ceulx qui desirent saouler leurs pensees en nostre Seigneur. Apres dist Merlin: "Et sa "langue appaisera la soif a ceulx qui destraintz en "seront," cest a dire que les[5] bonnes parolles et sains enseignemens estainderont la soif diniquite des pecheurs. "Et de son alaine decourront les fleuves" —ce dist le prophete,—"qui arrouseront les corps de "ceulx qui arreront la terres."[6] Cest a dire que leaue des fleuves de sa beningne misericorde arousera limpotence et ladversite des chetifz souffraiteux. Puis dist Merlin: "Et oultre ce, dessus la tour de Londres sera "creez un arbre qui par trois raimz tant seulement "umbragera par ses feuilles toute la perficie de la "terre de lisle." Cest a dire que le roy de Londres qui rengnera apres le vertueux saingler aura troix filz lesquelz apres sa mort occuperont toute la seignourie de lisle et la diviseront, chevaliers preux, hardis et courageux en armes; mais lun deulx esmouvera guerre contre les Franssois et sera destruit, car les Franssoys obtenront victoire contre lui, mais pourtant nauront ilz mie sa seignourie, ains loccuperont ses deux freres, mais la division dicelles et leur longue felicite evocquera la guerre civille et destruiront lun laultre, et finablement lun deulz sera occys avec grant multitude de ses citoiens, sy demourra toute la domination au victeur, mais pourtant que la guerre aura tout le pays gaste et desert dabitans, icelluy victeur semondra et fera venir

[1] *et moult.* B. C.2.
[2] *commun et povre.* C.2.
[3] *en lamour.* C.2.
[4] *voix.* B. C.2.
[5] *ses.* C.2.
[6] *les corps de ceulx qui arreront la terre.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.

en lisle pluiseurs estranges nations pour habiter et cultiver les terres dycelle, et perdera lisle la liberte de ses naturelz cultiveurs, car ce roy opprimera ses naturelz subjetz et eslevera les estranges, par quoy lisle perdera le nom de son premier fondeur et le nom des estranges y sera exauchie[1] et cest la sentence[2] de Merlin ou il dist: "Mais dune part vendra lennemy borreas qui par " son soufflement ravira cellui troizieme raim qui sera " de sa part, mais nonobstant les deux autres tendront " son lieu jusques ad ce que lun destruira laultre par " la grant multitude de ses fueilles." Cest a dire de ses gens ou de sa grant richesse lesquelz lesmouveront a tout obtenir. "Puis soustendra les oyseaulx estranges " et ceulx qui du pays[3] perderont le nom," cest a dire les anchiens habitans de lisle, "car la paour de son umbre " leur fera perdre leurs frans vollemens." Merlin dist que " a cestuy succedera lasne diniquite quy sera songneux " de forgier or et argent, mais il sera parescheulz en la " rapine de loups." Cest cestuy asne[4] nomme par sa condition et nature quy succedera a son pere, lequel aura denommee lisle du non des estranges, cest a dire sera parescheulx a executer justice contre les loups tirans et larrons qui devoureront[5] par leurs rapines la substance de son povre peuple, mais qui pis est, il les soustendra en eulz donnant faveur, comme consentant de leur mauvaiste, car il mesme sera acteur de tout exaction et iniquite. Pourtant dist Merlin: "Et a- " doncques la mer Sabrine decourra par sept ports " et le fleuve dOsce[6] sera par lespace de sept mois " fervent en challeur, et par ce morront les poissons, " et les baingz de Vado se reffroideront, et les eaues " portant salut engendreront leur mort." La mer

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[1] *exaulcie.* C.2.

[2] *ou texte qui sensieut ou il dist.* B. C.2.

[3] *et ceulx du paye.* C.2.

[4] *Cest asne.* B.

[5] *devoureront.* B. C.2. *demoureront.* A.

[6] *dOsce.* B. C.2. *de Coste.* A.

Sabrine cest le mondain charnel delit, qui adont rengnera et prendera son corps[1] par sept ports des sept regions de lisle, sic que toute la terre emportera la vilte et pesanteur dicelluy pechye, car le fleuve dOsce est froit par nature, cest le seul peuple des Bretons froiz et engellez, par la coulpe de leurs vices et puante luxure eschauffez et ardans, sy en morront tous les poissons, ce sont les simples gens qui ne quierent que leur vie, car ilz ne porront tollerer linjustice ne liniquite de leurs princes. Et adoncques les baingz du roy Bladus seront reffroidiez en nostre mesmes temps, car les crestiens chatolicques qui deussent estre chaulx et fermes par la flambe de la vye vertueuze du feu de charite sont tresbuchies en lobscurete de[2] froidure des vices, mais aulcuns demourront fermes et constans, par euvres meritoires, en la foy catholicque et aimeront mieulz a morir par martire que ensievir la vicieuse et miserable vye des meschans pecheurs; et ceulx qui seront couronnes par les eaues de salut. Et flourira Londres adoncques par vye beneuree, car vingt mille crestiens y seront lors martirisiez, du sang desquelz leaue de Thamise rougira, et ce figure Merlin par les eaues. Et puis dist: "Londres florira[3] adont " par la mort de vingt mille personnes et le fleuve " de Thamise sera mue en sang, et ceulx qui seront " opprimez de douleur seront appelles aux noepces " daversite et leurs clamours seront oyes jusques es " montaignes des Alpes." Cest a dire jusques au ciel, car le sang juste et innocent crye vengance devant le trosne de la divine Majeste; et en ce disant termina Merlin la premiere fiction de ses propheties.

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[1] *cours.* B. C.2.

[2] *de fortune et.* C.2.

[3] *florira.* A.B. *flourira.* C.2. for *plorira.* (conf. Galf. Mon.) "lugebit."

Cy apres sensieult la seconde cause des propheties de Merlin le prophete. LE CHAPITRE LVII^e.

APRES[1] que Merlin ot reprinse son alaine et recouvree sa vigour quil avoit lassee par la longeur de son sermon il dist : " Trois fontaines seront ouvertes " en la cite[2] Gointoine desquellez les ruisseaulz part- " iront lisle en trois portions, et qui de lun beuvera " il en vivera en[3] grant prosperite plus longuement, ne " ne sera ja son corps greve de maladye ; mais qui " beuvera du second il perira par asprete de faim " continuele et pallour se serra en sa face ; et qui du " tierch beuvera par souldaine mort morra, ne son " corps ne porra estre mis ne souffrir sepulture, mais " les assistens voulans couvrir lorreur fraternele le " couvriront de diverses couvertures." Par ces trois fontaines veult le prophete entendre trois manieres de vivre en ce mortel monde ; la premiere sy est la vye contemplative des bons crestiens catholiques, quy par[4] grace de nostre Seigneur vivent vertueuzement en sainte religion ; et ceux cy jamais nauront mal ne langour de maladye, car par la grace du Saint Esperit ilz vivent et usent contemplativement des joyes pardurables, sicques toutes turbations[5] mondaines et callamitez mortelles leur sont un fruit de vye delictable. Les aultres deux fontaines signifient deux vies, voires certes plus dignes destre dittes mors a cause de leurs tenebres et myserables langueurs perpetuelles que vye. La premiere sera la vye rapineuse bordee davarice et habituee de barat, coullouree de palleur, contrefaitte dypocrisye par fainte abstinence de laquelle leau maul-

[1] *Apres ce que.* B. C.2.
[2] *cite de.* B. C.2.
[3] *moult gront.* C.2.
[4] *par la.* C.2.
[5] *tribulations.* C.2.

dite, noire, plaine de morteil venin rendra les beuvans palles et horribles au regard du monde par leur ardant avarice qui les cuers des Guintoniens eschauffera a tout mal faire jusques a la mort denfer silz ne sont arrousez de leaue de la piteuze fontaine, car pluiseurs Guintoniens seront acraventez par mort souldaine par pugnition divigne a cause de leurs pechies. La tierce fontaine segniffye la contagieuse pestilence de luxure laquelle enordira les Guintoniens, mais ilz en seront pugnis selon leurs merites et apparra en leurs corps la tache de linfection abhominable devant la face du monde, car parcequilz ne se seront chasties ne repentis par nul exemple de la foy religieuse ne predication, mais auront tousjours persevere en leur vil pechye, la glave celestiele executera par tel maniere que apres et devant leur mort ils seront sy puans et sy horribles que nulle riens vivant nen porra approchier, et la terre mesmes ne les voldra recepvoir mais leur deniera sepulture, et ne pourront estre couvers de terre pour cause de loffense volontairement faitte, condigne dexcommunication ou dampnement infernal perpetree contre Dieu le createur. Et plus ancores, car nulle chose mondaine ne pourra estre applicquee a la couverture diceulx corps quy sans delay ne rechoipve en soy samblable feeteur [1] ou puanteur qui sera grant espoventement.

Et ce dist Merlin ou texte qui sensieult ou il dist: "Et quelconque materielle chose sera dessus iceulx "corps mise elle recepvra la fourme diceulx car la "terre sera muee en pierres et en cendres, et les cendres "en eaues, quant elles seront gettees dessus." Cest a dire que toutes les choses quy seront myses dessus ces corps pour muchier la divine vengence perderont sans delay leur propre nature et seront muees en labhomination diceulx corps. Et puis dist Merlin: "Et de la

[1] *fecteur.* B.

" cite de droit la forest de Thamit [1] sera enluminee [2]
" une pucelle ad fin quelle y mette la doulceur de sa cure,
" laquelle la ou elle sera amenee emprez les areez
" diceulx ruisseaulx seullement par son alaine sechera
" les fontaines nuisans aux hommes, sy les restra par
" la force de ses licqueurs portans salut." Cest a dire que celle vierge sera enluminee de la vertu de sapience par la grace du Saint Esperit et preschera aux peuples leurs iniquites, sicque par sa predication ilz samenderont de leurs consciences envers nostre Seigneur par grant affliction de ceur et habondant effusion de larmes, et tant que par son alaine seulle, cest a dire par sa divine exhortation, les maulvaises vies des pecheurs figurez par les fontaines secheront. Et puis dist Merlin : " Et
" portera en dextre main la forest Calidonienne et en
" sa senestre les barbecannes et aultres deffendemens
" de murs de [3] Londres." Ceste pucelle portera [en sa dextre [4]] la verdeur de la forest, cest a dire les divins commandemens de nostre foy qui toudis verdissent et sont en fleurs, et en sa senestre elle portera les administrations de la bataille de la cite de Londres, cest a dire les aigres penitences que les pecheurs doivent faire pour obvier aux aiguillonnemens de la char et aux temptations de lennemy denfer pour plus legierement avoir remission de leurs ors et abhominables pechies, et seront tous ses pas vertueux plains de souffre ardant de laigrete de penitence, laquelle uzera de double fumee enflambee [5] de vertus ; lune sera de predication pour evocquier les pecheurs a penitence et lautre sera pour pryer de leur amendement adfin de [6] leur impetrer pardon envers nostre Seigneur de leurs pechies. Et seront ses pas viande aux pecheurs, et de ses yeulx decourront larmes a grant plente a cause

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[1] *Thamise.* C.2. (conf. Galf. Mon.) " ex urbe Canuti nemoris."
[2] *en lumiere.* C 2.
[3] *de la cite de.* B. C.2.
[4] Omitted in MSS.
[5] *enflammees.* C.2.
[6] *adfin daucunement.* C.2.

de la predication du peuple ; et sa doulce voix et fructueuse predication empliront toute lisle de pleurs et miserables gemissemens des povres pecheurs ; mais le roy qui dix enffans aura, plain de lennemy, indigne destre corrigie ne reprins dune femme le mettera a sa fin, et elle morte, le mechant peuple reprendra tantost la vye de tenebres et de vices, et cest ce que dist Merlin au texte qui sensieult, en disant : "Et partout ou elle " passera elle fera pas sulfureux qui par double fumee " fumeront et celle fumee exsitera les ruthenes ; et sy " fourmera vyande dessoubz les marches, et les larmes " miserables decourront delle, et emplira toute lisle " de horrible clamour, et loccira un septre, cest a dire " un roy, de dix rams." Cest a dire quil aura dix enffans desquelz les quattre seront roys, rengnans sur quattre portions de lisle, mais les aultres six seront ravissans tirans et[1] maulvais, plains de toute cruaulte, qui feront guerre tant comme ilz viveront. Et ce dist Merlin soubz lumbre de figure, "car" fait il, "quattre " rams du septre porteront couronnes doreez et les " aultres six seront tournes en cornes de bugles par " lesquelz tres parnicieux et horribles sons sen esmou- " veront les troix isles de Bretaigne." Cest a dire Londonie, Cambrie et Albanie, et ces six tirans[2] les empliront toutes du sang de leurs habitans. Et puis dist Merlin : "Et sera exitez le bois Danemien,"—cest une province ainssy nommee,—"lequel se ouverra ainssy " comme par voix humaine en disant, vieng, vieng " Cambrie, et dy a la cite de Gintonie[3] que la terre sy " la devorrera, et transportera le siege pastoral dicelle " la ou les nefz arrivent." Cest a dire que les cites de la province de Danemien,[4] provocquies a batailles les Gallois et ceulx de Cornubie, assegeront la cite de Gintonie[3] ou sera le siege et refuge des tirans, sy la

[1] *et hommes mauvais.* C.2.
[2] *et les six inhumains tirans.* C.2
[3] *Guintonie.* C.2.
[4] *Dannenen.* C.2.

destruiront toute et griefment tourmenteront les tirans dicelle, mais au povre peuple donront misericorde, et icelle destruire jusques[1] aux fondemens, Hericius[2] adcompaignie de grant peuple transportera le metropolitain dicelle au bort[3] de la mer qui est assez prez, et la fondera une belle cite aornee de pluiseurs eglises et anoblie de six cens tours, et sera la vie des nouveaulx cytoiens tant doulce et vertueuse que pluiseurs populaires laisseront leurs propres lieux ou mansions et sen yront demourer illec, car elle sera moult[4] exellente par les nobles ediffices dicelle ; et ce dist Merlin en la lettre sievant : " Car," dist il, " les menbres"[5]—de Guntonie—" sievront lost"—de Hericius, voire ceulx qui seront eschappez de la desconfiture. Et puis dist Merlin : " Car[6] les " jours approcent que les habitans dicelle periront," cest a entendre des tirans, " comme la noblesse des laines[7] " ou la difference et beaulte des taintures lenseignent ; " dont la noble cite par la parjure gent ruynera." Cest a dire que les pompes orguilleuses et superfluitez des grans habis et robes taintes en diverses couleurs et les aultres vices qui rengneront seront cause de la destruction de la cite de Guntonie. Et puis dist : " Et adont les nefz " sesjoiront," et sensieult : " et la ediffiera Hericius[8] " tout charge de pommes," cest a dire adcompagnie de tres grant peuple, " a loudeur desquelles les oyseaulz " de maint[9] boiz senvoleront ;" cest a dire que maints homme laisseront leurs terres et venront habiter en celle neufve cyte par cause des libertez dicelle ; " car " elle sera bien scituee en lieu bon et convenable par " toutes choses, et sera douee et fermee de six cens tours."

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[1] *icelle destruite toute jusques.* C.2.

[2] *Hencius.* C.2.

[3] *port.* B. C.2.

[4] *riche et fertille de tous biens a cause de la marine et sera moult.* B. C.2.

[5] *tous les menbres.* B. C.2.

[6] *Et puis dist : Car.* B. C.2.

[7] *de laines.* B. *noblesse de laine.* C.2. *des alaines.* A.

[8] *Heritius.* B. C.2. *Hericitius.* A.

[9] *desquelles maints oyseaulx de maints.* C.2.

Et puis dist Merlin: "Et lors Londres en aura envie, " sy augmentera et croistera ses murs plus fors que " devant,[1] trois fois, et fera voye au fleuve de Thamise, " sicque il clorra la cite et la rumeur de cestui ouvrage " sy passera les Alpes, et entretant se muchera Heritius " avec tous ses hommes et machinera choses subter- " raines;" cest a dire que lui et ses bourgois cuidans[2] lenvye que ceulx de Londres et aultres auront sur leur cyte, quilz se tendront sur garde dedens leur cyte et se garniront de toutes choses propices et necessaires en fait de guerre, adfin que sil advenroit quon les voulsist assaillir ilz se peussent deffendre contre leurs ennemys. Et puis dist Merlin: "En cellui temps parleront les " pierres." Cest a dire les hommes vertueulx et constans et fermes comme pierres parleront adfin de reprimer la mauvaiste du peuple. Et puis dist Merlin: "Et la mer " qui est entre France et Gaulle se traira[3] en pou des- " pace, et en chascune rive sera oys lomme de lomme, " et la terre de lisle sera eslargie." Cest a dire que la mer de vices retraira ses rives a cause de la voix des sains hommes qui adont floriront par miracles et nobles vertus, sy prescheront en France et en Engleterre et convertiront le peuple a bien faire. "Et la " terre de lisle"—cest a dire le royaulme de la Grant Bretaigne,—" sera eslargy; car maintes contrees qui sen estoient soubstraites y retourneront, mais ceste chose ne sera jusques[4] apres la destruction des Anglois, et que la terre de lisle aura du tout recouvre le nom de son premier fondeur, duc et seigneur dicelle;[5] ce fut Bructus de quy elle ot non[6] Bretaigne, et Bretaigne sera derechief appellee. Et apres dist Merlin. "Et lors seront re-

[1] *comme paravant nestoient.* C.2.
[2] *considerant.* B. C.2.
[3] *se retraira.* B. C.2.
[4] *ad ce.* C.2.
[5] *de son premier duc fondeur dicelle.* B. C.2.
[6] *nom.* B.

" velees les choses muchees marmoriannes,"[1] cest a dire que adont les pensees humaines seront descouvertes, quy sont aussy obscures comme pierres de marbre, car les habitz dissolus et estas desordonnez qui sont comme impossibles a corrigier a cause de lumaine pertinacite, ne estre adrechies a la voye de rayson ; et pour ce dist Merlin au texte sievant : " Gaule tramblera de " paour"—lors par cause de[2] tyrannye des Bretons, car toutes leurs effections[3] seront vestues de tromperies, de maulvaistie inhumaine. Et puis dist Merlin : " Et " apres ces choses lardeace,"[4]—cest a dire la fumelle du heron, oysel volant assez commun, qui habite sur les estangz et rivieres et se vit de rapine,—" istera " du boiz Collaterien, laquele souloit par lespace de " demy an[5] aler tout a lentour[6] de lisle, et en la hui- " tieme clameur quelle fera elle senvollera." Ceste ardeace qui est oysel royal, figure la grace divigne, laquelle temptera en exortant les ceurs des Bretons par pluiseurs exemples et signes, adfin de les retraire de leurs pechies. Ceste ardeace souloit aler tout entour de lisle par lespace de demy an, car la devotion et purete de conscience des bons habitans ly a fait longuement demourer, mais les iniquites qui sur-vendront sur leurs testes plantees en pertinacite len feront voler a la huitieme clamour, et playe sera demoustree du saulveur sur les Bretons pour eulx amender de leurs fourfaitures, et sy demourra toutes les semences des mortelz. Et cest la sentence de Merlin du texte sequent ou il dist : " Et toutes les volatilles " et generallement toutes especes doyseaulx sacom- " paigneront avec lui et envahiront les terres cultivees, " et mengeront tous les grains des semences dicelles,

[1] *muchees marmoriannes.* MSS. (Conf. Galf. Mon.) " occulta submarinorum."

[2] *pour cause des inhumaines.* C.2.

[3] *affections.* B. C.2.

[4] *lardeace.* B. *ordeace.* C.2. *larcedeace.* A.

[5] *demy an.* MSS. (Conf. Galf. Mon.) " biennium."

[6] *environ.* C.2.

" dont sensievra grant famine et horrible mortalite," cest a dire que la pugnition divine, apres ce quelle aura les semences et les fruitz de la terre degastez ou destruis, ce nonobstant les Bretons demourans en leur erreur[1] et pertinacite de leurs detestables vices, tournera sur les habitans de lisle, et seront par aigre faim tourmentez et par pestilence de horrible mortalite. Et puis dist Merlin : " Et quant ceste grande pestilence sera " cessee,[2] un god[3] detestable par les iniquitez sen ala[4] " en la valee de Galias,[5] et la seslevera en une mon- " taigne, et au summet dicelle plantera un chesne[6] et " la dedens fera son nyt ouquel il pondra trois œfz dont " il istera trois bestes, cest a scavoir, le renart, lours " et le loup; mais le renart devourera sa mere, et " mettra en son chief la teste dun asne, et lors quant " il laura prins, il espoventera ses freres." Cestui god[3] sera un maulvais tirant plain de toute mauvaiste ; il sera sage soubtil et malicieux dengin, et ce figure le god qui en son commencement sera assez de petit estat et maulvaise conversation, mais il ravira par sa malice une grant dame procree de lingnie royal qui est entendue par la valee de Galalias,[5] laquelle eslevera cestui tirant en grans richesses et ediffiera un tres fort chastel sur une montaigne et y couvera trois œfz, cest a dire quil engendrera trois fois trois enffans[7] masles en sa femme, lesquelz auront les natures et les proprietes des trois bestes dessus dittes, et les porteront en leurs devises ; dont laisne[8] traitre et malicieux sera, puis par nature ainssy comme le regnart, aprez la mort de son pere devourera sa mere, cest a dire la terre laquelle il gastera par feu et occysion inhumaine, et

[1] *erreur mauvaise et pertinacite de leurs inhumains et detestables.* C.2.
[2] *cessee.* B. C.2. *casseez.* A.
[3] *god.* A. B. *gord.* C.2. (Conf. Galf. Mon.) "ales." *une gode.*
[4] *sen ira.* C.2.
[5] *Gallias* and *Gallalias.* B. *Galbalias.* C.2.
[6] *quesne.* C.2.
[7] *trois filz et trois enffans.* C.2.
[8] *lasne.* B. C.2.

demoustreront ses merites,[1] quil sera habitue de teste dasne qui na sens nentendement, mais son frere lui resistera par main armee, qui riens ne luy vauldra, car il le destruira et soubzmettra a luy ses terres et chassera les aultres hors du royaulme,[2] sicque totalement lui demourra la seignourie de lisle. Et ses deux freres passeront la mer et yront querre ayde et secours au sengler duc de Northmandie, lequel, oye leur tres piteuse complainte, leur donra ayde et confort, car il passera mer avec eulz atout grant ost de noble et vaillant chevallerie ; et cest ce que dist Merlin au texte sievant : " Et le regnart les en fera fuir apres ce quil les aura " desconfis en bataille, et sen iront en Neustrye et " assambleront grant ost, et le sengler dente, sy pas- " seront a grant navire pour assambler au regnart, " mais la ou la bataille sera commencye, le regnart se " faindra estre mort, parquoy le saingler meu de pitie " se lanchera entre les charongnes des mors pour le tirer " dehors, mais le regnart quy ce fera frauduleusement " le mordera au pye par tel vigeur quil lui abatera " tout jus, puis saultera sur luy et lui esrachera loreille " et la queue, et puis se retraira en ses cavernes." Merlin veult dire que apres ce que le duc Northmant, figure par le saingler, sera arrive en lisle et aura vaincu le tirant plain de malice regnardine par force darmes, icellui traytre renart fera aveuc le duc faintes aliances, pour ce que nulement il ne porra resister a lui, et a cause de ceste aliance le duc et son ost se maintendront follement et yront vagant en pluiseurs parties parmy le pays[3] cha et la, mais le regnart, plain de trayson, qui ne dormira mye ains aura sa gent toute preste, lequel quant il apperchevera la separation des gens du duc Northmant et leur negligence, et verra quil aura lieu et temps convenable pour courre

[1] *toutes ses manieres.* C.2.
[2] *hors du pays et royaume.* C.2.
[3] *le royaume.* C.2.

sus au duc Northmant, il lenvahira par tele maniere quil lui esrachera loreille ; cest a dire tous les plus grans barons de son ost, qui sont figurez par loreille. Et le mordera au pied, cest a dire quil lui occyra ses gens de pye, car il trouvera les gens darmes du duc par troupeaulx vacabondans par le pays,[1] sy les mettra tous a mort par grant cruaulte ; et quant le duc se trouvera[2] ainssy decheu par le traytre regnart il mandera querre layde de lours et du loup freres, lesquelz il aura restituez en leurs honneurs par la proesse de ses[3] armes ; et cest la sentence Merlin du texte sievant ou il dist : " Mais le saingler qui se " verra deffrauder mandera lours et le loup adfin quilz " restituent ses menbres perdus," cest a dire quilz lui aydent a vengier la mort de ses hommes, " lesquelz " quant ilz scauront la cause lui prometront restituer " deux pieds et une queue, et que deulz mesmes lui " composeront[4] membres." Cest a dire quilz lui prometoient reintegrer son ost de chevaliers et de peons qui constituoient ses deux premieres batailles, occyes et detrenchies par le tirant regnart,[5] et une ariere-garde de leur gent, figuree par la queue, adfin que par le moien de cest effort soit prinse vengence de la trayson renardine. " Ceste promesse," dist Merlin, " apaisera le saingler en atendant la resti- " tution de ses menbres," cest a dire en esperance de vengier ses hommes ; " mais le regnart," dist Merlin apres, " descendera des montaignes, sy se muera en " loup, et vendra pardevers le saingler par maniere " de conseillier, et tantost quil sera empres de lui, " tandis que garde ne sen donra, tout chault le de- " vourera ; et entrera en corps la force du saingler." Cest a dire sytost comme cestui tirant scaura lappareil

[1] *le royaume.* C.2.
[2] *se trouvera.* B. C.2. *trouva.* A.
[3] *de leurs.* C.2.
[4] *composeront nouveaulx.* C.2.
[5] *regnart.* B. C.2. *regnant.* A.

du duc il descendera des montaignes armoye des armes de son frere le loup et venra par nuit es tentes du saingler ou il et ses gens seront recheus du duc Northmant et des siens, cuidant que ce soit le loup qui luy viengne aydier ; mais sytost que cestui mauvais tirant sera entres en lost il sen ira ou pavillon du duc [1] ou il loccyra, et puis luy et sa gent crieront : trahy ! trahy ! et apres occyront tous les gens du duc ainssy trayteusement. Ceste desconfiture fera le renart moult renommer par tout le monde, sy comme par avant estoit le saingler ; puis apres ceste occysion fera armer ses gens des armes des Normans ; et dist Merlin que "ainssy il atendra illec " ses freres," qui riens ne scauront de la desconfiture, " et sytost quilz seront venus," en intention de aydier au duc, "il les occira a la force de sa gent, et sera " couronnez en la teste dun lyon,"—cest a dire en orgueil et en fierte. Et puis dist Merlin : "Et en " ses jours un horrible serpent naistrera qui au " tourment des mors sera magnifestez, et avironnera " la cite de Londres par sa grant longueur et devour- " rera tous ceulx qui en isteront." Cest a dire que un aultre prince au temps de cestui regnart lui [2] esmouvera guerre, car moult sera cruel et felon ; il assegera Londres et tourmentera tous ceulx qui en isteront. Et puis dist Merlin : "Mais adont le beuf " montain prendra teste de loup et blanchira ses " dentz en la force Sabrine, et assamblera avec luy les " brebis des Albaniens et des Cambriens et beuveront " tant quils secheront le fleuve de Thamise." Merlin veult dire que quant le prince, figure par le serpent, pour cause de son venimeux courage aura assegie la cite de Londres, ung chevalier ne de lignie royal, et pour ce est il appelle montain, car elle est entre les generations de lisle comme une montaigne en industrie

[1] *du ducq Northmant.* C.2. | [2] *et lui.* A. *et* omitted in B. C.2.

darmes. Que veult entendre Merlin par teste de loup qui[1] prendra armes en la force Sabrine, cest a dire chevaliers Escocois et Gallois. Et puis venra en Cornubye contre cellui prince qui ainssy tourmentera la cyte de Londres et se combatera a luy sur le fleuve de Thamise, et sera le tirant serpentin desconfy et tout son ost perdu, et en sera la plus grant partie noiee au fleuve, car ilz cuideront passer a noe pour eschiever la mort; sicque la grant quantite des noies sechera les rives du fleuve; et quant le tirant se verra[2] ainssy desnue de sa puissance, il appellera lasne a bataille. Cestui asne sera un tres mauvais chevalier, puissant en armes et rude de nature bestial, lequel menra avec lui un aultre a longue barbe, luxurieux comme boucq, lesquelz a grant effort pilleront la terre, mais le bon chevalier appelle le beuf montain, hardy[3] et fier comme un toureau, chault et malicieux comme loup, en sera indignez, sy leur venra a lencontre et les disconfira, sy seront tous mys a mort et demourront leurs corps sans sepulture et les devoureront les bestes et les oyseaulx; mais finablement le bon chevalier montain sera trahys et ars en son chastel lequel il aura ediffie en la montaigne Uryane[4] qui est oultre le fleuve du Hombre. Et cest la sentence Merlin ou texte qui sensieult: "Et lors," dist il, "lasne appellera le boucq a "longue barbe et muera sa fourme,"—luxurieuse et mole par les delitz femenins en portant le grief fardel des batailles de lui non acoustumees. Puis dist il: "mais le beuf montain en sera indignez, sy en appellera "le loup,"—ce sera son filz, chault[5] et malicieux en armes; silz sera ducteur de lost son pere. Et puis dist Merlin: "Et adfin quil feust misericors a cruaulte "il devourera leurs chars et leurs os,"—voire car apres la bataille les charongnes seront devourees des bestes

[1] *quil.* B.
[2] *sera.* C.2.
[3] *homme hardy.* C.2.
[4] *Varian.* C.2.
[5] *cault.* B. C.2.

qui les mengeront ; " mais il sera brules en la " montaigne," cest a scavoir le beuf montain, " et ses " familiers seront muez en cygnes[1] qui noeront ainssy " en secq comme en eaue, sy devoureront les poissons, " et transgloutiront les hommes." Merlin veult dire que apres la mort du bon chevalier montain tous ses chevaliers, soldoyers et serviteurs devenront robeurs de mer et iront noant parmy les nefz en pillant les marchans quilz trouveront cha et la ; et autretel[2] feront ilz parmy la terre quilz trouveront, car ilz renchonneront les bestes ou quelles seroient trouvees ; et ce dist Merlin assez clerement ou texte qui sensieult, ou il dist : " En sourvenant[3] viellesse sur eulx ilz seront " fais loups maritains, et machineront batailles et " assambleront navires et raviront or et argent non " mie a trop petite quantite." Et puis dist dist Merlin : " Et decourront derechief les fleuves de " Thamise en leur chanel selon leur nature." Car apres che que le tirant serpentin aura este destruit par le chevalier montain les habitans de Londres destruiront tous les ouvrages lesquelz il avoit fait le siege durant pour destourner la riviere de Thamise. Puis dist Merlin : " Et les fleuves dicellui croisteront " oultre les metes[4] acoustumees, et derompera la force " de leaue et subvertira toutes les montaignes oppo- " sites." Cest a dire que les citoiens de Londres avec tous ceulx qui demeurent sur la riviere de Thamise, apres ce quilz se verront delivrez de tous leurs ennemis par le chevalier montain ilz devenront sy orgueilleux quilz esmouveront guerre a tous leurs voysins et submetront en leur juridiction par forche darmes toutes les provinces de lisle, tant seront plains davarice et de convoytise, et mesmement la fontaine Galaez qui

[1] *et ses familiers seront muez en cygnes.* B. *muez en chisnes.* C.2. *cinez.* A. (Conf. Galf. Mon.) " favillæ rogi mutabuntur in cygnos."

[2] *pareillement.* C.2.

[3] *Et souvenant.* C.2.

[4] *mettes.* B.

est le pays de Galles; cest ce que dist Merlin ou texte qui sensieult: "Et soubmetra par fraude la fontaine " Galaes, et tout sera plain de maulvaistie et de " trayson; et appelleront les Venedaces a bataille." Car parceque sa cruaulte excedera les termes de guerre, les peuples de lisle appelleront a leur ayde les Venedaces, et les forces du boiz dEscoche, cest a dire les chevaliers Escotz, sy assambleront a bataille avec les batailleurs, hommes esleus entre les gemisseurs[1] qui seront de laliance des Londoniens. Et sera loccysion de la bataille sy grande que les corbeauz, huas et aultres oyseaulx y sourvendront de moult loingtaines regions pour venir mengier et devourer les corps des mors;[2] et cest ce que dist Merlin ou texte sievant: "Sy " sassambleront," dist il, "les forces des boiz avec les " pierres des gemisseurs,[1] mais les corbeauz et les huas y " sourvendront quy devoureront les corps de ceulx qui " auront este occys." Puis dist Merlin: "Et dessus les " murs de Clocestre edifiera un crapault[3] son nid, et " en son nid sera procree un asne lequel il nourryra de " malice,[4] et esmouvera a plusieurs fraudes; et prinse la " couronne royal par son horrible ravissement[5] fera " espoventer le peuple: et en ses jours les montaignes " semondront les pastures,[6] et les provinces seront de- " spouilliez de boiz et de forestz." Par cestui crapault[3] venimeulx veult Merlin entendre un chevalier venimeux par mauvaise voulente qui sera en lui a cause de sa malice. Ce chevalier engendrera un asne qui sera son filz, lequel sera dit asne pour[7] sa rude bestialite; il sera cruel et sans rayson; son pere lenseignera en toute

[1] *gemisseurs.* MSS. (Conf. Galf. Mon.) "cum saxis Gewisseorum."

[2] *des hommes mors.* C.2.

[3] *crapault.* MSS. Lat. bufo. (Conf. Galf. Mon.) "nidificabit bubo."

[4] *lequel il nourryra de malice.* Conf. Galf. Mon. "educabit illum serpens Malverniæ."

[5] *ravissement.* MSS., perhaps for *rugissement.* "horrido rachanatu." (Galf. Mon.)

[6] *les montaignes semondront les pastures.* MSS. (Conf. Galf. Mon.) "titubabunt montes Panchaii."

[7] *par.* C.2.

malice des sa jeunesse, et par especial en fait darmes, et pourtant quant il sera venu en eage parfait il esmouvera guerres et tant fera quil aura la saisine du rengne, mais ce ne sera mye sans grant effusion de sang de ses citoyens. Sy seront en son temps les montaignes desertes de fourages et de bledz et les forets darbres, cest a dire que les villes et les chasteaulz de lisle de la Grant Bretaigne seront lors destruites et myses a ruyne par les guerres et tirannyes de cest asne. Et puis ce dist Merlin : " Et adont sourvendra " la verme qui par ses alaines enflambees [1] en boutant " hors parmy sa bouche grans vapeurs brullera les " arbres ; et de lui naistreront sept lions qui par les " testes des boucz seront troublez ; et par la puantise " de leurs narines corrumpront les femmes, et les fe- " ront toutes communes, sicque le pere ne porra cong- " noistre son propre filz, car ilz luxurieront comme " bestes mues." Cest a dire que la verme,[2] quy figure un baron dEngleterre, lequel sera tres maulvais [3] car il gastera par feu et par glave ainssy comme tout le royaulme pour avoir lonneur de la couronne, et en la fin apres pluiseurs batailles ja soit il issu de petite naissance sy sera il couronne du diadesme du royaulme, et puis apres son couronnement il brullera les arbres, cest a dire quil fera morir tous les plus grans seigneurs du rengne dEngleterre, et aura sept filz figures par les sept lions ensievans la nature de leur pere, qui moult feront de maulz et de paines a souffrir a leur povre peuple et seront entachies de oyzeufete par le repos quilz reprendront [4] quant ilz se verront au-dessus de leurs besongnes. Ilz seront troublez par les testes des boucz, voire car par la grant coppie de ricesses quilz auront ilz nentendront fors aux delitz charnelz

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[1] *enflambees.* B. *enflammes.* C.2. *enflamblees.* A.
[2] *la vermine.* C.2.
[3] *maulvais homme.* C.2.
[4] *prendront.* B. C.2.

et par leur tres[1] puante luxure ilz honniront toute lisle, car les aultres les ensievront, sicque les femmes seront toutes corrumpues, et seront tous bastards et voultres par toute lisle, et partant[2] ne congnoistra on lenfant du pere. Et puis dist Merlin: "Et lors vendra "le gaiant de mauvaistie et de felonnye quy par le "reguart et horriblete de ses yeulx espoventera tout "le monde; mais contre lui," dist Merlin, "seslevera "le dragon de ingromie[3] et se efforcera de toute sa "puissance de le tuer, et se combateront ensamble, et "sera le dragon vaincu et despouillies, et sera portes "es plus haulz lieux; et quant il sera la il dreschera[4] "sa queue et laissera le gaiant desarme, mais il re-"prendra son hardement et grevera moult le dragon, "mais il len tendra sy fort envelope de sa queue quil "en morra." Cestui gaiant sera un puissant prince du royaulme dEngleterre, fier et merveilleux en force darmes; il subjugra tous les aultres princes du rengne; il sera felon envers le peuple, car tout son plaisir sera de veoir a ses yeulx sans pitie loccysion du peuple, mais le peuple oppresse par sa tyrannie esmouvera le fel dragon et sera un chevalier du sang royal quy assamblera un tres grant ost et se combatera contre cestui saingler et auront ensamble grant merlee et pluiseurs fieres batailles mais le gaiant[5] obtenra la victoire, sy sera le dragon constraint de senfuir et se retraira es haultes montaignes ou il se raliera et atendra pour scavoir la voulente de ses ennemys. Mais la ou il verra que lost des ennemys gigantic-ques raempli de vins et de viandes sera coy et dor-mant sans paour, cuidans les ennemys du tout des-confis, il avec ce quil aura de gens venra par nuit en lost du gaiant et sy mettra tout a lespee, et le gaiant

[1] *tres mauvaise et.* C.2.

[2] *pourtant.* C.2.

[3] *ingromie.* MSS. perhaps for *uigornie.* (Conf. Galf. Mon.) "draco Wigorniæ."

[4] *drechera.* B. *haussera.* C.2.

[5] *mais la puissance du gayant.* B.

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mesmes sera navrez a mort, mais non mye sans grant perte de la gent du dragon. Et puis dist Merlin : " Et " tantost luy succedera le cruel saingler lequel tourmentera son peuple par moult de tyrannies." Il est a entendre que le gayant devant dit aura deux fils fors fiers et hardys aux armes. Laysne est signifie par le sainglier pour ce que merveulleusement sera courageux. Lautre fainct Merlin estre thoreau a cause de sa grant hardiesse ; car a merveilles sera hardis. Son frere le sanglier qui succedera a la couronne tourmentera son peuple par grans exactions et rapines [1] mais le noble duc de Clocestre par la grant compassion de la povrete du peuple lequel sera benigne et vertueux, preux et hardis aux armes, esmouvera guerre contre cestui saingler et auront enssamble grant merlee [2] et pluiseurs fieres batailles, mais enfin le lyon de Clocestre triomphera par moult noble victoire et mettra soubz ses piedz, cest a dire en sa juridiction le cruel saingler, et adont se joindront a luy tous les nobles barons de lisle adfin quil oste la couronne hors de la main des tyrans, et cest ce que dist Merlin ou texte sievant : " Et adont tourmentera," dist-il, " son peuple," mais pour restraindre sa malice et cruaulte, " Clocestre " enluminera [3] le lyon." Cest a dire [4] que Clocestre, qui portera le lyon en ses armes, " desconfira le saingler par " diverses batailles et en la fin le pillera a ses piedz, " et guerroyera le lion pour obtenir le royaulme et " passera toute la terre des nobles, mais a cestuy debat " venra le thor," frere du saingler, " qui de son pied " dextre le chassera par divers lieux." [5] Cest a dire quant le thoreau scaura la mort de son frere et la prinse de la couronne, il en sera moult courouchiez et [6] assamblera

[1] *tyrannies.* C.2.
[2] *merlee, accompaignie de.* C.2.
[3] *enluminera.* MSS. Lat. " eliminabit."
[4] *le duc de Clocestre.* B. C.2.
[5] Conf. Galf. Mon. " et terga nobilium transcendet," is rendered by " et passera toutes les terres des nobles."
[6] *pourquoy il.* B. C.2.

un grant ost et vendra contre le duc de Clocestre qui portera le lyon et avera la couronne prinse et se combattra contre lui en bataille rengie. Et finablement par la proesse et le hardement de ce thoreau le lyon sera desconfys, mais il eschappera de la bataille et senfuyra es lieux tenebreux [1] et deserts pour eschever la felonnye et hardiesse de cestuy thoreau. Et quant le thoreau scaura que le lyon sen sera fuis, il le poursievra, mais lui, voyant quil ne le porra ataindre il se convertira a destruire le pays et mettra le siege devant la cite dExonie et lui courront sus tous les nobles [2] de lisle quy auront un capitaine sage et soubtil en toutes cauteles darmes quy sera nommez regnart; la bataille fut [3] grande et plaine de grant occysion,[4] mais les nobles [5] auront victoire, sy sera le thoreau [6] occys et sa char donnee aux oyseaulz pour devourer. Et ce dist Merlin ou texte ensievant ou il dist: "Mais "apres le thoreau rompra ses cornes contre les murs "de Exonie. Et vengera le regnart le lyon, et sera "consumee la char du thoreau par les dentz du regnart." Puis dist Merlin: "Mais elle sera chainte" cest a dire Exonie "du serpent Lindicolnie et sera sa presence "tesmoignie par lorrible siflement de pluiseurs dragons, "lesquelz lors gramiront et ensamble sassambleront et "destruiront lun aultre." Cest a dire que entretant comme [7] les nobles sejourneront en la cite dExonie, faisant grant feste et consolation de leur victoire, le duc de Lincolnie, serpent par sa nature, plain de tyrannie, extrait de la lingnie du gaiant dessus nomme, assamblera un ost plain de cruaulte et sen ira assegier Exonye, et sera moult doubtee sa [8] gent et sa grande puissance, pour

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[1] *lieux deserts.* B. *aucuns lieux-deserts.* C.2.

[2] *nobles du royaume de lisle.* C.2.

[3] *sera moult grande.* C.2.

[4] *grant effusion de sang.* B. *effusion dhumain sang.* C.2.

[5] *nobles hommes.* C.2.

[6] *linhumain thoreau.* C.2.

[7] *entretant comme.* B. *tandisque.* C 2.

[8] *sa grande puissance.* C.2.

ce que avecques lui sadjoindront pluiseurs dragons, cest a dire pluiseurs barons fourlignables non sievans[1] la noblesse de leurs predicesseurs, qui par leur convoytise se soubmetront a la seignourie. Puis apres sera leur siglement moult espoventable a tout le rengne[2] car ilz garviront[3] et se destruiront lun laultre, cest a dire que tantost que leur duc sera mort, avarice quy soubmys les aura a la seignourie du tyrant les fera gramir, cest a dire combatre pour obtenir la seignourie, et en ces guerres sera loccysion du peuple grant et abhominable, et par especial de soldoyers estranges. Et ce figure Merlin ou texte sievant ou il dist que "les ungz se " combateront contre les aultres a ongles empruntees," ce sont aydes foraines sy comme de soldoyers estranges; mais finablement lun de ces six[4] dragons qui six freres aura obtendra le diadesme et sy occyra tous ses freres en bataille, exepte un qui senfuiera, et puis assamblera un grant ost et aura contre son frere de grans batailles, mais la ou il verra que par puissance darmes il ne porra venir au-dessus de son frere il saccordera a luy par fainte[5] paix, et quant il verra que son frere aura donne congie a ses gens[6] et quilz sen seront ales, il le tuera par trayson, sy sera couronnez du rengne et exillera tous ceulx qui auront donne confort et ayde a son frere. Et cest ce que Merlin dist au texte sievant: " Car celluy aura aisgles et se combatera a " ongles empruntees contre les non aisgles," il veult dire contre ceulx qui auront le commun[7] peuple en leur compaignie; "et vendront tous les aultres dragons a ", leur bataille et sentreoccyront tous, exepte un qui " eschappera et succedera au royaulme et corrompra ceulx " qui ancorres murmurront. Il tresperchera le corps

[1] *lonneur et.* C.2.
[2] *royaume.* C.2.
[3] *gramiront.* B. *graviront.* C.2.
[4] Omitted in B. C.2.
[5] *parfaincte.* C.2.
[6] *a ces hommes de guerre.* C.2.
[7] *menu.* C.2.

" de lun de son glaive et lui separera la teste du corps, " et par habit dissimule sourmontera il laultre et les " aultres repousera jusques a la fin du rengne.[1]" Et puis dist Merlin : " Et apres venra le lyon fronchant " par grant fierte quy moult se fera doubter, et ramenera " chincq portions de la terre en une et possidera le " peuple seul." Cest a dire que ce prince fier comme un lyon sera moult vygoureux, puissant et preu en armes et a merveilles bon justicier ; il restituera a son royaulme les provinces qui en auront este soubstraites par les guerres civiles et[2] ses predicesseurs, et obtenra la pleniere seignourie de lisle seul par grant prosperite. Et puis dist Merlin : " Apres resplendira le " gayant par coulleur de noir[3] et sy germera le peuple " blancq." Cest a dire que cestuy noble roy sera geant par son fier contenement ; il sera resplendissant par ses meurs vertueuses et parfaites operations ; et germera, dist Merlin, le peuple blancq, voire, par tout le peuple de lisle quy par long temps aura este en grans paines et tribulations par les guerres, sera reformez en paix et bonnes euvres par cestui noble geant. Et puis dist Merlin : " Et adont les princes de delicez " seront abolis et ennerves et leurs subgetz seront " muez en belues." Cest a dire que cilz bons roys,[4] extirpera et destruira tous les tirans de son royaulme, mais une grant partie deulz senfuyeront en la mer ou ilz feront moult de maulz, car ilz pilleront tous les marchans alans parmy la mer, et devoureront toutes manieres de proyes, comme font de leur nature les belues marines, et ordonneront entreulz un duc qui portera le lion en ses armes. Ce duc commencera la tyrannie et dollereuse occysion des habitans de lisle. Et cest ce que dist Merlin au texte ensievant : " Et en

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[1] *royaume.* C.2. *en la fin du rengne.* B.

[2] *de.* C.2.

[3] *coulleur du noir.* MSS. Lat. " colore niveo."

[4] *que cellui bon roy.* C.2.

" iceulx," dist-il, " naystera le lion qui par inhumaine " cruaulte sera taint,[1] cest a dire par effusion de sang " humain, et sera opprime," dist Merlin, " de celluy " par pensee a qui il se soubmetra," cest a entendre que celluy en quy il aura le plus grant fiance loccyra adfin de obtenir sa terre et tout ce quil aura. Puis dist Merlin : " Mais oppressyon tyrannicque sedera " et appaisera le charetier de Ebroich, car chassies " les gens du seigneur, sachera[2] son glaive et occyra " le duc, et sa char et son corps muchera vers orient, " et emplira les traches de ses roes de son sang." Cestuy charetier sera un chevalier qui tout son temps aura este au service du duc de Ebroich, maistre des pirates quy portoyt le lyon, lequel voulant vengier la mort de son seigneur contre celluy quy trayteusement laura occys, fera une grant quantite de gens armer et les mettra en gros tonneaulx de vin sur chars et charettes et les menra en un certain lieu ou il scaura estre le tirant a privee maisnie et sytost quilz seront la venus ilz sauldront souldainement hors des tonneaulx, sy tueront le tirant et toute sa compaignie et mettront son corps en terre en une partye de lisle qui regarde vers orient. Et puis dist Merlin: " Sy istera " du tirant mort un poisson marin lequel par siffle- " ment de serpent sera engendres en icelle, et en " naysteront trois thoreaulz furieulz lesquelz apres " ce que ilz auront consumees et mangies toutes les " pastures se convertiront en arbres : sy portera le " premier le flayel vyperien," cest a dire tourment de venin ; il est a entendre de cely[3] tirant qui sera occys par les gens darmes qui seront portes en tonneaulz sur charettes naistera un aultre maulvais chevalier qui resemblera a son pere en tous les maulz et traysons ; il emplira la terre et lisle de pleurs et destruira toutes les parties dicelle prochaines a la

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[1] *fera tant.* C.2.
[2] *tirera.* C.2.
[3] *de celluy.* B. C.2. *que cely.* A.

mer, et puis il espousera une dame instruite et enseignee a tout malice qui est figuree par les serpens. Il engendera en icelle troys filz qui seront tous les plus maulvais que oncques mais fuissent[1] en lisle ; il gastera[2] et destruira tous les fruitz de la terre et tourmentera tous les habitans par griefves exactions et abhominables tirannies tant par occysions comme par rapines et tourmens intollerables ; mais Dieu qui est[3] droiturier lui envoyera et a ses freres par pugnition le venin mortel de la guerre civile, parquoy ilz entretueront lun laultre par mauvaise convoytise, honteuzement selon leurs desertes. Et puis dist Merlin : " Et a eulz succedera le coullon dAlbanie " auquel ne sera ja necessite que serpens lui apperent " au dos, car il appellera la terre pour la subvertir, " et adfin que il enflambe les fruitz dicelle il labourra " pour faire effusion de venin ad ce que les herbes " croissent au lieu de bled, sy deffaura[4] le peuple par la " mortelle playe de famine. Et les murs des citez " seront plains de desolation." Cestui coullon dAlbanie sera par la veue de fainte ypocrysie eslevez en roy apres la mort des trois tirans, et pour ce est figure par le coullon. Mais tantost quil sera en possession du royaulme, prins avec lui aulcuns complices des tirans ses predicesseurs, il demoustrera evidamment la felonnie et grant mauvaistie de son ceur, car il tourmentera le peuple et degastera les fruits de terre, mais la playe divine cherra sur son peuple en sy grant abhomination que les citez demourront desertes, et ce figure Merlin[5] ou il dist,—" il ne sera ja mestier que serpens lui appe- " rent au dos,"—car la vengence de Dieu acraventera la plus grant partye du peuple, et quant il verra son peuple ainssy morir et que les champs et les eaues seront puans et abhominables a cause de la multitude des

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[1] *nez fussent.* C.2.
[2] *ils gasteront et destruiront . . . . et tourmenteront.* B. C.2.
[3] *souverain.* C.2.
[4] *deffauldra.* C.2.
[5] *ou texte ou.* B. C.2.

corps quy y seront gisans sans sepulture, il se retraira en la cite de Claudien[1] ou se seront retrays les bons catholicques et prendra deulz la medicine de ses pechiez en faisant grant[2] penitance et fera preschier au peuple levangile de nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist, et fera reedefyer et renouveller les eglises desertes, et par ainssy cessera la playe du ciel et toute lisle sera renouvellee en bonnes meurs ou en vertus. Et ce dist Merlin ou clause sievant: "Et sera," dist-il, "donnee pour remede la cyte de Claudien, laquelle il "mettra cambrienne entre son tourment, car lestatue "de medicine elle portera, et en brief elle sera renou-"vellee."[3] Et puis dist Merlin: "Deux de ses fieulz[4] "sy ensievront le septre royal, ausquelz corones[5] "mynistrera le dragon." Cest a dire quil aura deux filz qui seront couronnez sur deux partyes de lisle et leur obeira debonnairement le peuple des Bretons quy seront en lisle, lequel Merlin entent par le dragon. "Mais un aultre venra apres," ce dist Merlin, "quy "chevauchera un serpent vollant, lequel nud darmes "lui coppera le col et le corps de sa queue, et a sa "clamour se esleveront les mers, et secondement com-"mencera paour en laultre dragon, sy sacompaignera "avec le lyon, et par griefves batailles tourmenteront "lun laultre." Cestui dragon qui sourvendra sera le peuple des Bretons-Anglois de qui les relicques, prinse vigour, chevaucheront un serpent vollant cest a dire trayson et inhumaine cruaulte, et pour ce recommencera derechief paour en laultre dragon[6] cest a dire au peuple des Bretons quy prendront aliance a un noble duc portant le lion, sy assembleront un grant ost et yront a lencontre des Anglois, et auront pluiseurs cruelles

[1] *cite Claudienne.* C.2.
[2] *grefve.* B. C.2.
[3] *et en brief sera renouvellee lisle.* B. C.2.
[4] *filz.* B. C.2.
[5] *cornus.* B. C.2.
[6] *dragon.* B. C.2. omitted in A.

batailles ensamble plaines doccysion, mais un fier chevalier, figure par la belue, lequel sera duc en une[1] des partyes maritaines, vendra sur les deux ostz et en destruira une grant partye et seront les deux freres roys occys, et tout leur peuple se soubmetra a la seignourie duchoyse armoyee du lion; et puis ce duc poursievra les Anglois moult fierement, mais un prince vertueux venra en leurs ostz lequel par le doulz son[2] de ses parolles les metra en bonne paix et concorde. Et sera couronné le lyon par lassentement de tous ensamble, lequel reformera le royaulme sagement et appaisera toutes les discordes par tous les lieux et provinces dicelluy royaulme. Cilz[3] rengnera vigoureusement par bonne justice. Et ce dist Merlin ou texte ensievant: " Mais la fureur[4] et fierte de la belue," dist-il, " qui " venue sera illec prevenra devant tous. Et lors venra " un homme avec cymbales et harpes qui adouchera[5] " par son doulz et melodieux sonnement la cruaulte du " lyon: et adont seront pacifiees toutes les nations du " rengne, et appareilleront le lion ou siege,"—cest a dire ou royaulme ou a la couronne,—"lequel pensera[6] les " nations, et se estendera sa seignourie jusques en Al- " banie." Apres dist Merlin: " Et adont auront grans " trystesses les provinces acquilonnaires, et ce magni- " festeront les huys des temples, et le loup a enseignes " frere conduira les legions et chaindra de sa " queue Cornubye." Cest a dire que ou temps que le duc rengnera, qui portera le lyon, les provinces dAcquilon, comme Escoche, Galles et Hyrlande seront indigneez de luy obeyr et pour ce assembleront un ost et feront leur duc dun chevalier cauteleux et malicieux comme le loup, puis mouveront guerre au duc de

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[1] *lisle des parties.* B. C.2.
[2] *somp.* C.2.
[3] *Cestui.* C.2.
[4] *ferveur.* B. C.2.
[5] *adoulcira.* C.2.
[6] *peu sera.* C.2. perhaps *pesera.* (conf. Galf. Mon.) "pacificabuntur " nationes regni, et . . . ap- " pensas vacabit."

Cornubye pour ce quil aura[1] fait aliance au duc qui portera le lyon, et gasteront sa terre; mais le duc Cornubien, ses gens assamblez, et aydez de toutes pars, non obstant que adont il soit malade griefment, se fera il porter en une curre et yra au-devant de ses ennemys, et pour tant que ses hommes verront que pour nulle foiblesse de maulz il ne doubta point soy habandonner aux perilz de fortune ilz seront habandonnes et sy animez en leurs corages que tous seront fays sainglers, parquoy ilz desconfiront leurs ennemys, et leur duc sera noiez au fleuve de Sabrine. Et cest la sentence de Merlin ou texte quy sensieult: "Le chevalier," dist il, "leur resistera en un curre, lequel muera son peuple " en saingler, et le saingler tantost degastera les pro- " vinces, mais finablement il occulcira sa veue dedens " le fleuve de Sabrine, et adont le lion sy embrachera " lomme et seront tout un."[2] Cest a dire le roy portant le lyon en ses armes yra veoir le chevalier duc de Cornubye pour le conjoir apres sa victoire, et seront amys toute leur vie ensamble. Et apres dist Merlin: " Et la resplendeur de lor sy aveuglera les yeulx des " regardans, et largent sesjoira en la circuite de lisle." Cest a dire que le pays dEngleterre sera en sy grant prosperite dessoubz la seignourie de cestui lion que toute lisle sera resplendant de grans richesses dor et dargent a cause de la bonne justice et longue paix, que lors y sera: sy leur tournera le long repos leurs pensees en mauvaisties et seront aveugles par leurs grans richesses et tant quilz seront enordis et de-tachyes.[3] Ce dist Merlin ou texte ensievant: "De " divers pressoirs sur lesquelz mis le vin les mortelz " seront enivres." Voirement seront[4] ilz enivres des

[1] *aura aliance.* C.2.

[2] *et seront tout un.* MSS. (conf. Galf. Mon.) "amplexabitur homo "leonem in vino" *var. lect.* "in "auro."

[3] *tachies.* B. C.2.

[4] *seront riches des.* C.2.

mondaines richesses et nauront ailleurs aultre regard, car leurs yeulx y seront enferres [1] et par tant perderont ilz la congnoissance du createur et tourneront leurs visages vers terre comme bestes mues, et ce dist Merlin clerement ou texte qui sensieult : " Delaissie," dist il, " et " mys deriere le ciel, ilz regarderont la terre et des- " tourneront leurs viaires des estoilles et confundront " leurs cours, et les fruitz de la terre adont secheront." Voyrement seront il sechies, car comme toutes les choses prendent commencement et nayssance de Dieu et des vertus [2] du ciel, et comme toutes choses mondaines aient este crees pour homme servir et pour sa propre substance maintenir, lesqueles choses de premier continuellement prendrent leur vigour des influences de ses planettes et aultres estoilles, lesqueles a cause de humaine nature bestournee en bestialite denieront donner aux herbes et fruitz de terre humeur et nourrissement, par quoy ilz secheront sans fructifyer, sy sen plaindra la terre au createur en disant : 'O tres glorieux createur ! a qui toute puissance celestiele, mondaine et infernale obeyst et humblement flechyst, puisque ainssy est quil ta pleu moy soubzmettre chamberiere et nourrice de tous les mortelz, quen ferai-jou comme je naye nulz fraingz pour restraindre leurs maulvaises volentes silz tresbucent en vices, en delaissant ta sainte loy et tes sains commandemens ! dy-moy en quoy jay trespasse ton saint ordre ! pourquoy me laisses-tu maintenant orphenine de mes vertus qui aournent et vestent mon corps de robes verdoyans tyssues de fleurs de diverses coulleurs ? il samble que tu me veulles denyer et tollir ce que tu me donnas de ta benigne grace [3] au commencement quant tu me creas.

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[1] *enserres.* C.2.

[2] *et des souveraines vertus du ciel aussi comme.* C.2.

[3] *bonne gre.* C.2.

O sire! execute, je ten prye, ton yre, et preng vengance sur ceulx quy par loccasion de leurs pechies[1] mont perpetree[2] leurs[3] infametes adfin que je ne demeure pas nue ou despouillie de toute ma vertu et puissance.' Et pour ce dist Merlin que la veue merveilleuse de ceste secheresse et sterilite quy sera moustree en la terre, mere universal, a cause des tres horribles crismes des mortelz qui le destruiront lui sera miracle. Et ce dist[4] " ou texte sievant: " Pour ce " disoit il, " les corps celes- " tielz en seront indignez et denieront aux herbes et " aux arbres et substrairont les forces et les vertus aux " rams et aux rachines, et la nouvellete de ceste chose " me sera miracle et sera horreur aux regardans." Et puis dist Merlin: " Car en cellui temps la resplendeur " du soleil et lesleu de Mercure[5] sy languira, et " Stilbon dAchadie[6] sy muera son escu, et le heame[7] de " Mars sy appellera la luxure Venus, et adont forgera le " heaulme de Mars lumbre, mais la fureur de Mercure " sy trespassera les termes, Oroyson sy mousterra[8] " lespee flamboyant de lumiere, et le cheval du soleil " sy acraventera les nues." Cestuy texte est moult difficile et obscur a moy, toutesfois il mest advis que Merlin veult dire que la ou les mortels auront delaissie la congnoissance de Dieu et de son divin service et mescongnoisteront les vertus ou puissances du ciel et se joindront en lamour des choses terriennes, mortelles et muables, sans nul seur port, subjettes a la perversite de la roe de fortune, la justice deffaudra en eulz qui les polices et royaulmes soustiennent[9] et garde en lumiere et tient en estat ferme et estable, ainssy comme fait le soleil cestuy bas monde, et lan-

[1] *de tels pechies.* C.2.
[2] *impetree.* C.2.
[3] *ceste infamete.* B. C.2.
[4] *ce dist lesleu de Mercure.* B. C.2.
[5] *Mercure.* B. C.2. omitted in A.
[6] *de Cadie.* C.2.
[7] *le heaulme.* B. C.2.
[8] *maistriera.* C.2.
[9] *soustient.* C.2. B.

guira par grant tritresse[1] et sen vollera a la fontaine de gloire dont elle rechoipt continuellement la grace, cest en celle tres haute et exellente trinite ou toute vertu prent son commencement. He Dieu! se la roine[2] de justice est palle et descoulouree par langour, ou se tapira ne se muchera la lumiere de verite? Certes elle sera ainssy comme noirchye[3] et emprinse par tenebres et esvanuye par tyrannye; et ce figure Merlin par la langour de Mercure, qui est une planette scituee en un cercle du ciel quy a son regard sur ceulx qui ont bel langage, belle faconde et quy ont loquence de parler en beaulx termes en disant verite, et lorsque justice et verite langueront, qui sera cellui[4] qui porra resister aux flesches tres venemeuses de ce dolereux monde? Certes nul, car ilz sont le seul escu et deffence aux humains. Et pour tant dist Merlin que Stilbon dArcadye muera son escu, et le signe du Sagitaire qui est scitue ou zodiacque lequel a regard et puissance sur les hommes furieux aura plaine domination, sy seront ses sajettes espandues par tout le monde; et ce fait a scavoir Merlin en disant que le heaulme de Mars appellera dame Venus et son heaulme sy forgera umbre. O Venus, vice tres detestable, [5]ordure et fetour abhominable, qui adont sera tant espandus sur la lingnie de Mars, dieu de bataille, qui rengnera en effatant les vertus de Mars, cest a dire les hommes armez qui doibvent en eulx avoir vigour par grant courage, force de corps, puissance darmes[6] vertueuse, cautelles, industries, hardemens et aultres pluiseurs bonnes vertus; mais les nobles hommes qui en icelluy temps rengneront en lisle dEngleterre seront sy aveuglez et endormis ou puant vice de luxure quilz perderont toute leur renommee

[1] *tristresse.* B.
[2] *la roine* B. C.2. *la roy roine.* A.
[3] *nourrice.* C.2.
[4] *lomme qui.* C.2.
[5] *O ordure.* B. C.2.
[6] *darmes, vertueuses cautelles.* C.2.

et toutes les vertus quy appartiennent a noble homme. O maulvais pechye ne [1] cesseras-tu jamais? Certes nennil, anchoys enordiras tous les plus sages et soubmetras aux tenebres de povre chetivete et servitude par leurs maulvaises euvres ou erreurs et faulses iniquitez ou volontez vaines. Or dist Merlin que Oroison moustrera le glave flamboyant, cest a dire que ainsy comme Oroyson, qui est le point ou le soleil naist et sappert par maniere dune nouvelle naissance en la fin de vingt quatre heures et nous apporte apres la passion des tenebres de la nuit le plaisant benefice de joyeuse lumiere qui a toute chose mortelle donne force et vigour, sy comme il appert aux herbes qui par la froideur de la nuyt se fletrissent et mortiffient,[2] et sytost comme les rais du soleil sourviennent au matin elles se redreschent et reviennent en resuscitant ainssy comme de mort a vye. Helas! les princes qui en cellui temps rengneront deussent estre tous ainssy comme Oroyson en portant a leur peuple la resplendeur de unite, de paix et de concorde, avec la clarte de justice, mais sans doubte ilz feront tout au contrayre, car eulz infectz des parnicieux crysmes de ce monde aporteront en lieu de justice rapines, subsides, tailles, angaries et toutes exactions de tyrannye inraisonnables et inlicites, car ils aporteront en lieu de paix discord de batailles, occysions et tous les [3] villains vices par quoy les villes seront desertes et taintes par leffusion du sang de leurs habitans, par glaves flamboyans de cruaulte et vyolence inhumaine; et ce figure Merlin par le cheval du soleil qui acraventera les nues: ce sont les princes terriens qui doibvent estre chevaulz de justice, qui detruiront les nues de terres, ce sont les citez et les villes. Et puis dist Merlin: "Et lors le doulz Jupiter istera de ses licytes [4] " sentes et Venus sy laissera les lingnyes qui lui sont

[1] Omitted in B.

[2] *amortissent.* C.2.

[3] *tous villains vices.* B. *tous vilains et mauvais vices.* C.2.

[4] *doulces.* C.2.

" ordonnees, et Saturne la haulte planette sy declinera " par palleur, et retournee sa faulx il destruira les " mortelz; et le nombre des maisons et sieges du " corps[1] du ciel sy plourera, et geminy soufflera les " choses, ce sont les planettes, passer les embrasemens " acoustumez; et laguille de la livre sy pendra[2] " en obliquite jusques ad ce qui les moutons auront " recouvre la rectitude de leur cornes; la queue de " lescorpion sy engendrera foudres et tempestes, et la " cancre sy se lyera par rancune au soleil; et adoncques " la vierge sy montera sur le doz du sagittaire et " obfusquera les fleurs de virginite; car le curre de la " lune sy se tourbla et noircy,[3] sy se ouverront les " arches pladiennes[4] (ce sont estoilles qui engendrent la " pluie), et la deesse Adryane rompra le pleur, mais les " dieulx sy esleveront les mers, et les ventz par " terribles tempestes se esleveront contre les estoilles " et feront ensamble un son tres merveilleux a oyr."

Par ceste prophetie, qui bien la voldroit epuluchier, on porroit clerement entendre et notter la fin de ce present monde et les signes quy avenront devant le jour du jugement,[5] mais je men passe atant pour ceste foys pour cause de briefte, car trop longue chose seroit a bien declairer toutes les particulieres parties, sy y mettray un aultre plus brief entendement, car il est advis a moy par[6] le doulz Jupiter quy a un regart[7] et une vertu amoureuse plaine de benivolence sur ceulx quy sont constituez en grans dignitez et administrations sy comme roys, ducz et princes terriens, qui deussent par piteux regard, clemence et benignite, florir entre le menu peuple, comme fait Jupiter; mais ilz seront en celluy temps

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[1] *cours.* C.2.
[2] *si pendra.* C.2. *prendra.* A.
[3] *si se troublera et noirsira, et se ouvreront.* C.2.
[4] *pliadiennes.* B. *piladan.* C.2.
[5] *du grant jugement.* B.
[6] *que par.* B. C.2.
[7] *un regard.* B. *un doulx regard.* C.2.

hors des termes de raison. La cause sera car Venus est une planette amyable quy a son regard sur ceulx qui sont cointes et jolys ou amoureux, et qui voulentiers executent le fait de luxure dont les grans barons seront tous plains en cellui temps, ja soit ce quilz deussent estre vray miroir sans tache a vivre enmy leur peuple mais celle mauvaise vye luxurieuse tant oprobrieuse et diffamable, ostelee [1] es corps des princes terriens qui alors rengneront ne sera point longuement au monde sans grant pugnition, car Saturne, la tres haulte planette sy gastera et destruira les mortelz par malice et la cruaulte de sa faulz. Saturne est une planette la plus haulte des aultres, quy est tres mauvaise et contraire a toutes choses, car elle a un regard maligne et sa vertu engendre mortele playe a tous les vivans. Ceste planette a cause de sa mauvaise [2] nature engendre pestilences merveilleuses en cestuy [3] monde, sy comme ventz tempestes et mortalitez, car elle est froide et seche et pour ce seront ses soldoyers, qui soubz sa vigour se viveront, comme tyrans prestz a occyre et acraventer par paines et tormens intollerables tous les povres vivans ; et se la malice de sa nature nestoit atempree par la vertu et contrariete des aultres planettes, nulle chose du monde ne fructifieroit ne ne porroit vivre en cestui bas monde. Et pourceque nostre Seigneur souffrera [4] adont ceste estoille rengner en sa puissance a cause des pechies du monde, la pestilence de mortalite sera sy grande et la desolation sy abhominable que les vertus du ciel en ploureront, car neantmoins que les angles et les ames gloriffies en la joye de paradis ne puissent avoir ne sentir doleur ne pleur ne aultre tribulation, toutesfois se sesjoissent ilz en la sanctification de nature, et leur est une beneuree contemplation de la veoir raemplir les sieges [5] de paradis

[1] *hostelee.* B. C.2.
[2] *parverse.* B. C.2.
[3] *mortel.* B. C.2.
[4] *souferra.* B. *souffrira.* C.2.
[5] *les saincts sieges.* C.2.

et aussy se deullent ils aulcunement du contraire et pryent Dieu pour nous quant ilz voyent que nous avons moult a souffrir par nos pechies. Et pour tant dist Merlin que les corps du ciel ploureront par privation de la joye devant ditte la chetivoyson humaine, car les douze signes qui sont ou zodiacque laysseront aux sept planettes leur plaine domination et tout le gouvernement. Par ces douze signes je puis entendre les douze[1] puissances de lame, cest a scavoir les cincq sens corporelz ou naturelz et les cincq vertus congnoissans quy sont scitues en la teste, et volonte et entendement quy doibvent tourner par les signes du cercle de raison. Mais adoncques toutes leurs euvres seront plaines de lordure et maculation des sept pechies mortelz, pourquoy la terre, la mer et les ventz se esleveront contre le ciel, et eulz complaignant de humaine nature feront un son horrible et merveilleux, comme indignez de souffrir et porter ses iniquitez.

Qui voldroit plus haultement carculer[2] la sentence de ceste prophetie on trouveroit quelle approcheroit la moult[3] aux signes et la lumiere du grant jour du jugement que tendra le glorieux resplendant solleil de justice en dystribuant a un chascun selon son merite et deserte apres la resurextion des mors, sy comme jai touchye devant ; mais ad ce convendroit descripre la plus grant partye dastrologie, et pour ce que mon entendement ne porroit bonnement avenir[4] a declarer sy haulte speculation[5] je men passe et la laysse a ceulx quy plus cler y voyent que moy ; mais il me semble que leffect des parolles Merlin en grant doulleur aujourdhuy sortissent leur efficiale verite, et ce peult apparoyr a ceulx quy ont sain et vray entendement.

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[1] *douze.* B. C.2. omitted in A.

[2] *calculer.* C.2.

[3] *la moult et aux signes et a la.* B. *la moult aux signes et a la.* C.2.

[4] *venir.* C.2.

[5] *maintenant je,* C.2.

Helas ! quant je regarde en cestui tres noble chrestien royaulme de Franche les ceurs des noble barons et chevaliers estre obfusques en tenebres par leurs vices, et ceulx qui sont commys de garder la fontaine de justice, de limpartir et louvrir a tous generalment, aussy bien au petit comme au grant, aveuglez et sours sy comme nous poons veoir maintenant, car il appert clerement a tout le monde que on ne veult faire ne ouvrir la voye de justice a ceulx qui la requerront [1] et instamment demanderont,[2] parquoy tant maint mal adviennent tous les jours, et me doubte que ancores advenront. Certes quant je y pense le ceur me fremist et souspire par griefz gemissemens. Helas en cestui royaulme se souloit esjoir justice en son throsne luisant, et y affluoient, venoient et acouroient toutes nations estranges et barbaricques pour avoir droit et raison des malfaiteurs, et maintenant on dist que la fontaine de droit et justice est perie ou estainte en France, et sen mocquent les estranges nations. Mais veritablement je croy que les ames de ceulx du conseil de France qui maintenant rengnent, tant des seculiers comme des clercs quy se taysent et sont muyaulx [3] nonobstant grans inconveniens quy en adviennent chascun jour devant leurs yeulx, en seront condempnees pardurablement ou parfond puitz denfer avec les dyables infernaulz qui pardurablement les tourmenteront.

He Dieu ! nous avons une prophetie quy dist que le royaulme de France en vigour durera tant comme justice y rengnera, et quant elle y fauldra le rengne [4] a neant tournera,[5] laquelle chose je prye a Dieu que [6] nadviengne ja soit ce quil y ait grant commencement, car [7] la parnicieuse sedition et division civile est entre

[1] *requierent.* B. C.2.
[2] *demandent.* B. C.2.
[3] *muets.* C.2.
[4] *le royaume a neant ira.* C.2.
[5] *devenra.* B.
[6] *que ja.* B.
[7] *car ja.* B.

nous, car nous sommes maintenant tous Guelfes et Guibelins comme les Lombars, et ne vient tout ce que par faulte de justice. He Dieu ! tous les livres historiaulz en sont plains dexemples, sy comme il appert de lempire des Rommains qui par leur prudence usage et industrie darmes obtindrent la monarcie de tout le monde, et toutesfois par leur division [1] ils ont tout perdu. Que doibt on dire de limperial seignourie des Grygoys qui par noble et cler triumphe mysrent en leur juridiction Orient, Mydy, et Septentryon, et par faulte de faire rayson et justice ilz perdirent tout long temps apres ? Que doy je dire des Rommains dont jai parle, et aussy avec ce des royaulmes de Perse et de Mede qui furent jadys tant renommez et par samblable occasyon ont este destruis ? Assez en peult on trouver dexemples, mais je men passe a tant fors que je dys que cest mal fait de favorisier [2] a nul contre rayson, car si ceulx dOstun neussent oncques trouve France en ce party ilz ne leussent oncques concquise ne faitte tributaire aux Rommains, ains eussent este deboutez hors du royaulme honteuzement. Et aussy cestuy tres maulvais vice de ambition ou convoytise et de vouloir dominer fist serf et tributaire aux Babiloniens le royaulme noble et le plus exellent du monde, cest a scavoir celluy de Jherusalem, comme il appert par la personne de nostre seigneur Jhesu Crist quy en porta la couronne ; pourquoy il appert evidamment que entre tous ceulx du monde il est le plus noble, et toutesfois il neust jamais este tributaire aux Babiloniens se les dix lingnies ne se feussent soubstraites de la seignourie Robboam. Or nous en taysons a tant, sy revenons a nostre matiere, et disons que Mercure, qui vault autant a dire que [3] verite est pally pour ce que raison et justice sen sont envollees [4] et que les nues

[1] *division maintenant.* B. C.2.
[2] *daucunement favorisier.* C.2.
[3] *comme.* B. C.2.
[4] *vollees.* B. C.2.

dobscurte trieullees de noirete superstitieuses et de coulleurs sophisticques se sievent[1] en son lieu et y sont empraintes arrogance enflee[2] dordure et de ventosite coulouree de pompes oultre les termes de raison excedans et bordee de machinations occultes et de linfame prodition scentans la rachine dont la devise est estrange par la difformite de loppression du peuple innocent et des menbres Jhesu Crist, car elle est aournee dun vestement figure par morts venimeux qui demolyst et efface la verite des pensees humaines, les religions des proprietes[3] fraterneles, lequel est paint dune fiction et lypocrite couleur quy a merveilles se rent belle aux yeulz des regardans, mais le touchement[4] dicelle est plus poignant que la queue de lescorpion, et ainssy dechoipt par falace dypocrysie en attraiant tres saintement adfin de inferer la mort par la queue de sedition. Et pardessus cestuy aournement est scitue le dore manteau dambition et ignominieuse rapine qui en noz vyes deyfie dame pecune quy descouleure les desirables melodyes de larmonicque musicienne, qui macucle et enordist la chevalerie hectorienne et efface la proesse herculienne quy orpheline et extrait la propre substance des povres innocens par les maulvaisties et productions ulissaires.[5] Helas ! helas ! cest moult a doloir et oultre plus, car la faulz de Saturne sy eslargist les administrations et dignitez du monde aux serpens dypocrisie et a ceulx qui luysent par metaulz, et les nobles sont soubstrais de leurs lingnies ! Que veult figurer Merlin, comme dessus est dit, par lyssue du doulz Jupiter de ses lycites sentes et Venus est hors des lingnes de raison et humanite et ses soldoyers rengnent aujourdhuy en grans dignitez et sont assis au trosne de la roe de fortune car ses euvres sont ainssy comme nobles triumphes aux yeulx des vivans. Et Merlin a

[1] *se sierrent.* C.2.
[2] *enflee.* B. C.2. *eflee.* A.
[3] *prosperitez.* B. C.2.
[4] *lathoucement.* B. C.2.
[5] *ulixaires.* B. C.2.

dit dessus ou texte que la lune et la vierge obfusquent les fleurs de virginitie sur le dos du Sagitaire. Oil sans nulle doubte, car Mars, le dieu de bataille sy forgera a present en lieu de proesses chevalereuses umbres vicieuses et toutes maulvayses superfluytes, a quoy nous ont menez ou conduitz longue prosperite de fortune et puis la tres grant affluence des richesses delicieuses ou chascun [1] qui peult met grandement sa cure. Mais certes pour ces causes moult fait a cremir et doubter ce que le prophete Merlin subjoinct ou diwlgue en sa derreniere clause, cest a dire que la terre, nostre mere, injustement desolee, la divine puissance a cause de nos pechiez criminelz ne seuffre les ventz horribles et tonnoirres tempestueux eux esmouvoir et eslever contre nous par merveilleux son ou tombissement a nostre finale execution. Mais je prye et requiers humblement a la benoite trinittet, un dieu en trois personnes, pere, filz et saint espirit, qui pour amour de nous volt prendre char humaine puis [2] souffrir mort et passion que nonobstant nos vices de sa piteuse misericorde veulle revenir et arrouser les ceurs des princes terriens, par especial en cestuy present royaulme en telle maniere que le povre peuple puist [3] vivre en paix soubz [4] leur seignourie, laquelle paix nous ottroit le pere, le filz et le saint esperit. Amen.

Comment Merlin prophetiza au roy Vortigier ladvenement des deux filz du roy Constant et la fin de sa miserable vye et aussy la mort de Englist le Saxon. LE CHAPITRE LVIII[e].

COMME doncques lenffant Merlin par esperit de prophetie eult denoncye au roy Vortigier et a ceulx de sa compaignie les choses devant dittes, ilz se com-

[1] *ou tout homme.* C.2.
[2] *voult prendre char humaine puis.* B. C.2. omitted in A.
[3] *puisse.* C.2.
[4] *desoubz.* B. C.2.

mencerent a esmerveillier de sa grant sagesse et parolles doubteuses quilz lui ooient prononchier, et plus le roy que nulz des aultres pour ce que en son ceur extimoit que nostre Seigneur par voix angelique parlast en la bouche de Merlin Ambroise.

Ce roy looit moult en son corage les propheties ou divinailles Merlines et disoit que oncques en sa vye navoit oy parolles sy substantieuses et que il ne cuidoit mye que en tout le monde eust un tel jovencel qui sy nobles choses sceust propherer ne exprimer sy bien la verite de toutes choses. Sy rendoit graces a nostre Seigneur de ce que envoye lui avoit cestui enffant dedens le ventre duquel il cuidoit estre un angle[1] de paradis, et disoit: "O Dieu, mon createur, " comme moy mechant ay este en mon temps decheu " de moy assentir ne croire aux parolles de ces folz " enchanteurs nigromantiens qui oncques ne me not- " tiffierent une seule verite fors que fables et men- " chonges quilz trouvoient par leurs falaces et villes " fictions couvertes! En verite il mest advis que " en ce monde mortel na homme digne de sy grant " honneur que cest enffant; pourquoy par lui et par " son conseil je me veul conduire et gouverner, ma " vye ordonner et mes destinees scavoir." Quant le roy Vortigier eut assez longuement pense aussy comme tout esbahy es[2] perfections qui en Merlin estoient, il lappella a lui, desirant de scavoir la fin de sa vye quele et quant elle seroit, en luy pryant que notiffier lui voulsist les choses qui advenir lui debvoient quelles[3] quelles feussent, bonnes ou maulvaises, et par especial de sa mort. Et Merlin oiant la deprecation du roy lui dist: "Il test necessite se tu veulx saulver ta vye " de fuir le feu de la fureur des enffans du roy " Constant se ainssy est que vailles ou puisses eschapper

[1] *angele.* B.
[2] *es nobles.* B.
[3] *queles.* B. C.2.

" par aulcune maniere ; mais certes ce sera bien fort
" car ilz apprestent ja leurs nefz et tantost laisseront
" le rivage dArmoricque Bretaigne, sy auront bons
" ventz et propices qui souffleront les voilles parmy
" la mer, sy arriveront briefment en ce pays de la
" Grant Bretaigne, puis envahiront les gens du tres
" desloyal traytre Englist et subjugueront cellui
" nephant criminel peuple Saxonnicque. Mais saches
" certainement il te feront anchois [1] ardoir car tu, par ta
" trayson, machinas et consentis la mort de ton leal
" seigneur le noble roy Constant leur pere, et en
" oultre a ta grant destruction et a la grant effusion
" du sang de tes cytoiens tu as semons et provocquie
" aux armes en lisle de Bretaigne les traytres Saxons.
" Tu les appellas a ton ayde et ilz vindrent a ta
" faveur debeller et guerroyer les bons et nobles princes
" crestiens de ton royaulme. Mais saces [2] que ce te
" tournera a dollereus tourment, car a toy sapprestent
" deux mors dolloureuses et miserables et sy nas nulle
" prompte opportunite deschiever lune plus que laultre
" car dune part tu peus[3] voir les Saxons qui par tyrannye
" et horrible mortalite faitte par glaive et inhumaine
" cruaulte destruisent et gastent tout ton pays et
" font rougir toute la terre du sang de tes citoyens ;
" ilz demolissent tes citez, villes, chasteaulx, et
" forteresses ; ilz despouillent tes pallaix et ravissent
" tes tresors et ja pour toy faire finer investiguent
" les lits de tes chambres. Daultre part tu verras
" briefment le vaillant Aurelien et son frere Uther
" qui viennent dArmoricque a tres grant ost adcom-
" paignies de tres [4] noble chevalerie qui te quierent
" pour vengier en ton corps la mort du noble roy
" Constant leur pere. Quiercz [5] doncques hastivement

[1] *en ta tour.* C.2.
[2] *saches.* C.2.
[3] *poelz.* B.
[4] *moult.* B. C.2.
[5] *quers.* C.2.

" confort et sceurete la ou tu porras, car demain au " matin ilz empliront tous les rivages de la mer " dhommes esleuz en proesse darmes, et sy feront " toute la terre vermeillier du sang des traitres Saxons, " et finablement par pesantes batailles ilz les destruiront " tous, et celluy maulvays tirant Englist par toy tant " ame destruit et mys a mort, et sera Aurelien le " noble jovenceau couronnez par sa grande prudence " et merveilleuse proesse, lequel appaisera le peuple " de lisle et les nations prochaines conjoindra a sa " juridiction par grant benivolence et restorera toutes " les eglises ruyneuses qui sont destruites par la " cruaulte des Sarrazins Saxons ; mais lennemy denfer " qui tousjours a envye sur les bons par sa malice " luy avancera le venin parquoy sa vye finera et " son frere Uther lui succedera au rengne, les jours " duquel pareillement seront anticipes par venin. Car " sans doubte tous tes successeurs qui de ta lignie " descenderont seront tous plains de trayson, et tant " de maulz feront que grant horreur ay du dire, mais " certes leur trayson ne sera mye longuement sans " pugnition car le saingler de Cornubye les devourera " trestous." Cestuy sangler Cornubien fut le preu roy Artus, filz du roy Uther Pendragon, engendre en la ducesse de Cornubye, sy comme cy apres sera devise en lystoire. Or doncques ces choses ainssy dittes et magnifestees au roy Vortigier par le prophete Merlin, bien povez scavoir quil ne fut mye bien asseur, ains commenca tantost a faire querre vivres et artillerie et toutes choses necessaires pour deffendre et resister contre tous assaulz, et ainssy passa Vortigier ce jour. Sy povez scavoir que la nuit ensievant il fut moult a grant malaise de ceur en pensant aux parolles de Merlin quy grandement le remplissoient[1] de cures et sollicitudes tres cuisans. Et puis quant ce vint le lendemain, bien

[1] *lentendement de cures et de grans sollicitudes moult.* C.2.

matin messagiers vindrent vers luy accourant quy lui dirent les nouvelles comment Aurelien et Uther avecques toute leur navire plaine de gens darmes estoient arrives en la Grant Bretaigne.

Comment tous les Bretons de la Grant Bretaigne nobles et non nobles qui eschappes estoient des mains des Saxons, sceu ladvenement des enffans du roy Constant, leur vindrent au-devant en leur portant grant honneur, et comment ilz assegerent Vortigier et lardirent en sa tour, sy comme Merlin lavoit divine paravant. Le CHAPITRE LIX^e^.

DIWLGUIE doncques par toute lisle ladvenement des deux enffans du noble roy Constant avec leur ost, les barons de Bretaigne et tout le peuple qui espars et divises estoient en pluiseurs estranges lieux, sy comme en boiz, en montaignes et sauvages mansions par la paour[1] et tyrannye de Englist et de ses Saxons eschiever, sassamblerent tous et alerent au-devant deulz en faysant grans reverences et honneurs a leurs seigneurs naturelz. Et sy tost quilz apperceurent lost ilz devinrent sy fiers et sy hardis en leurs corages par leisleichement[2] de leurs ceurs quilz fremyssoient tous par souveraine leesse, et tant ardamment desiroient estre armez contre les paiens Saxons qui tant de maulz leur avoient fait endurer quil leur sambloit que tout le monde ne les[3] peust lors resister. Pourquoy ilz firent sans delay couronner lors Aurelien et se soubmirent tous en son obeissance et seignourie en luy faysant hommage ainssy comme il estoit de raison. Et puis sassamblerent tous a conseil ou ilz admonnesterent le roy par belles parolles en luy persuadant que tantost sans arester atout son grant

[1] *grant paour.* B. C.2.
[2] *leslechement.* B. C.2.
[3] *leur.* B. C.2.

ost il alast envahir ces maulvais traitres Saxons quy ainssy cruellement les avoient exilliez et occys et occupoient leur natil[1] pays. Mais le roy Aurelien leur moustra par bonnes raysons et notables que premierement lui convenoit aler destruire le tirant Vortigier qui avoit este acteur de tant de maulz, car il estoit principale cause de toute la desolation du royaulme, et oultre disoit que tant comme il le sceust en vye il nauroyt[2] joye en son ceur, veu et considere que il avoit fait murdrer[3] son pere, le roy Constant qui tant avoit fait de biens au faulz traytre desloyal. Sy commanda, adfin dadcomplir sa voulente, que prestement lost sacheminast vers Cambrye qui depuis fut nommee Galles pour lamour dune royne qui fut appellee Galloyse, et aulcuns dient que ce fust par un duc qui fut nomme Gollon.[4] Sy chevaucherent tant le roy Aurelien et son ost que ilz vindrent devant le chastel de Genorre, ouquel lieu sen estoit fuis le tirant Vortigier pour son[5] seul et seur refuge, car ce chastel estoit moult fort tant par la nature du lieu comme par artifice; scituee estoit sur la riviere de Gaye dessus une haute montaigne. Ceste propre contree ou estoit assys ce chasteau estoit le natil[6] pays de Vortigier, sy[7] en estoit seigneur et en portoit le non, car elle avoit non Vortigia. Sy advint que tantost que lost fut arrive devant le chastel et que le roy Aurelien le regarda et vey les gardes dycelluy estans aux creniaulx il devint sy emflambez de couroux quil ne povoit mot dire, et fut la cause pour ce quil ly souvint de la mortelle trayson faitte et perpetree en la tres noble personne du roy Constant son pere et de son frere, laquelle luy estoit comme devant les yeulx, quant il vey sy de pres le lieu ou se tenoit Vortigier; sicque pour aulcunement

[1] *natif.* C.2.
[2] *nauroyt jamais.* C.2.
[3] *murdrir.* B. C.2.
[4] *Gallon.* B. C.2.
[5] *pour son plus seur refuge.* C.2.
[6] *natif.* C.2.
[7] *dont.* C.2.

descouvrir son couroux il parla en telle maniere a Edol,[1] conte de Clocestre :

" O Edol, noble chevalier, regarde les murs de ce " chastel, a scavoir se ils porront estre souffisans pour la " protection du tyrant Vortigier, et sy forte tutelle " que je ne puisse la fureur de mon glave recoudre " et mucher dedens ses entrailles, car je ne cuide " point a toy estre chose ygnorante quil nayt mort " tres crueuse deservie. O toy, tirant Vortigier, qui " tes enclos dedens ces murs comme tout le plus " criminel du monde, certes tu es a perdre et exter- " miner la vye par tres horribles tourmens intollera- " bles, car par toy, traytre desloyal, jay perdu mon " pere, le roy Constant,[2] qui toy et ton pays avoit " delivre de la felonnye des Picz et Albaniens, puis " apres as tu par ta ignominieuse et cauteleuze falace " usurpee la dignite royal. Apres as provocquies les " Saxons pour tourmenter et mettre a fin ceulx qui par " leur loyaulte estoient mes adherens, mais tu es cheus " au las par la voulente de nostre Seigneur, lesquelz " tu avois appareillies pour acraventer tes loiaulx " cytoiens, car ta faulse et maulvaise pensee, au grant " reproce et dhommage de la religion crestienne avoyt " fait venir les traytres et parvers Saxons qui tont " exillie du rengne, laquelle chose ne loyst a plaindre " a nul homme de sain entendement ; mais certes je dy " bien que moult est a doulloir ce que celle maulvaise " gent saxonnique par toy, parjure traytre, appellee a " nos nobles citoyens perdus [3] et gastes avec nostre fer- " tille pays, et les nobles eglises sacrees desolees, et la " noble religion crestienne dune vye jusques a laultre " presque toute adnihiliee.

" Avant doncques O vous, mes chevaliers et " tres nobles citoiens, assaillez fierement ce chasteau

[1] *Edol.* MSS., variously written *Eldol* and *Eldoc.*

[2] *Constant.* B. *Constantin.* A.

[3] *destruis.* B. C.2.

" adfin que icellui prins, vous puisse vengier de la " misere que vous a fait longuement souffrir le traytre " Vortigier qui layens[1] se tient; et puis tournerons " nos armes contre celle gent furieuse et ydolatre, " sy delivrerons, au plaisir de Dieu, nostre pays de " leur tyrannye."

Ceste briefve exhortation resvigoura et esmeut tellement tout lost du roy Aurelien que sans nulle ordonnance sen coururent soubdainement assaillir ce chastel sy vigoureusement quilz rompirent les murs a force dengiens et de myneurs et entrerent dedens jusques a la tour ou estoit Vortigier, lequel se deffendoit au mieulz quil povoit, au moins tant que fortune qui ja lavoyt conduit jusques au terme de sa miserable vye[2] lui permyst.[3] Daultre part les Bretons qui a tous perilz se habandonnoient assailloient moult asprement, sy estoit le trait fort espes et impetueulz; mais aulcuns des Bretons par engien getterent feu grigois dedens la tour, sicque le feu se commenca a esprendre tantost quil trouva matiere seche, et sy asprement ardoit que les gens Vortigier avoient assez a faire a vouloir le feu esteindre sans a aultre chose povoir entendre une longue espace; mais voyant ce, les Bretons eschellerent la tour pourquoy il convint les gens de Vortigier laissier le feu, convenir et entendre a la deffence de ceulx qui montoient contremont la grosse tour, sicque tantost quant[4] ilz eurent le feu habandonne, la tour fut en peu dheure embrasee, et fut la dedens ars et consummez le roy Vortigier et tous ceulx de sa compaignie, ainssy comme Merlin luy avoit dit par esperit de prophetie.

Cy prent fin le second livre du premier volume des Croniques dEngleterre, et sensieult le tierch.

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[1] *layans.* B. *leans.* C.2.
[2] *fin.* C.2.
[3] *permyst.* B. C.2. *premyst.* A.
[4] *comme.* B. C.2.

CY COMMENCE LE TIERCE LIVRE DE CE PREMIER VOLUME LEQUEL CONTIENT EN SOY LIII. CHAPITRES, DESQUELS LE PREMIER CONTIENT COMMENT LE SAXON ENGLIST GARNY SES FORTERESSES, QUANT IL SCEUT LA MORT VORTIGIER; ET COMMENT LE NOBLE ROY AURELIEN LE DESCONFIST AVEC TOUT SON OST OU IL AVOYT BIEN DEUX CENS MILLE SAXONS. LE PREMIER CHAPITRE.

QUANT renommee qui partout volle eut fait scavoir ad ce traytre Englist la mort Vortigier et la cruelle vengance que prins en avoyt le Roy Aurelien, sachies que luy et tous ses complices eurent grant paour, car bien pensoyent quilz auroyent affaire[1] contre ce vaillant roy Aurelien qui tant estoit renommez en haultes proesses darmes, car aultrefois ilz avoyent bien ouy dire quil navoyt nul tel chevalier en toute Gaule ne en Armoricque-Bretaigne comme estoit le roy Aurelien, car il estoit fort a merveilles de tous menbres, grans de corps, hardy et courageux, esprouve et prudent en tous fais darmes; car tant comme il avoit demoure en la Petite Bretaigne[2] et en Gaule, il navoit fait aultre chose fors que dapprendre les tours darmes et les industries chevalereuses, et tant en scavoit quil ne trouvoit homme tant feust preu qui peust resister a lui corps contre corps. Cilz[3] Aurelius[4] estoit homme moult sage[4] et liberal a donner ce quil avoit ou bon lui sembloit; sur toutes choses amoit Dieu et son saint

[1] *a faire.* C.2.
[2] *en Armoricque Bretaigne.* C.2.
[3] *Cestui.* C.2.
[4] *Aurelius,* A.B. This name is written indiscriminately *Aurelien* and *Aurelius* in both MSS.
[4] *large.* B. C.2

service ; moult estoit astempres en toutes choses ; il heoyt a merveilles mencoygnes.[1] Teles preudhommies[2] et aultres merveilleuses vertus avoyt le bon Aurelien en luy. Lesqueles choses les Saxons avoient bien ouy dirè, sy le doubtoient moult, pourquoy ilz se recueillierent tous oultre la riviere du Hombre et garnirent leurs villes et chasteaulx deffensables par tres grant cure et songneuze diligence tant de vivres comme dartillerie et toutes choses[3] necessaires. Et ce faisoient ils plus en ceste partye que en aultre pour ce quelle estoit prochaine a la terre d'Escoche qui tousjours avoit a coustume de estre le refuge a tous ceulx qui voloient nuyre les habitans de lisle de la Grant Bretaigne denuee de ses premiers cultiveurs par les pesans batailles et horribles occysions qui au temps passe avoient este faittes avec ceulx de lisle et aultres estranges nations. Et pourtant adfin de peupler ceste terrè y avoient este appellez gens de toutes nations sy comme Picz, Daces et Norgallois et aultres qui toudis estoient appareilliez a tout mal perpetrer,[4] sy comme leur nature le debvoit ; sicque ilz habandonnoient leur terre a tous ceulx qui volloyent grever lès Bretons. Et pourtant les Saxons[5] eulx confiant en lamour et affinite des habitans de celle terre d'Albanie sestoient la retrays comme en la plus sceure partye de toute lisle, adfin que se fortune a cause de bataille les contraignoit ilz se peussent illec scauver. Considere aussy que ancores estoient la leurs nefz au rivage d'Escoche ou ilz avoient esperance grant de fuir et entrer dedens se besoing leur estoit ; mais en verite ceste esperance fut occasyon de leur desconfiture, car quant ilz veyrent venir le roy[6] Aurelien et son ost rengie en belle ba-

[1] *menchongniers.* B. *mensonginers.* C.2.

[2] *preudhommies et autres a merveilles avoit en lui le preudhomme Aurelien.* C.2.

[3] *toutes choses en ce moult necessaires.* C.2.

[4] *perpetrer.* B. C.2. *perpetre.* A.

[5] *Bretons.* C.2.

[6] *le bon roy.* C.2.

taille, leur ceurs feminins sen muerent tantost en la retraite et refuge de leurs nefz. Entretant que les Saxons se pourveoient en eulx assamblant et garde donnant aux garnisons de leurs chasteaulx et forteresses, le roy Aurelien nestoit pas oyseux ains assambloit gens de toutes pars ou avoir les povoit; sy vindrent a luy tant de povres Bretons exillies qui fuis sen estoient pour la fureur[1] des Saxons, qui en pou de temps lost crut a moitie, sy sachemina le roy avec tout son ost vers les parties daquilon; mais en trespassant les provinces de lisle qui plaines estoient de lamentable desolation, et il apperceut la ruyne des eglises et des villes que les Saxons avoient toutes destruites et confondues jusques aux fondemens, il commenca forment a larmoyer de la grant pitie quil en avoit en son ceur, sy commenca a dire teles parolles: " O benoit Dieu de glore tout puissant, qui a " vostre semblance creastes homme et femme, et iceulx " dampnez par leur pechie de vostre precieux sang prins " ou ventre de la glorieuse Vierge Marie les vous pleust " racheter par aygre mort, veulliez moy par vostre be- " nigne grace et misericorde donner vigeur, forche, et " poissance[2] de vaincre ces desloyaulz[3] Saxons paiens " qui ainssy ont destruit les sains lieux ou lon solloit " celebrer vostre divin service, et je vous promechz[4] " que en signe de victoire et triumphe les eglises " qui jadis a vostre loenge furent faittes et fondees, " je rediffieray et metrai en estat deu et leur resti- " tueray leurs benefices et dignitez anchiennes." Daultre part sy tost comme le desloyal[5] traytre Englist sceut que le roy Aurelien atout[6] son ost approchait sa province, reprinst en soy vertu et hardiesse, appella ses chevaliers lesquelz il avoit esleus entre toute sa gent

[1] *pour la paour des Saxons tellement quen pou de temps lost crult plus de la moitie.* C.2.
[2] *puissance.* B. C.2.
[3] *inhumains.* C.2.
[4] *et je prommets que.* C.2.
[5] *mauvais.* C.2.
[6] *et tout.* C.2.

comme plus preux et vigoureux aux armes, sy les commenca a animer et donner corage par belles parolles, en dysant:

" O vous, mes compaignons, ayez les ceurs fermes, les " courages rassis et asseures en vos forces, et[1] sy nayez " nulle crainte ou horreur de combatre encontre lost " Aurelien et ad ce vous doibvent deux choses esmouvoir. " La premiere est, car son ost est moult petit ou " regard de vostre multitude, comme il soit venus de " Armoricque atout petite chevalerie et ne sont pas " dix[2] mille en tout, sy non seulement les Bretons in- " sulaires lesquelz je ne compte mye chevaliers comme " vous quy par la vertu, force et puissance de vos " dextres[3] les avez tant de fois vaincus par triumphes " glorieux, sicque vous qui estes plus de deux cens mille " hommes, se vous un pou volles labourer et prendre " en vos ceurs vollente de combatre cestuy chetif[4] roy " avec son petit ost, sans doubte vous avez la victoire " entre vos mains. Secondement, vous doyt esmouvoir " la sceurete perpetuelle que vous obtenrez en cestuy " tant fertille et desirable pays[5] duquel vos vertus ont " chassiés nagueres iceulz vos ennemys." Par telles et pluiseurs aultres parolles admonnesta le tyrant ses complices, et puis ordonna ses eschielles sy vint a lencontre du roy Aurelien lequel avoit ja toutes choses par discipline bellicque disposees en son ost, sy avoit ordonnes troix mille chevaliers d'Armoricque a dextre et a senestre et sa bataille a cheval par hesles[6] scituees en lieux convenables, adfin quilz choisissent et peussent aydier, alleguier, et secourir la pedestre bataille se mestier en avoit; et toutes les aultres aydes insulaires il arenga par eschielles, et puis envoya sur les montaignes en tapinage les aydes de Venecye ou

[1] Omitted in B. C.2.
[2] *deux.* C.2.
[3] *mains dextres.* C.2.
[4] *meschant.* C.2.
[5] *royaume.* C.2.
[6] *eschielles.* C.2.

Demecie,[1] et celles de Venedace il colloqua en certains boiz, et ce fist il pour ce que, se les Saxons fuyoient en iceulx lieux, quils les encontraissent. Alors avec toutes ces coppies sachemina le roy Aurelien vers le champ de Mars ou denuncye lui estoit que lost saxonnicque latendoit ; et ce avoient tout de gre et par cautelle malicieuze pour sceurete advise et fait les Saxons, car ilz scavoient bien que le roy atout son ost debvoit passer parmy ce champ qui estoit convenable assez pour eulz mettre ainssy comme en embusche ; car il estoit enclos de boiz et de montaignes affin que par soubdain assault quilz pensoient soubdainement faire sur les Bretons ilz les peussent desconfire. Et ce leur sambloit assez legier a faire se les Bretons ne se feussent donne garde deulx, sicque par ceste manie[2] ilz eussent este de premiere venue rompus et discipes et consequamment desconfis ; mais certes ceste caustele ne leur donna nulle ayde, comme la providence royal eust este instruite de ceste leur intention, par quoy toutes choses estoient plus[3] parfaittes en son ost selon rayson darmes, et estoit pour ceste chose la cause de luy selon lordre de ses batailles moult haste pour venir ou champ ou estoient ses enemys, a moult grans sons de buisines et menestrez[4] adfin que les traytres sceussent quilz avoient failli a leur entente. Quant les ennemys furent appercheus rengies sur le champ, Eldoc,[5] duc de Clocestre, vint au roy et lui dist : " Helas ! " dist-il, " treschier sire, la veue du duc de " cest ost emflambe mon ceur de sy grant fureur " quil ne me seroit pas possible de le recyter ; car " certes ce jour seul me souffiroit pour toute ma vye " syl plaisoit a mon benoit Createur que je peusse

[1] *Demecie.* B. C.2. *de Mecie.* A.
[2] *maniere.* B. C.2.
[3] *aumoins.* B.
[4] *menestreulx.* C.2.
[5] *Eldoc.* MSS. See *ante,* page 292, note 1.

" assambler a Englist le tirant,[1] et sans doubte tantost " seroit la fin de luy ou de moy ; mais que la con- " tention de glaves trenchans feussent a nos dextres, " car je me ramenbre du jour, et en mon ceur lay " escript, ouquel il nous fist assambler pour et ainssy " comme paix traittier entre luy et nous. Sy advint " que la ou nous inarmes[2] traitions la paix et matiere " pour quoy nous estions la assambles, que celluy " meismes ennemy nous trahy et atout couteaulx tren- " chans que ses gens avoient mys en leurs chausses ilz " occyrent quattre cens consulz et nobles barons de " Bretaigne,[3] et tous les aultres qui la estoient fors que " moy seul, a quy layde de fortune donna trouver un " levier, duquel je me deffendi et eschappay. Pour tant, " sire, je te prie que pour vengier mes compaignons et " moy tu me ottroyes la premiere bataille." Laquelle requeste le roy lui ottroya benignement, puis com- menca de ennorter ses chevaliers moult debonnaire- ment a bien faire, car il mettoit toute son esperance au Filz de la vierge glorieuze[4] et moustroit la desolation de son pays aux dis chevaliers, et leur exillement, la demolission de leurs eglises, lacraventation de leurs freres et la piteuse destruction de la[5] foy. Helas ! quelles choses doibvent estre assez grans exemples de plus volloir morir la comme vrais martirs de Jhesu Crist, ou estre victeurs des paiens, que fuir a grans reproces de leurs vyes et perpetuelle ejection miserable de leur paternel pays. Daultre part nestoit pas le paien Englist oyseulx ains sans doubte dysposoit et ordonnoit ses batailles de Saxons en les admonnestant songneusement ; car[6] il decouroit de bataille a aultre adfin de fermer en leurs corages une meisme hardiesse :

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[1] *linhumain tyrant.* C.2.
[2] *nous jurames et traittions la paix.* C.2.
[3] *la Grant Bretaigne.* C.2.
[4] *Marie.* C.2.
[5] *leur.* C.2.
[6] *comme enragie.* C.2.

" Hee ! " disoit le barbarin tyrant, " prenez huy tant " seullement une vertu et hardiesse [1] sicque vous des- " confissiez cestui petit ost et soyez perpetuellement " seigneurs de cestui noble pays. Ayez ceste journee " un petit de traveil en ferme patience pour avoir " sceurete et repos a tousjours, tant que viverez." Et lorsquil apperceut ses gens estre moult encoragies a la bataille, il assambla a ses ennemys. Apres ce que les copyes [2] des deux ostz se furent myses chascune en son ordonnance sy fut lassamblee moult fiere et horrible. Et quant lances furent brisies, ils sacherent les [3] espees des deux costez ; mais les Bretons, qui tousjours avoient la voix de leur roy et sa proesse devant leurs yeulx, se combatoient par tel vigeur que tous sambloient foursenez, pourquoy ilz discypoient les ordres des copyes paiennes de toutes pars en accraventant [4] hommes et chevaulz, sicque tout le champ rougissoit de leffusion [5] de leur sang, et estoient les cris et soupirs de ceulx qui tumboient dollereux a oyr. Mais les Saxons neant moins se deffendoient vigoureusement et moult adommagoient les Bretons, car leur duc Englist les enhortoit tousdis a fortment combatre ; sy faisoient grans occysions [6] de toutes pars. Et lors le duc Eldol de Clocestre, qui estoit tout le premier devant les batailles des Bretons, faysoit merveilleuze occysion des paiens ; car il sefforcoit de tout son pouvoir a trespercier ses ennemys et de parvenir jusques a Englist, le maulvais [7] tirant, pour soy combatre a lui, sicque sa proesse estoit comme un miroir chevalereux a toute sa bataille et ceulx qui le sievoient en occyant les ennemys impetueusement que leurs armes en estoient toutes sanglantes. Laquelle

[1] *courageuse hardiesse.* C.2.
[2] *la coppie.* C.2.
[3] *leurs.* C.2.
[4] *et accraventoient.* C.2.
[5] *leffusion du sung Saxonicque.* C.2.
[6] *grant occision.* C.2.
[7] *le mauvais et inhumain tirant.* C.2.

chose voyant Englist, et aussy que ses batailles se destraioient de tous costez, et que ja ilz perdoient terre, luy, soubstrait de toute esperance, fut confus en son ceur, sicque la fureur bellicque, par quoy il avoit son ost jusques alors en grant fierete de courage maintenu, sesvanuy, et sans demeure senfuy en une moult forte ville, ou il avoit un chasteau de merveilleuze force appelle Baerchon [1] pour le temps dadont, mais a present se nomme Cunungebuig,[2] a grant occysion de ses gens. Et le roy Aurelien, qui bien perchupt sa fuyte, le sievy atoute sa bataille en detrenchant tous ceulx quil trouvait en son chemin, sicque quant Englist qui senfuyoit le vey, il percheupt bien que sil entroit en la forteresse il nen porroit nullement eschapper contre la puissance britonnicque. Pour laquelle cause le enorme tyrant retourna et desista de son intention, sy ralia ses eschielles puis se frapa entre ses ennemys par tel fachon que mieulx sambloit victeur que vaincu, car ladversier disoit a ses gens: "O vous mes compaignons, huy est de " necessite [3] ou vous tous morir ou avoir victoire, car " sachiez que nul remede navez que en vos glaves " vertueux et en vos corps robustes, comme jay fait " brusler toutes vos nefz barges et baleniers." Lesqueles choses le tirant leur disoit pour eulz encorager, mais le roy Aurelien, qui tantost congneut assez lintention [4] saxonnicque, fist cesser la poursieute par grant tumulte et division se faisoit comme faire se sceult [5] es negoces ou fortune donne la faveur, et remyst [6] ses batailles bien et a point, parquoy il receupt ses ennemys a layde des siens trop plus furieusement et par plus grant aigreur de corage que il navoit fait au commencement, indigne que yceulx vaincus se traveilloyent de son ost molester par trop grant

[1] *Baherchon.* C.2. *Kaerconan.*
[2] *Crinungenbuic.* C.2.
[3] *huy est grant necessite.* C.2.
[4] *assez leur intention.* C.2.
[5] *seult.* B.
[6] *revinst.* B.

felonnye. Mais les Saxons, qui serres se tenoient, resistoient par une equalle hardiesse en soustenant les playes et occysions horribles de leurs compaignons[1] sur lesquelz ilz marchoyent a corages ostinez ; sy estoit leffusion de sang des deux batailles, tant des Saxons qui moult aigrement se combatoient comme des Bretons qui sainglers entre chiens ressambloient. Moult horrible estoit la clamour des morans et miserable la emulation des plaies abhominables ; mais ces dolleurs enflamboient de plus en plus les ceurs des combatans, et leur estoit ce assez grant industrie deulz tenir en leur ordre. Et tant estoit la foursenerie saxonnicque, paraugmentee de partinacite que mieulx amoient morir que estre vaincus, quilz eussent enfin desconfis les Bretons et eue la victoire se neust este la bataille a cheval des Bretons Armoriciens, laquele avoit unie le roy Aurelien en la meysme ordre que il avoit fait la premiere bataille laquele par soubdain et empetueux cours de chevaulx se fery dedens les aydes collaterales des Saxons, sy desrompy leurs ordres en les detrenchant de toutes pars, pour laquelle cause ilz se commencerent un pou a retraire et a perdre leur vigour parcequilz ne se povoyent rejoindre ne unir, laquelle retraitte emflamba et encoroga moult les Bretons en hardiesse. Mais Englist, le duc Saxon ceda[2] celle retraitte, et le roy Aurelien esmouvoit toudis ses chevaliers en leur enseignant de envahyr les payens[3] par les lieux ou leurs ordres estoient troublees ; et semblablement le duc Eldol avec sa bataille decouroit de toutes pars sur ses ennemys en les detrenchant pour veoir se fortune le menroit jamays en lieu ou il trouvast Englist le payen. Sy advint que par diverses envahyes que il fist es Saxons il percha leur bataille, et la ly vint alencontre Englist le tyrant[4] que tant il

[1] *occision horrible de leurs ennemis et compaignons.* C.2.
[2] *fut doulent de.* C.2.
[3] *payens.* B. *leurs ennemys paiens.* C.2. *pays.* A.
[4] *le tirant inhumain payen.* C.2.

desiroit. Sy commenca la bataille entreux deux, et par sy grant force la maintenoient que des cops que ilz bailloient[1] lun a laultre le feu en yssoyt; car es deux champions avoyt mou[2] grant hardement garni de proesse merveillable. Sy estoit la merlee[3] aucques egal, car aulcunes foys en avoyt du meilleur le duc Eldol et aulcunes foys le Saxon; mais entretant quilz se combatoient, et que le sang rayoit de leurs corps a grant habondance, le duc Gorlois de Cornubye atoute sa fallence, cest a dire, son esle, quy avoyt este myse es subsides collateraulx, survint sur eulx a grant destruction des infideles. Lequel quant il perchut, le duc Edol en celle doubteuse bataille raemply de leesse merveilleuze, pourcequil congneult le Saxon aux armes de son blason, sadvanca tantost et prinst Englist parmy la museliere de heaulme, et en y employant toute sa force le getta hors des archons en my la bataille; et lors vagant son ceur par souveraine leese quant il vey que ses gens lavoyent saysy, dist: "Maintenant "par layde de nostre Createur jay adcomply mon "afection qui tant me destraingnoit! O vray "Dieu, playse-toy adnihiler et destruire ses des-"loyaulx complices paiens! O vous notables cres-"tiens, prenes corage et hardement en vous car la "victoire est entre vostre main, puisque vous tenes "Englist le vaincu." Et lors ou la prinse du Saxon fut diwlguee par toute la bataille les Bretons quy en oyrent la nouvelle furent plus fiers que au commencement navoient este; et a lopposite les Saxons desnuez de leur seul reconfort perdirent leur hardement, sy commencerent a retraire et finablement senfuyrent; sy eurent les Bretons la victoire, mais non mye sans grant perte des leurs[4] et grant effusion de sang. Sy furent detrenchies les Saxons qui senfuyoient; mais ilz ne furent pas longuement poursievis, car moult estoient

[1] *donnoient.* C.2.
[2] *moult.* B. C.2.
[3] *meslee.* C.2.
[4] *gens.* C.2.

las les victeurs Bretons. Et senfuyrent les ungz es forteresses qui paravant la bataille avoyent este garnye par Englist ; et les aultres es boiz ou es montaignes seloncq ce que dame Fortune leur donna oportunite. Cocta, le filz de Englist, et Orsus son oncle,[1] se retrayrent en la cyte de Hebroich,[2] laquele ilz garnirent de innumerable multitude de chevaliers, quilz rappellerent a eulx de toutes les forteresses, citez, et villes par eulx ou leur pere garnyes avant le jour de ceste mortelle bataille pour eulx impetueuse. Puis y firent amener vivres de toutes pars ou recouvrer en peurent, et aussy renforcerent les murs de la cyte de barbacannes et aultres instrumens ou propugnacules dengins requis a cyte garnir et deffendre selon la maniere de faire du temps de lors.

Cy parle de la mort et condempnation de Englist le tyrant, et comment Cocta son filz et tous les nobles jovenceaulx des Saxons atout chascun une chaine en leurs mains se misrent en la mercy du roy Aurelien, et est le CHAPITRE IIe.

PAR ceste maniere doncques triumpha et ot victoire le roy Aurelien des desloyaux Saxons ; mais apres ce il ne sejourna mye longuement, ains senala assaillir la cite de Kaerchon[3] laquelle avoit par avant esleue le tyrant Englist pour soy retraire en cas de necessite, se mestier en avoyt et il povoyt, comme dessus a este dit ;[4] sy la prinst sans demeure, puis se loga dedens ycelle luy et[5] son ost, ou il sejourna troix jours, durant lesquelz il envoya une partie de ses gens ou champ de la bataille pour les mors ensepvelir, et fist aussy garir

[1] *cousin.* B. C.2.
[2] *Ebroich.* C.2.
[3] *Caheton.* C.2.
[4] *se mestier . . . dit.* Omitted in C.2.
[5] *une partie de ses gens.* C.2.

les navrez[1] et les lassez aysier, baignier et faire tout ce que mestier leur estoit; puis, ce fait, appella ses barons, ausquelz il commanda que ilz deissent leur advis que il estoit de faire du desloyal Englist le paien.

Or advint que lors Elidath, evesque de Clocestre, frere du noble duc Eldol, homme plain de souveraine prudence et religion catholique, estoit ad ce conseil lequel prya a tous davoir un petit de silence; puis il regarda devers le roy et vey Englist que guerres namoit, sy dist au roy, oyant tous les barons quy ad ce conseil estoient assamblez pour jugier et ordonner de la mort du tyrant: "Je suy cellui tout seul quy par pieces " le desmenberoye en ensievant les traches du pro- " phete Samuel, lequel voyant que son roy[2] tenoyt " en sa puissance le desloyal tyrant quy se disoyt " roy de Aymalec, il le ravy des mains du dit roy " et le myst tout par pieces, en disant: 'Ainssy comme " 'toy, desloyal tyrant, as par inhumaine tirannye tour- " 'mente les enfans de nos meres, ainssy ferai-je au- " 'jourdhuy a ta mere, car elle sera sans enfant.' Sicque " doncques, O vous crestiens, faittes pareillement a " cest Englist quy certes a este pire que nestoit cilz " de quy jay presentement parle." Et lors incontinent, ceste parolle finee, Eldol, duc de Clocestre, par le commandement du roy et de tous les barons, mena le tirant hors de la cite, et la hastivement luy coppa la teste, et envoya son ame es habismes denfer. Et ce fait, le roy Aurelien, quy en toutes choses estoit moult atemprez et plain de regard piteux, commanda que il feust enterrez, non obstant que ses merites ne leussent mye deservi, et myst-on dessus son corps un tombeau de pierre selon la coustume des paiens. Ces choses ainssy faittes, le roy Aurelien quy le ceur ne povoit avoir appaysie tant quil sceust nul paien en la circuyte delisle, mena son ost devant la cyte de Hebroich pour

[1] *garnir les navires.* C.2.
[2] *que son roy tenoit.* C.2. *que le roy Aurelien tenoit.* A. B.

illec combatre Cocta, le filz Englist, et tous les Saxons quy en sa compaignie estoient; mais, le siege mys Cocta et Orsus, quy ducz estoyent sur tous les aultres, congneurent assez aux manieres de leurs chevaliers quy les corages avoient plains de terreur quilz ne porroient resister au grant effort du roy Aurelien; pourquoy ilz prindrent en leur compaignie tous les jovenceaulx de noble sang et misrent sablon sur leurs testes, puis issirent de la cite en tenant chascun une chaine de fer en leurs mains, sy vindrent en cest estat devant la mageste du roy Aurelien, et la se misrent a genoulx; puis dist Cocta pour tous ses compaignons en ceste fourme: " O tu noble roy, je te certefye que tous nos " dieux sont vaincus, mais je ne doubte point le tien " Dieu rengnier, lequel constraint huy tant de " jovenceaulx venir demander mercy a la tienne ma- " geste. Prengz doncques ceste chaine que nous " miserables te offrons et nous lye se tu nas point de " misericorde en toy, car nous vecy prestz a volun- " tairement recepvoir toutes manieres de tourmens " lesquelz ta mageste nous ordonnera." Ceste offre voluntaire esmeut grandement le noble courage du roy Aurelien, sy appella sans delay ses barons pour jugier ce quilz en volroyent avoir fait selon leur advis; de quoy les barons eurent entreulx maintes diverses oppinions, mais le benoit evesque Elidath, voyant ces differences, se leva en piedz et donna sa sentence en la maniere qui sensieult: " Jadis," dist-il, "les Galbonites " voluntairement, sans constrainte, vindrent aux enf- " fans d'Israel en demandant misericorde, laquelle ilz " impetrerent; et nous qui Crestiens sommes, serons- " nous de pire condition que eulx quy estoyent Juifz? " Certes, nennil. Qui assentir se voldra a ma sen- " tence? ilz requierent misericorde, sy arbitre icelle a " eulx estre ottroye, car non obstant que moult mal " devers nous desservi layent, sy en est du tout lini- " quite effacee par ceste seule voluntaire submission. " Nostre isle de Bretaigne est moult grande et large

" et en pluiseurs lieux deserte et desolee de hábitans;
" confederons donc ces gens a nous par le jouc
" servile, sy les laissons habitter et peupler celles
" parties desertes, en nous servant en perpetuel servage."
Le roy, qui ot le ceur moult joieux de ceste sentence, la conferma et leur donna misericorde; et les aultres Saxons, quy fuys sen estoient a lexemple de Cocta et Orsus, impetrerent tous grace et misericorde devers le roy, laquelle il leur ottroya par certaines conditions, et leur bailla celle province quy marcist a[1] Escoche pour habiter, laquele ilz recheuprent benignement en humblement remercyant le roy de la grace quil leur faisoit. Desquelz nous larons[2] le parler tant[3] que ad present, tant que la matiere le requerra, et parlerons des ordonnances du noble roy Aurelien ou preudhommie redondoit en grant gloire.[4]

Comment le roy Aurelien reforma son royaulme en bonnes meurs et fist rediffyer les eglises, cites, villes, et forteresses destruites par les Saxons, et de la cause pour laquelle il tramyst querre Merlin, et du conseil que le dit Merlin le prophete luy donna sur sa demande. Le Chapitre IIIe.

Apres ce que le roy Aurelien ot tous ses ennemys vaincus et mancipez en servitude, il fist appeller tous les princes, barons, et consulz de son royaulme en la cyte de Ebroich laquelle les Saxons luy avoient humblement rendue; et quant ilz furent tous venus il leur explicqua la cause pourquoy il les avoit mandez, en disant: " Seigneurs, je voy que toutes les eglises
" de nostre pays sont desertes et desmolies par la
" tyrannye des Saxons, et quil ny a lieu[5] ou len
" puist celebrer les divins misteres ou offices, sy vous

[1] *marchist a Escoche.* B. *marchist au royaume dEscoche.* C.2.
[2] *laisserons.* B.
[3] *quant que.* B.
[4] *et triumphante.* C.2.
[5] *nul lieu.* B.

" prye et admonneste tous en lonneur de Jhesu Crist " nostre Redempteur tres benigne que vous reparez et " rediffyez les eglises desqueles les ruynes vous appe- " rent ou grant reproce de nostre foy." Et alors le roy mesmes en sa personne fist le siege metropolitain de ceste cyte rediffyer, lequel estoit tout detruit et en ruine, et tous les aultres sieges ou eglises provinciales fist il aussy restablir; es quelles ordonnances il vacqua quinze jours en constituant les ouvriers en divers lieux, et sur eulz establi certains officyers pour dilligenter a la cure des ouvrages et adminystrer aux ouvriers leurs necessitez. Ces choses ainssy faittes le roy Aurelien se party de Ebroich, sy sen ala en la cyte de Londres, ou la fureur des Saxons navoit laissy nulle chose indeserte et sans desolation, dont le bon roy eult moult grant pytie en son ceur et moult plaindy par piteux gemissemens la ruine diceste, sy fist appeller le remanant des citoyens qui demoures estoient en lisle de loccysion estrange, et leur restitua leurs possessions, en eulx distribuant argent et mariens[1] pour rediffyer les maisons de la cite, et adfin quen icelle eust plus grant affluence de richesses il y constitua le siege de son royaulme et renouvella les loix quy y estoient endormies, passe long temps; et les terres quy par la calamite[2] des tourmens saxonnicques avoient perdu leurs seigneurs il distribua a ses chevaliers, car toute son intention estoit a la restitution et reformation de son royaulme, a rediffyer les eglises desertes, a renouveller les loix pour paix garder entre ses cytoiens, et a parfaire toutes choses selon rayson en gardant les metes de rayson[3] et justice. Et quant il ot toutes ces choses adcomplies et mises en bon estat a Londres, il sen ala en la cyte de Guintonye adfin dicelle restituer et mettre

[1] *mairien.* B.
[2] *les calamites.* C.2.
[3] *rayson et* omitted in B. C.2.

en sa premiere dignite et ses eglises rediffyer. Apres toutes ces choses necessaires a la reformation du royaulme a droyt disposees par les pryeres de levesque Elidath, il sen ala a Caercaradoc, qui maintenant est appellee Salsebric, ou les corps des consulz et princes qui par la mortel trayson du tyrant Englist avoient este a martire livrez gysoient ; et assez pres de ce lieu ou ilz estoient enterrez avoit un couvent de troix cens freres en la montaigne Ambrith,[1] lequel Ambrith on disoit avoir este fondeur et acteur de celluy tant solempnel couvent. Lorsque[2] le roy Aurelien vey le lieu tant pitoyable pour la mort des nobles hommes quy la se reposoient, meu de pitie il commenca a plourer, et par diverses sollicitudes et meditations en soy-meysmes a penser comment il peust rendre ce[3] lieu tant digne memorable a tousjours par aulcun ediffice solempnel ; digne le extimoit-il voyrement pour la mort de tant de nobles princes qui pour la garde[4] et deffence de leur pays avoyent la este par maulvaise trayson occys, sy fist pour sa pensee mettre a effect appeller tous les plus ingenieulx et soubtilz de son pays en lartiffice de ediffyer, pour trouver aucune nouvelle maniere de ediffice en signe de la mort des princes quy la estoient insepultures lequel feust perpetuel. Et comme tous les maistres qui ad ce furent mandez doubtaissent de respondre au roy a sa demande, lun sadvanca et lui dist : " Sire, se vous voles scavoir[5] parfaire vostre " affection[6] par engin mervilleux et voulez instruire " vos ouvriers daulcune industrie nouvelle et inacous- " tumee, il nest ja besoing de mander tant de gens, " mais appelle seulement Merlin, cellui divin prophete " qui estoit aveuc le roy[7] Vortigier, car je arbitre nul

[1] *Ambric.* C.2.
[2] *Lors comme.* C.2.
[3] *cellui lieu tant digne.* B. *ce lieu tant noble et digne.* C.2.
[4] *garde et* omitted in C.2.
[5] *scavoir.* Omitted in B. C.2.
[6] *intencion.* C.2.
[7] *avecques linfortune roy.* B. C.2.

" aultre de cestui royaulme estre ad ce ydoine ou " pourfitable sy non luy, et reluist sur tous hommes " vivants, en vifvete dengin et clarete dentendement, " tant de denunchier ou prophetisier choses a advenir " comme a machiner ou enseignier a faire operations " de merveilleuze et non veue soubtillite. Sy conseille " que a luy tu envoyes tes messages qui lui comman- " dent venir a toy, et parfais toutes choses selon la " clarete de son engin, adfin que leuvre que tu tant de- " sires et affectes soit constant, ferme, et memorable a " perpetuite." Lors le roy oiant le dit maistre ouvrier ensement parler de Merlin, il demanda de son estat a larcevesque Elidath, lequel lui en dist tant que souverainement il le desira a veoir, sicque pour le amener devers luy il tramist legatz par la deliberation dudit arcevesque ouquel[1] il se confioit grandement. Lesquelz messages errerent tant par diverses nations que finablement comme ilz venissent en la region de Gemisseres[2] ilz entendirent quil frequentoit souvent lez une fontaine en ce dist pays qui estoit nommee Gallabas, et ilz alerent a celle fontaine par le moien de certains guides, qui baillies leur furent, ou ilz trouverent Merlin, sy le menerent au roy lequel il receupt a moult grant joye en le grandement festoiant, et luy commanda quil luy deist aulcunes choses de ses propheties, car il estoit moult desirant de oyr de lui aulcunes merveilles. A quoy Merlin luy respondy: " Telz " misteres et sy grans comme tu demandes ne sont " point a reveler, se ce nest la ou necessite constraint " les hommes a le dire, car si je le tes denunchoye en " desrision et par vanite, lesperit qui menseigne sy " se tayroit, et quant necessite y sourvendroit il se " partiroit de moy." Et lors a toutes choses que le roy disoit Merlin lui donnoit responce, lequel voyant

[1] *ouquel.* B. C.2. *ou.* A.

[2] *des Gemiseores.* B. C.2. Probably for *Geuuiscores.*

ce quil estoit sage[1] et prudent il ne le voult point ennuyer ne courouchier a lui demander plus rien fors seullement de son ouvrage. Et adoncques Merlin lui respondy: " Se tu veulz aourner les sepultures de tes " princes de ouvrage ferme et perpetuel en memoire, " trametz querre les pierres de la saincture aux gayans[2] " laquelle est en la montaigne de Kilareth en Hyber- " nye, car saces que illec a pierres de sy noble fourme " que tous les vivans telles ne scaroient composer ne " par nul art ou engin tailler, car elles sont grandes " merveilleuzement, et sy ne peuvent ceder ne rompre " par[3] nul homme; lesqueles se eles sont assizes en " ton ouvrage par la maniere quelles doibvent, il de- " mourra ferme et estable perpetuellement."

Comment le duc Uther Pendragon, apres ce quil fut atout Merlin et son ost arrive en Hybernye, desconfist Gillomith le roy de celle region, et comment Merlin par sa soubtillite fist emporter les pierres en Bretaigne, ou il les drescha[4] *en leur ordre par le commandement du roy Aurelien.* Le Chapitre IIII[e].

Quant le roy Aurelien eut entendu loppinion de Merlin il fut tout esmerveillies, sy commenca a rire en disant: " Et comment, Merlin, sera il possible ne se " porra il faire que tant grans pierres et de sy loin- " tain pays peussent estre ycy amenees, ainssy comme " se Bretaigne estoit toute wide de matiere ydoine et pro- " pice a ouvrer, et que elle neust nulles pierres." Et lors Merlin, qui bien lavoit veu rire, luy dist: " Il " nest ja necessite que les choses dittes te provoc- " quent ne hesissent[5] sy tost a ris, car je adnunce icelle

[1] *humble.* B. C.2.
[2] *geantz.* B. C.2.
[3] *par vertu de.* B. C.2.
[4] *destacha.* C.2.
[5] *meussent.* C 2

" chose sans nulle vanite ne falace, et sont ces mysteres " des pierres trempeés par prudence plus haulte que " humain entendement ne souffist monter, et sy sont " medicinables et propices au salut des diveres langours " ou enfermetez, et furent jadis illec apportees par les " geans des plus derreinens [1] fins dAuffricque, et les " misrent en celle montaigne de Hybernye ou temps " quilz y habitoient; et fut la cause qui les meut " delles illec porter, adfin quilz en composaissent " baignieriez pour eulz baignier. et laver quant ilz " seroient detenuez daulcunes maladies. Et lavoient " lors icelles pierres par effusions deaues medicinables " quilz gettoyent dedens pour eulz baignier desqueles " estoient gueries tous malades tant pour cause de la " vertu des pierres comme par cause de la force et " vigeur des jus des herbes desqueles ilz faisoient con- " fections et distillations pour arrouzer les pierres; et " par ceste maniere ils curoient et sanoient toutesles " playes quelconques, car la na nulle pierre quy soit " privee de medicinable et vertueuse force." Quant les Bretons oyrent les merveilleuzes vertus de ces pierres ilz consentirent tous et conseillerent au roy denvoyer gens darmes en Hybernye et esmouvoir guerre contre les Hybernyens se ilz vouloient contredire ou deffendre aux Bretons de apporter par navire ou aultrement les dittes pierres paissiblement en Bretaigne. Sy pleut assez ceste persuasion au roy Aurelien; pourquoy il esleut tantost son frere Uter Pendragon pour adcomplir ce voyage, auquel il bailla un ost de quinze mille hommes darmes pour obeir a tous ses commandemens, avec lequel Merlin fut tramis adfin que selon son conseil tout feust conduit et mis a effect ce quil jugeroit estre utille a leur euvre parfurnir. Le temps pendant que le roy faisoit ordonner ses chevaliers, le duc Uter Pendragon fist furnir la navire de vivres et de

[1] *derrenieres.* B. *darraines.* C.2.

compaignons pour nagier par mer, sic que tantost que oportunite de vent leur donna lieu, luy et Merlin atoutes leurs gens entrerent es vaisseaulx et tant nagierent quilz arriverent en Hybernye, en laquelle pour ce temps rengnoit Gillomith, un baron de grant bretail[1] et fierete a cause de jouvence quy luy mestryoit, lequel estoit aourne de beaulte corporelle avec haulte proesse darmes, quy tantost comme la venue des Bretons luy fut denuncye, assambla un moult pesant[2] ost et[3] vint audevant diceulx ; mais Uter Pendragon anchois quil le envahyst, par ladmonnestement Merlin luy tramyst legatz adfin de luy signifier quil nestoit point venu en sa terre pour luy mouvoir[4] guerre ne son pays pillier, mais seullement pour avoir certaines pierres quy estoient en la montaigne de Kilareth, desquelles ilz avoient necessairement mestier. Mais le roy hybernien, quy fier et orguilleux estoit, desirant de exerciter[5] sa vertu en fais darmes, quant il ot entendue la legation des Bretons, se tourna devers ses chevaliers en tournant son yre en un ris et dist: " Certes la cause pourquoy celle gent saxon-
" nicque maulvaise et parescheuse en armes a ja par
" tant de fois prevalu envers la force des Bretons et leur
" isle par tant de fois desertee ma aulcunesfois fait[6] en
" mon entendement estre plain de solicitude et per-
" plexite ; mais sans doute maintenant je repute ceste
" chose non estre digne de quelque merveille, comme
" les Bretons soient gens bruttes sans prudence et
" tous plains de follye. Et quy est celluy certaine-
" ment quy oncques oyst parle de sy[7] grant follye
" comme est ceste ? et[8] sont doncques les pierres hy-
" berniennes plus fortes et plus dures que celles de

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[1] *Bretaigne ayant courage et moult grant.* C.2.
[2] *grant.* C.2.
[3] *comme homme preu et hardy.* C.2.
[4] *mener.* C.2.
[5] *dexcerser.* C.2.
[6] *fait.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.
[7] *plus.* C.2.
[8] *comment.* C.2.

" lisle de la Grant-Bretaigne? veullent-ilz donc-
" ques ainssy nous frauder et provocquer a batailles?
" Alez," dist-il aux legatz, " a vostre duc et luy
" dittes quil me verra[1] tantost tout appareillie pour
" deffendre nostre pays et que de moy nayt espe-
" rance[2] en altre chose que en la guerre." Adont se partirent les legatz et vindrent a leur seigneur, sy luy raconterent tout ce quilz avoient oy du roy hybernyen; lequel, quant les legatz se furent de luy partis, dist a ses chevaliers: " O vous mes chiers amys, je vous
" prye et semons par icelle amour laquelle vous deb-
" vez naturellement a vostre pays de vous pour la
" deffence dicelluy combatre et vos armes prendre, car
" sachyes que tant comme la vye me durra au corps
" les Bretons nemporteront de la chainture aux gayans[3]
" la maindre pierre qui y soit."

Pour cestui commandement adcomplier furent tantost armez les Hybernyens et vindrent a banieres desployees contre les Bretons; mais Uther, qui desja estoit advertis par ses legatz de lintention du roy Gillomith, estoit prest de combatre quant les Hyberniens vindrent ou camp, sic que la ou il les vey venir il fist mouvoir son ost moult impetueuzement et saillir sur eulz ainssy que par soubdain assault, lesquelz les receurent au commenchier assez fierement, mais la ou les batailles assamblerent main a main et les Hybernyens quy mal estoient armez sentirent les cruelles playes des sagettes que les Bretons nourris en art bellicque leur envoyoient; ilz laissierent leurs ordres ou conrois sy commencerent a decliner pourquoy leurs batailles furent perchyes, detrenchees, et occyses a grant effusion de leur sang, car les Bretons les craventoient comme moutons tous esperdus et confus en leurs courages quy

[1] *trouvera.* C. 2.

[2] *ne ait aucune esperance fors quen la guerre.* C.2.

[3] *aux gayans la moindre.* B. *aux geants toute la moindre.* C.2.

sy fiers et beubenchiers estoient a lassambler; et la cause estoit car leurs hardemens barbarins sy ont plus de vigeur en vantance ou en manaches[1] gengleuses que en vertu de porter ou soustenir les faix pesans des estours bellicques. Lors quant le roy Gillomith vey la grant mortalite de ses hommes, et que de toutes pars ilz estoient discipees et la terre vermeille de leur sang et jonchee de grans monceaulx de leurs corps, et quil ny avoyt nulle sceurete mais que de soy saulver, il tourna la bride, sy senfuy et laissa ses hommes qui presque tous perirent par fureur de glaves;[2] et les Bretons eurent la victoire ou ilz gaignerent[3] grant avoir et maintes riches bagues pompeuses lesquelles ilz emporterent avecques eulz.

Apres ceste noble victoire les Bretons se partirent du champ, sy sen alerent droit a la montaigne de Kilareth, ou ilz trouverent les pierres de la chainture aux geans, de quoy ilz furent grandement resjoys et aussy moult esmerveillies quant ilz veyrent la grandeur et beaulte des dittes pierres, car au vray dire cestoit chose merveilleuse a regarder, sy ny scavoient comment entrer tant estoit la roche soubtille et bien ordonnee, ains se tenoient devant la montaigne tous esbahys, quant Merlin par le conseil duquel ilz se conduisoyent de tout en tout leur dist: "Et " comment est-ce que entre vous aultres jovenceaulx, " quy a present estes au meilleur de vostre eage[4] et " en radde vertu de vostre force, estes ainssy espaouris " pour cestes pierres? les cuidies-vous avoir sans em- " ployer vos forces? mettes-y les mains et par vostre " vigeur esrachies les de ce lieu,[5] se force dhomme

[1] *mauvaises parolles mocquerresses et gengleuses quen aucune vertu.* C.2.

[2] *glave.* B. C.2.

[3] *moult et tant davoir eurent, et maintes.* C.2.

[4] *jouvence et en la radde vertu de vostre force.* B. *eage et en la rade vertu de vostre jouvence.* C.2.

[5] *ceste montaigne si scaurez en les ostant de ce lieu.* B. C.2.

" vaint[1] engin ou engin force vertueuse." Et tantost iceulx tous dune voulente mysrent les mains aux dittes pierres en y employant toutes leurs forces pour icelle chainture desrompre : sy dreschoient les ungz eschelles et les aultres estudyoient par diverses machinations dengins, mais certes tout leur labour et leur effort estoit vain ne riens ny pouvoient faire, ains estoient decheuz de toutes leurs intentions.

Quant Merlin vey les Bretons ainssy eulz essayer a ces pierres il commenca a rire, puis les fist retraire, sy applicqua aultres instrumens et engins propices aux pierres, et tantost sans difficulte il commenca a les deffranchier et porter en leurs nefz, et tant en desrocha[2] que toutes les pierres jadis en cellui mont par les geans mises et posees en artifice de non veue soubtillite furent ravies et portees es nefz. Et ce fait comme oy avez, par la temprance des vens ilz sen retournerent en Bretaigne-la-Grant en grant jubillation a la loenge de Merlin le prophete. Puis furent les pierres charriees du port ou les nefz arriverent jusques a la sepulture des barons; sy en fut tantost le roy Aurelien adcertene, lequel tramyst incontinent messages par toutes les provinces a luy subgettes pour nuncier aux prinches dicelles et aux peuples autressy quilz venissent a certain jour en la montaigne dAmbrith pour celebrer les obseques funeraux des nobles barons de Bretaigne quy pour la tuyssion de leur paternal pays avoyent este par la desloyale trayson des Saxons mys a mort. Sy y vindrent les prelatz de son royaulme, barons, consulz, chevaliers, et generament[3] gens de tous estas. Et furent ces obseques faitz par gens deglise le plus honnourablement que faire se polt, et tous les subgetz du roy, chascun selon la dignite de son ordre ou degre leur administroient ce que besoing leur estoit

[1] *vault.* C.2.
[2] *deffroicha.* C.2.
[3] *generalement.* C.2.

a faire le dit office ou service. Et quant il fut fait et adcomply, le roy Aurelien convia ses hommes a sa feste quil tendoit tenir le jour de la Pentecouste qui prochain estoit ; lesquelz demourerent voulentiers sy demenerent[1] maintz grans soullas en attendant la ditte feste. Et entre tant le roy faisoit grant appareil de divers delices pour tenir court sollempnele au jour dessus dit, lequel quant il fut venu la joye fut moult grande et la melodye des instrumens plaisant, car doulcement estoient touchies par ormonieuze consonace.[2] Celluy jour porta le roy couronne en son chief et sist haultement au disner. Puis sasseyrent tous les princes et barons chascun selon son ordre et noblesse ; sy furent illec servis de toutes vyandes qui de humaine nature peuvent estree desirees. Laquele feste dura troix jours continuelz comme un droyt paradis de leesse ; et apres la feste passee le bon roy remunera moult[3] grandement ses princes, et donna les dignitez de lisle qui privees estoient de seigneurs a ses familliers quy feablement lavoient servi en ses guerres et aultres affaires. Sy estoient en ce temps deux eglises metropolitaines sans pastours, cest a scavoir, celle de Hebroich et celle de Legionne ; mais pour y pourveir de chiefs dignes de ces[4] benefices il volt avoir sur ce le consentement et advis de son peuple, sic que par la concordance de tous ceulz quy a ceste election furent appellez le benoit Sanson, noble homme de lingnage et plus excellent en nobilite de sapience et religion vertueuse, fut confirme arcevesque de la cyte de Hebroic, et le glorieux Dubritius, lequel la haulte et souveraine providence de Dieu avoit predestine et esleu au siege metropolitain de Legyonne, y fut constituez en grant devotion de lauctorite royal et election populaire. Quant le bon roy Aurelien ot ces choses et pluiseurs aultres ordonnees bien et deue-

[1] *sy demenerent.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.
[2] *consonance.* B.
[3] *honnourablement et.* C.2.
[4] *telz.* B. C.2.

ment sur la reformation et embellissement de son royaulme touchans lutillite publicque ou commune, laquele a toutes heures il avoit devant les yeulx de son religyeux entendement perferee ou myse atoute singuliere fortune, il commanda au prophete Merlin que il ordonnast ses besoingnes pour parfaire louvrage encommencye de luy tant desire, et dreschast icelles nobles pierres ainssy quil scavoit que la nature le desiroit et pour quoy faire la vertu divine les avoit par son conseil, advertence, ou engin ravies de Hybernye par euvre miraculeuse et fait translater jusques a ceste place apres la puissance hybernienne desconfite, et que il consummast le negoce en celle meysme perfection en laquelle il avoit commencye. Merlin qui moult obedient estoit a toutes choses qui de rayson sortissoient effect, en donnant obedience au commandement du roy a la dreschier icelles pierres par la subtillite de son agu engin, qui tant estoient pesantes dessus la sepulture des corps quy la gysoient, par la meysme ordonnance et maniere par laquelle les geans les avoient posees en la montaigne dont elles avoyent este ostees ; et ainssy en ce faysant il demoustra aux ieulx de la jouvence britonnicque comment leur force ne leurs corages vertueulx ne les debvoient haulchier ou eslever a orgueil ne a vaine glore comme ilz veyssent que luy, qui nestoit pas de grant corpulence, tout seul par la soubtillite de son engin levast ces pierres lesqueles eulz tous ensemble ilz ne pooient une toute seule sourdre ne lever de terre. Par laquelle chose il apparut assez que engin prevalu et sourmonta humaine force, comme aussy par pluiseurs foiz on la veu advenir cy-devant et voit-on ancores chascun jour continuellement ; et rayson y a car de tant doibt estre engin plus agu quil procede de lespirit, et force corporelle vient seullement de humanite.

Comment Pascent, filz du roy Vortigerius, exista les Germaniens contre le bon roy Aurelien a moult grant ost, et furent desconfis, et comment apres il se ralia au roy Gillomith de Hybernie, lequel il fist passer a grant ost en Bretaigne, et comment par venin et trayson il fist finer le crestien roy Aurelien. LE CHAPITRE V^e^.

EN cellui temps Pascent, le maisne filz du roi[1] Vortigier, lequel ja pieca, estoit gueris de la playe que Kartigern luy avoit faitte[2] en la bataille que le roy Vortymer avoyt eue contre les Saxons emprez la ville de Epifort, ou ilz jousterent ensamble et se percherent tout oultre les corps des fers des lances, de quoy Kartigern morut, et le traystre Pascent, non obstant quil feust merveilleusement navre mais toutesfois garist-il; se croy[3] que ce fut par providence divine adfin que par lui feussent ancorres tourmentez les Bretons, et que les fatalles destinees perveues de celle haulte sapience divine feussent adcomplies. Lequel apres la mort de son traitre pere sen estoit fugitif transporte en Germanie, pour ce que en Bretaigne nosoit-il demourer, ou[4] il nestoit mye oyseux ains esmouvoit et existoit les cuers Saxons[5] en les corrumpant par dons et promesses vaines a esveillier la guerre contre les Bretons, disant: " O vous mes seigneurs, sachiez " que se[6] vos dextres me veullent eslargir et partir " leur ayde et que moyennant icelle je puisse conc- " querre Bretaigne et mon patrimoine subjuguier, je " vous en feray citoyens et seigneurs a perpetuelle " tranquillite, non mye que je demande privillege de

[1] *tyrant.* B. C.2.
[2] *luy avoit faitte Kartigern.* B. C 2.
[3] *dont je croy.* B. C.2.
[4] *la ou.* C.2.
[5] *saxonniens.* C.2.
[6] *la vertu de.* B. C.2.

" seignourir sur vous la ou fortune nous donroit sa " faveur, mais certes societe egalle, car nulles richesses " mondaines ne demande je fors que la mort de mon " pere vengier et a vous distribuer les avoirs et " richesses de cestui Aurelien qui le royaulme de lisle " tant delictable[1] occupe aujourdhuy." Par telles et samblables parolles fallacieuses et aulcuns dons et promesses assez grandes corrumpy ce Pascent presques toute la jouvente saxonnicque qui assez par nature est ydoine a tout malice perpetrer et proditions diverses machiner. Et lorsquil congneut les corages des jovenenceaulx estre ardans de passer en lisle, il fist appareillier un moult grant navire, dedens lequel il entra luy et ses gens, sy luy furent les vens propices, et applicqua en pou de terme en lisle devers la partie dacquilon, ou luy et son ost apres ce que ilz furent issus des nefs firent moult de maulz, car ilz destruisoient par tyrannye inhumaine les fruits de terre et craventoient les hommes et les maisons enflamboient, et adfin que nulle chose ny demourast sans tache[2] de leur cruaulte ilz brusloient les boiz et les fringz,[3] laquelle tyrannye ne fut pas longuement soufferte impugnie, car la ou les nouvelles en vindrent au roy Aurelien, il manda ses princes et chevaliers venir a luy, sy eut en une briefve espace un moult grant ost, et vint alencontre des Saxons quy tumultueusement aloyent parmy le pays, lesquelz il appella a bataille. Et furent, apres ce quilz eurent grant piece combatu, par leur obstinee fierete a leur grant coust et effusion de sang desconfis et les aulcuns detrenchies et les aultres constrains, pour la mort eschever,[4] de fuir vers leurs nefz, et fut le traytre Pascent le premier fuyant, qui par voulente divine laissa plus de la moittie de ses hommes mors; sy fist[5] tantost quil vey les ennemys approchier lever les voiles et

[1] *la Grant Bretaigne occupe.* C.2.
[2] *trache.* B. *trasse.* C.2.
[3] *foingz.* B. *foins.* C.2.
[4] *eschaper.* B.
[5] *commanda.* C.2.

desancrer les nefz, sy se parti de lisle ainssy comme se il voulsist aler en Germanie; mais il ne fut pas bien avant en la mer quant il fist adreschier les nefz[1] vers Hybernie et y arriva assez briefment, sy sen ala pardevers le roy Gillomith qui moult le receupt lyement, et luy recita toute sa malice et aussy sa maleadventure, son exillement, et desconfiture, de quoy le roy Gillomith eut grant pyte et luy promist son ayde, en soy complaignant aussy des Bretons, et par especial de linjure a lui faitte par le duc Uther, quy luy avoyt ravies ses pierres de la chainture aux geans et ses chevaliers occis. Et ainssy ilz firent entre eulz aliance et confederation pour eulz vengier sur les Bretons des dessus dittes injures, sy preparerent[2] grant coppye de nefz et de chevaliers et passerent en lisle de Bretaigne. Sy arriverent premierement en la cyte de Menie, laquelle ilz prindrent a force et occyrent tous les citoyens dicelle. Laquelle destruction fut tantost diwlguie partout le pays, et leur vint[3] alencontre le duc Uther a grant force de chevalerie adfin de eulz combatre et obvier a leur fureur, car son frere[4] Aurelien estoit demoure moult griefment malade[5] en la cite de Guintonye que par foyblesse dicelle il ne se povoit lever du lyt. Laquelle maladie appelloit les cuers des Saxons et Hyberniens a hardement et leur donnoit grant esperance de victoire, exstimans les chevaliers Bretons non estre tant hardys ne la conduite bellicque sy bien ordonnee soubz la main du duc Uther Pendragon comme a lempire Aurelien, et pour ceste cause estoient Gillomith et Pascent montez en vanite et gloire de follye inraysonnable; pourquoy ilz disoient a leur chevaliers: " Ores est le temps venu que vous serez seigneurs de

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[1] *il tira son chemin vers.* C.2.

[2] *preparerent moult grant navire et de gens grant multitude et passerent.* C.2.

[3] *vint.* B. C.2. omitted in A.

[4] *le roy.* B. C.2.

[5] *moult grefment malade demuore.* C.2.

" cestuy pays sy habondant en delices et ricesses, car " les Bretons supplantes et mys en servage, laquelle " chose sera tres legiere a faire, car desja est leur roy " vaincu et comme mort, nous dominerons." Et comme les princes Saxons se conjoissent[1] en telles parolles beubenchieres un Saxon, nomme Coppa, plain de trayson, comme sa nature ladministroit,[2] se presenta a Pascent le tyrant et luy dist: " Par quants emolu- " mens ou dons guerredonneroyes-tu lomme quy te " mettroit a fin de la chose quy tant ton ceur tra- " veille, cest la vye de ton ennemy Aurelien?" Auquel respondy Pascent, qui moult desiroit[3] les delices et honneurs royaulx de la couronne de Bretaigne: " Se je trouvoye volente tant benigne ou[4] courage sy " ferme et homme sy constant, digne et ennobly de " sy grant merite, certes je luy eslargiroye mille livres " dargent et la faveur de mon ceur et singuliere fa- " miliarite tant que mon ame se herbegera en mon " corps, et sainssy[5] estoit que je peusse joir et pos- " sesser du dyadesme de ceste isle, je luy affermeroye " par serment de le constituer es plus grans dignitez " dicelle et le fare centurion."

Alors le crimineulz[6] traytre qui Coppa avoit non, ja aveugle par les promesses que luy faysoit ce Pascent, et aussy que sa condition naturelle ad ce linclinoit, dist: " Jay en ma jeunesse aprins le langage et congnois " toutes les meurs des Bretons, et sy suis instruis en " science medicinal; pourquoy se tu me jures et veulz " a adcomplir en moy les choses cy en present par toy " recordees, je me faindray estre crestien, et soubz " abit dissimule de Breton je me presenteray comme " medechin devant le roy Aurelien, sy confiray et or- " donneray une potion[7] venimeuse laquele il beuvera; et

[1] *conjouissoient.* B. C.2.
[2] *lui administroit.* C.2.
[3] *convoitoit.* C.2.
[4] *aucun courage.* C.2.
[5] *saucunement advenoit.* C.2.
[6] *crimineul.* C.2.
[7] *portion.* A. B.

" adfin que je puisse plus caultement ceste nostre inten-
" tion[1] faire sortir son effect, je me habitueray comme
" un moisne devoz et catholicque, car ainssy seray non
" suspect a tous, en moy dissimulant estre parfait, in-
" struit, et enseignie en toute discipline."

Pascent, qui ceste fiction loa moult et tint a digne de grant remuneration, avecques ce que promys luy avoyt, jura de a celluy plus grans choses eslargir se il confermoit la besongne par effect ainssy comme propose lavoyt. Et adont le faulz traytre congnoissant que celle foy prestee luy donnoit assez grant sceurete, il fist rere sa barbe et ses cheveulx ainssy comme un moisne, puis se habitua de habit religieux et myst a[2] son col ses boistes plaines de onguemens et poisons diverses confites de mortel venin incurable; et en ceste maniere proditoire prinst son chemin pour aler vers la cyte de Guintonye ou le bon roy Aurelien gysoit moult agresse[3] de maladye. Et luy la venu praticqua tant parmy la ville que en pou de temps les serviteurs du roy luy firent avoir acces jusques a sa personne; car il disoit que il nestoit nulle quelconcques maladie, pourtant que on se voulsist gouverner selon son regime, quil ne sanast bien moiennant la grace de Dieu. Quant le traytre fut venus devant le roy tous les assistens le conjoyrent en grant leesse, car la grant amour que chascun avoit devers le bon roy les constraindoit a desirer un medechin souffisant quy luy sceust allegier sa maladye, ce que le desloyal promettoit de faire, moiennant quil voulsist boire ses poysons et prendre son gouvernment. De laquelle esperance le roy fut moult joieulx, sy dist au desloyal quil estoit tout prest de obeyr a luy[4] et a son commandement pour sante recouvrer.[5] Et lors le payen lui bailla le

[1] *besoingne.* C.2.
[2] *en.* C.2.
[3] *moult durement agresse.* B. *moult durement agrave.* C.2.
[4] *obeir totalement a lui.* C.2.
[5] *et a son commandement pour sante recouvrer,* omitted in B. C.2.

venin a boire, et puis, quant il ot beu, le traytre le fist obliter et dormir, sy le couvry moult fort, laquelle chose il faysoit adfin que la potion venimeuse eust, quant il seroit endormy, plus france ouverture dedens les vaines en soy extendant parmy le corps et penetrast jusques au ceur a cause de levocation de la chaleur en somme par dedens le corps. Et ainssy fut obdormy le benoyt roy a nostre Seigneur et raemply son ame les sieges[1] des glorifiez ou royaulme de paradys par la dormition perdurable qui a nul mortel ne sceut pardonner; car tantost que le venin se fut espandus parmy les vaines a cause de la chaleur, et il parvint jusques au ceur il lestaigny et mortiffia soubdainement, et en ceste maniere fina le bon roy Aurelien sa vye trayteusement; car on ne se peult bonnement garder dun traytre. Quant ce faulz, desloyal, et murdrier crimynel Coppa eut ce fait, il se esconsa entre les ungz et les aultres soubz cest habit dissimule, et tant ala quil parvint aux tentes des payens, ou il denunca au tyrant Pascent la mort du vaillant roy Aurelien; et pour ces piteuses nouvelles, au traytre Pascent plaisantes, il embracha et conjoy le payen, et le remunera[2] aussy grandement comme sil leust consacre roy de lisle.

O tu Pascent, traytre desloyal, tu ne fourlingnes pas ains poursieus bien les traches villaines de ton pere Vortigier, qui oncques ne fina jusques a la mort de tyrannysier et traysons machiner, je mesmerveille comment tu ne prengz garde a la miserable fin de ton pere. Seras-tu jamais saoule de la foy crestienne persecuter ne de persecuter et destruire la terre dont tu es natif? au moins lamour delle ten deust retrayre. Et toy, Fortune, comment es-tu sy desvoyee de rayson que tu seuffres devant tes yeulx cestui desloyal traytre

[1] *sains sieges.* C.2.

[2] *en le remunerant.* B. *en le remerciant.* C.2.

Coppa sans en prendre pugnition ? Et tu, terre, le deusses engloutir devant tout le monde adfin que les maulvays y prensissent exemple, quant il a tempte a la personne dicelluy noble roy, vray catholicque, qui oncques mal navoyt fait, fors maintenir droyt, rayson, et justice, et departir ses biens aux povres menbres de Jhesu Crist. Mais quant il plaira a dame Fortune, en laquelle na nulle constance ne stabilite, elle tournera sa roe, sy rendra a Coppa et a son maistre Pascent salaire selon leur desertes ou merites.[1]

Comme doncques ce desloyal traytre Coppa eust mys a fin ceste sa malvaise et vyolente entreprinse, comme vous avez oy, en la cyte de Guintonye, se magnifesta ou ciel une estoille tres belle et de merveilleuze grandeur et instimable clarete, laquele estoit garnye dun seul ray moult resplendissant ; et dedens celluy cler ray apparoit par samblance un charbon de feu protendu et disperse en la fourme dun dragon ardant, de la bouche duquel apparoyt issir deux rays flamboyans, desquelz rays la longeur[2] apparoyt estendre de lun et decliner oultre le climat de France, cest a dire, le heritage appartenant de droyt aux hoirs de la royaulte des fleurs de lys ; et la grandeur de lautre randon sy regardoit Hybernye et les choses quy se joingnent a la mer, et se termynoit en soy divisant par tres petis rays.

De lexposition que fist Merlin au duc Uter-Pendragon, et comment il desconfist ses ennemys Gillomith et Pascent, puis retourna a Guintonye pour celebrer les obseques du roy Aurelien son frere. Le Chapitre VI[e].

Lapparition de lestoille premyse fut repute de tous ceulx quy la veyrent a prodige merveilleux, et

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[1] *demerites.* C.2.

[2] *la longeur lun apparoyt estendre et decliner.* B. *lun apparait estendre et decliner.* C.2.

estoient tous les regardans frappes en leurs ceurs de paour et admiration, et meysmement Uther et son ost, quy avoyent prins leur chemin vers Galles, de ce veoyr ne furent mye un peu espouventes. Sy en demanda Uther a tous ceulx quy en son ost estoient reputez les plus sages leur oppinion de la signiffication dicelle estoille; mais comme tous le ygnorassent il manda querre celluy quy en tant haultes choses estoit leur refuge; cestoit Merlin, qui adoncques estoit en lost venus, car le roy Aurelien luy avoit tramys avant sa mort adfin que son frere Uther ordonnast et disposast toutes choses en son ost selon le conseil et industrie dicelluy.

Pourquoy quant le duc sceut quil estoit en lost il le manda tantost devant luy, et illec apres le bienviengnant luy prya quil notiffyast la signiffication de celle estoille; mais sans demeure avant quil peust parler il commenca de en grant effusion de larmes baignier sa face, et puis, exyte ou esveillie en soy lesperit de prophetie, dist ainssy en soupirs plains " damertum: O dommageux peril et inrecomparable " dampnification! O noble peuple britonnicque, orbe " et orphenin [1] es aujourdhuy! O migration et mort " dollereuse de cestuy tres noble roy Aurelien de " Bretaigne quy certes aujourdhuy a terminee sa vye, " par quoy [2] obit et mort tous sy morront se la " misericorde dicelle divine providence [3] ne nous est " enconfort et admynystre son ayde. O toy tres " noble duc Uther, haste-toy et plus ne fais dillation " ne ne differe la bataille contre tes ennemys, car tu " as la victoire en ta main, et Dieu te donra son ayde, " et seras roy de toute la monarchye de lisle, car " ceste estoille sy te signiffye en [4] celluy dragon de feu " quy est dessoubz celle etoille, et son ray quy se porte

[1] *orphelin.* C.2.
[2] *qui.* B. C.2.
[3] *de celle glorieuse providence divine.* B.
[4] *et.* B.

" vers la playe de la terre franssoise sy te magnifeste et " promet un filz que tu auras, lequel sera tres puissant, " car sa seignourye sy te deffendera en sceure pro- " tection tous les royaulmes que sa vertu mettra " soubz sa dextre. Et laultre ray signiffye une fille " que tu auras, de la quelle istera la noble lingnie royal, " quy apres ton trepas succedera au ceptre royal de la " Grant-Bretaigne." Apres ces parolles dittes Merlin se teult et Uther plain de perplexite doubteuse, car non obstant les admonestemens Merlin, quil navoit oncques trouve en faulte de verite dire, sy nestoit il mye asseurez. Toutesfois, appellee layde divine, il advanca loirre de lost britonnicque pour assambler aux ennemys plus fort que oncques par avant navoyt fait, et tant sadvanca quil parvint ains la moittie du jour ensieuant devant la cyte ou estoyent les tyrans Pascent et Gillomith logies avec leur ost, lesquelz, quant ilz congneurent la venue des Bretons, ilz ordonnerent leurs batailles et leur vindrent alencontre ; sy assamblerent les batailles dune part et daultre a grans frons de courages, car maintz chevaliers y cheurent qui oncques puis ne se releverent. La bataille fut moult cruelle et longuement dura aucques en un estat aincois que la victoire se magnifestast de nulle part, car les Saxons se combatoient moult aigrement et les Bretons qui vaincus les avoient, navoit pas granment, les envahyssoient sy fierement quilz sambloyent tous foursenes ; sy estoit loccysion moult grande et leffusion de sang abhominable. Quant la bataille se fut assez longuement maintenue en egalite, que on ne scavoyt quy en avoyt le meilleur, en fin les Bretons indignez et dire enflambez par grant ardeur de corage et vertu souveraine percherent et rompirent la bataille de leurs ennemys et occyrent leurs deux ducs, cest a scavoir, Gillomith le hybernien et le desloyal tyrant saxonnicque Pascent, les armez desquelz

furent toutes detrenchyes,[1] et ceulx quy eschapper peurent sen fuirent a leurs nefz, mais certes pour ce ne furent ilz mye asseures, car la fureur britonnicque les anticipa et furent pres tous acraventez. Sy demoura la victoire et triumphe moyennant la grace de nostre Seigneur a Uther et aux Bretons, lequel apres ces choses ainssy faittes se parti de la et ala moult hastivement a Guintonye, car ja lui avoyt este denunchye la mort de son frere, le roy Aurelien, et que les prelatz du rengne lavoyent ensepveli emprez le couvent de Ambrith, dedens la chainture gyganticque, car ainssy lavoyt il ordonne en son vyvant, laquelle chose fut faitte en grans pleurs et gemissemens de tous ceulx quy la estoyent. Et comme le duc Uther feust la venus, adcompaignye des plus nobles barons du pays, le plus solempnellement que faire se polt furent fais les obseques funeraulx du benoyt[2] roy Aurelien, ainssy comme leur coustume ou ordonnance le portoit et ainssy[3] comme il appartenoit a sa saintete et ses vertueuses merites dont il estoit en son vivant vesty et raemply le requeroient.

Du couronnement du duc Uther, qui surnomme fut Pendragon, et des deux batailles quil ot alencontre de Cocta, filz de Englist, et Orsus,[4] *son cousin, lesquelz le desconfirent en la premiere bataille, mais apres furent ilz destruis en la seconde assamblee.* CHAPITRE VII[e].

QUANT les royaulx obseques furent deuement celebrez, Uther, le frere du bon roy deffunct, fist appeller tous les princes, barons, chevaliers, et peuple de lisle adfin que de leur affaitement[5] il feust ennobly du dyadesme royal, ainssy comme son droyt paternel le requeroit; sy luy

[1] *despechies.* C.2.
[2] *bon.* C.2.
[3] *aussi.* B.
[4] *Orse.* B.
[5] *de leur assentement.* B. C.2.

ottroyerent et confermerent le ceptre de Bretaigne et le couronnerent a moult grant faveur de tous ceulx du pays. Quant le roy Uther ot recheu les hommages, et quil congneut que celle sublimation et eslevement de luy estre conjoint a la couronne luy estoit advenue selon lexposition de lestoille prodigieuse devant a luy et a ceulx de lisle apparue, il commanda et ordonna de forgier deux dragons dor a lymage et samblance de cellui quy issoit du ray de lestoille en guise de charbon de feu. Et quant ilz furent parfais de moult soubtil et merveilleux artifice, il en offry un a leglise cathedral de Guintonye et laultre garda pour porter en sa baniere quant il yroit en bataille, et des ce jour en avant il fut nomme Uther-Pendragon, car par devant son nom estoit[1] Uther, et on y adjousta Pendragon, quy vault autant a dire en langue brete comme teste de dragon ; et recheupt ceste appellation pour ce que Merlin lavoyt prophetisie estre roy par samblance dun dragon.

Ces choses ainssy faittes, le roy prinst a reformer son royaulme et maintenir selon la justice et pollitie que le bon roy Aurelien son frere lavoyt gouverne ; et entretant Cocta, le filz Englist, et Orsus son cousin, soy extimans estre absoulz de la convention et federation faitte avec le roy Aurelien par eulx, sefforcerent a dillater leur province et inferer moleste[2] et armes au roy Uther Pendragon ; sy[3] adcompaignerent a eulx les demourez de lost Pascent, et puis tramisrent leurs legaulz en Germanie pour amener ayde. De la quelle besongne le roy Uther Pendragon[3] sy assambla toute la force de son royaulme pour obvier a la tyrannye saxonnicque, laquelle par non acoustumee destruction gasta tous les provinces du coste dacquilon par feu et les cultiveurs dicelles par glave

[1] *seullement.* B. C.2.
[2] *mollestes.* C.2.
[3] *sy adcompaignerent . . . . Uther Pendragon,* omitted in C.2.

et par martire agraventa ;[1] et ne cessa leur tyrannye de faire forte guerre en lisle jusques ad ce que toutes les forteresses et cytes quy estoyent depuis la cyte de Hebroich jusques a la nation d'Escoche furent toutes destruites et les cytoiens detrenchies, et meismement myrent ilz le siege devant la cyte de Hebroich dessus nommee.

Mais ainssy comme ilz preparoient leurs engins bellicques pour assailler la ditte cyte, le roy Uther Pendragon leur vint alencontre atout son ost, et furent en peu dheure les batailles des deux costes ordonnees, quy sans demeure commencerent lestour[2] dur et perilleux, plain[3] de pesme occysion, car les corages des combatans estoient fiers et orguilleux. Et se combatoyent les Bretons fierement en eulx habandonnant a leurs ennemys tumultueusement, en faisant grant occysion diceulx ; mais la cautelle saxonnicque resistoit vigoureusement en tenant caultement leurs rens[4] et leurs ordres et enduroyent la fureur des Bretons patiamment. Mais la ou ilz veyrent que les Bretons estoient dispers et sans ordre et lassez durement, ilz les assaillirent aygrement a grant occysion, laquelle chose ilz faisoient assez legierement comme ilz eussent tarde et eulz espargnie jusques a la fin a moustrer leurs efforts, car ilz navoyent fait aultre chose que eulz garder, couvrir, et resister, pourquoy a ceste heure ilz firent par force les Bretons fuir et perdre le champ, sy heurent[5] victoire notable au grant reproce diceulx Bretons, lesquelz ilz poursievirent tant que le soleil leur donna lumiere de jour jusques a la montaigne d'Aven, en les detrenchant et occyant a grant dolleur. Or estoit celle montaigne moult haulte et sy avoit au sommet dicelle de grans pierres tres aspres avec buissons thenebreux[6] et boscages

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[1] *acraventa.* C.2.
[2] *lestour moult perilleux.* C.2.
[3] *plain de pesans occysions de hommes, femmes et enffans.* B. C.2.
[4] *rencs.* C.2.
[5] *eurent.* B.
[6] *tenebreux.* C.2.

moult espes, es quelz avoyt aulcunes places latentes et muchees ou les Angloix demourerent par grant angoisse de lassete et douleur toute la nuyt ; mais la ou le roy Uther Pendragon percheut le chariot du soleil tourner son thimon, et que les estincelles de ses rays ja se magnifestoient parmy les tenebres de la nuyt obscure quy ja se terminoyt, il convocqua tous ses barons a conseil, adfin que par leur prudence ilz traitassent leurs besongnes quy tant estoient doubteuses, et quils consideraissent[1] la maniere de pouvoir resister a leurs ennemys quy ainssy les avoient deboutez et a grant reproce desconfis. Sy parla premiers Gorlois, le duc de Cornubye, quant tous les princes furent assamblez, lequel estoit homme grant de conseil et de eage et moult magnanime[2] de nature, et dist : " Il ne nous est " point necessite de user nostre temps en sermons " doubteux et vains ; comme ancorres nous apperent les " tantes[3] tenebres de bofucation[4] nocturne, sy avons " mestier et ad ce nous constraint nostre presente misere, " de user de sens, force et hardiesse se nous voulons " plus longuement vivre ne user et conjoir de nostre " premiere liberte paternelle. Grande est la multitude " de la fureur paienne, et par la victoire eue convoi- " teuze de bataille ; sy extime nous estre trop lentz et " tardifz, car se nous attendons que le jour nous sour- " prende, je ne sens point, ne jugier ne puis que il nous " soit utile de nous assambler par droyt de bataille a " eulx. Or doncques, messeigneurs, tandis que les tene- " bres tiennent ancorres les corps humains pesans[5] que " terre, je vous admoneste que nous, nos batailles bien " ordonnees, descendons en leurs logys et par soubdain " et impetueux assault les assaillons, sy les aurons en " brief par la faveur de nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist

[1] *considerassent la maniere daucunement povoir.* C.2.

[2] *magnanime de couraige et de nature, et commenca a dire.* C.2.

[3] *tentes tenebreuses et.* C.2.

[4] *lobfuscation.* B. C.2.

[5] *pensans et pesans.* C.2.

" desconfis, comme sur ce ilz naient riens pourveu ne " ilz ne cuideroient jamais que nous vaincus deussions " sur eulx fourer[1] en telle maniere ; et ay certainement " tres grant esperance en Dieu que se ainssy le faisons " et par vigoureuse hardiesse les envahissons nous vic- " torierons par noble triumphe." Ceste sentence pleut moult au roy et a tous les assistens, et furent a sa monition sans delay ordonnees les eschielles britonnicques et en moult discrete ordonnance ilz parvindrent jusques es logis saxonnicques ; mais certes leur advenement cogneurent les escharguettes lesquelles crierent a larme par grant effusion et effrace fachon, car les Bretons se fraperent en leur logis soubdainement en mettant tout a feu et a glave. Et les Saxons quy pesans estoient du somme dont ilz avoient este esveillies furent tant esbahiz quilz ne se scavoyent armer, ains se hastoient tant quilz venoient les ungz tous nudz et les aultres a la moittie de leurs armeures contre les Bretons, quy sans delay les detrenchant se delictoyent ; et les aultres plains de formitude paoureuse se tenoient armez en leurs logis a grant crainte et paour de leurs vies, ou les Bretons, plains de fureur bellicque atout leurs glaves, prins et gaignies leurs cloysons, les occyoient sans quelque pite,[2] ayans fresche memoire comment le jour devant avoient par eulx este malmenez. Puis furent prins Cocta et Orsus tant seullement, car tout le demourant fut acravente par glave. Sy obtinrent les Bretons la victoire en la maniere que vous avez oy par le conseil du noble duc Gorlois de Cornubye, quy tant estoit sage, laquelle chose luy fut petitement merie comme cy apres sera dit.[3]

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[1] *sourvenir.* B. *survenir.* C.2.
[2] *pitie ne compassion.* C.2.
[3] *tout au long.* C.2.

De la court que tint le roy Uther Pendragon en la cyte de Londres, et comment il meut la guerre au duc Gorlois a cause de sa femme, de laquelle il fut amoureux. LE CHAPITRE VIII[e].

APRES ce que le roy Uther Pendragon ot eu victoire de ses ennemys il sen ala en la cyte de Aclud[1] et la ordonna il lestat publicque de celle province par grant et meure deliberation de conseil ; puis soubmyst a sa jurisdiction tous les estors,[2] et tous les rebelles de la monarchye de lisle pugnist par droite justice sans nulle mysericorde, car il executoit justice et sa rigueur par tel industrie que oncques nulz de ses predicesseurs navoient este tant cremuz et doubtez en leur temps. Et lorsque il vey tout le pays pacefye il sen retourna a Londres ou il fist emprisonner Cocta et Orsus et les mettre en fors lieux, puis manda partout son royaulme aux consulz et princes dicelluy que ilz venissent a sa court quil vouloit tenir le jour de Pasques ensievant. Sy sappresterent tous les nobles du royaulme et vindrent en grans pompes au jour de la feste laquelle fut a grant joye et soullas de tous celebree, car le roy porta ce jour moult haultement couronne et festoya ses princes par grant leesse et de courage joieux. Et sy y avoient tous les nobles quy venus y estoient amenees leurs femmes, ceulx quy en avoient, avec elles leurs filles et prochaines de sang. Sy furent au disner assis tous les barons selon leurs dignitez et leurs ordres, entre lesquelz estoit le duc Gorloix de Cornubye et Ygerne sa femme avec luy, laquelle estoit la fleur de beaulte entre toutes les dames du monde et sourmontoit sans comparoison toutes celles de lisle de Bretaigne.[3] Pourquoy le roy

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[1] *Alclud et illec.* B. C.2.
[2] *escots.* C.2.
[3] *de la Grant Bretaigne.* C.2.

la regardoit moult volentiers en loant en son ceur la[1] merveilleuse beaulte et tant plus la remiroit avec son doulz maintieng et amoureulx regard, tant plus luy sambloit belle, la beaulte de laquelle luy faisoit laissier tout aultre desir et meismement le conjoissement de ses barons, car il navoit aultre part son ceur que sur elle, pour ce que la deesse[2] Cupido luy avoit ja trayt de ses sagettes enflambees du desir amoureux. "Hee!" disoit il, "comment cellui seroit beneure "quy par sa vallour porroit concquerre lamour de "celle plaisante dame, car certes en elle est le port "de toute beaulte, la fontaine de delices, loudeur de "tout soulas, le refuge de tout confort, le miroir du "monde, larmonie de toute doulceur voire et de tous "les biens de nature."

Ceste dame doncques, pour inextimable beaulte ad compaignie dun tant gracieux et savoureux parler qui en elle estoit, avoit enlacie le roy en lamertume de la pointure du desir desperance; elle estoit seulle a quy son ceur estoit tourne; elle estoit seulle a quy il tramettoit les metz delicieux qui devant luy estoient asportez, en luy gettant par fois un ris couvert de la veue de paour et de vergongne; et aulcunes fois entremelloit[3] en ses ditz parolles amoureuses par couverture moult obscure, pour doubte de esveillier le perilleux et dollereux dangier de mauldite jalouzie quy tant de amoureus a par sa cruaulte a martere fait finer la vye avant leurs jours et termes. Mais ce ne polt faire le roy sy avyseement que le noble duc Gorlois, homme prudent et soubtil en lart amoureux, le mary de la dame, ne sen apperceust, lequel eschauffe dire se parti avec sa femme soubdainement de la court sans prendre congie ne lycence du roy Uther Pendragon, sy sen ala en son pays, de quoy la court fut toute troublee, et le roy especialemente, quy en son ceur avoyt emprainte

[1] *sa.* C.2.
[2] *Deesse* in all the MSS.
[3] *entremesloit.* B. C.2.

la beaulte de la dame ; et pourtant il manda au duc Gorloix quil retournast en sa court adfin que de linjure perpetree il receust la sentence de raison. Mais le duc, quy plus chier avoyt perdre tous ses biens temporelz que sa femme, que il amoyt sur toute riens, deffuy a comparoir devant le roy, dont le roy fut moult courouchie, sy jura quil destruiroit le duc et tout son pays syl ne venoyt devers luy a satisfaction et sans demeure.

Endementiers que leur rumeur estoit en suspens assambla le roy Uther Pendragon un moult grant ost atout lequel il entra es provinces de Cornubye en mettant villes, cytez et forteresses tout enflambe, et les cytoiens et laboureurs tous a glave, car pour ce que le duc Gorlois navoit mye sy grant coppye de gens darmes comme le roy, il ne sosoit pas soubmettre es perilz de fortune de soy combatre en champ contre la puissance royal, ains avoyt esleu pour le mieulx en atendant le secours[1] quil esperoit briefment venir a luy de Hybernye, de garnir ses villes et forteresses de vivres et dartillerie et de gens darmes ; et comme il fut plus sollicyte et plain dangoisse pour sa femme que pour luy, il la tramyst en son chastel de Tintagol, lequel seoyt sur la rive de la mer, comme au plus fort et plus seur lieu quil eust en toute sa terre. Sy le garny de tous engins bateilleres pour soustenir sieges et assaulz, et atout le demourant de sa gent sen entra ou chastel de Demeliot,[2] lequel il garny aussy moult soingneusement. Et la cause pourquoy il ne se tenoit en Tintagol avecques sa femme estoit adfin que se fortune parverse vouloyt nuyre a lun deulx que pour ce ne feust mye laultre opprime ; et ainssy tous deux ne pouvoient pas deffiner ensamble. Ceste chose fut notiffyee au roy, lequel,

[1] *secours lequel il atendoit avoir moult briefment du royaulme de Hybernye.* C.2.

[2] *Denceloit.* C.2.

non obstant que tout son ceur feust a Tintagol, sy delibera il daler premierement assegier la forteresse ou estoit le duc Gorlois, et sy fist[1] faire grans cloysons autour des fossez adfin que nul nen peust issir; mais quant il eut employe en cestuy negoce une sepmaine et que ja la seconde declinoit, la playe amoureuse quy en son ceur leschauffoit[2] a cause de limage fantastique qui toudys devant son sens se presentoit de la beaulte de Ygerne le commenca a traveillier de desir amoureux, sicque labsence de la dame le fist en peu dheure pallir et empirer durement, sy ne scavoit quelle voye ne quel conseil prendre quy confort luy peust donner, et adfin que aulcune esperance il peust trouver de sa dolleance, il appella secretement a son prive Ulphin[3] de Rithearodoth, son especial famillier, lequel toute sa vye avoit este nourris avec luy et estoit homme de haulte chevalerie, a quy il dist son intention par ceste fourme dallocution: " O tu Ulphin mon tres chier " amy, jay ta loyaulte esprouvee de sy long temps " et ta valeur que je tay esleu entre toutes mes gens " comme celluy en quel pouvoir je me veul submettre " et fyer, de a toy declarer unne myenne affection " quy forment me tourmente, car saches que jay tant " mon amour, mon penser, mon corps, mon desir et mon " entendement lye et obligie en lamour de la belle " Ygerne, laquelle art mon corps et met a grief[4] mar- " tire que je nen extime jamais avoir confort se je " nay son amour et lottroy de mon desir; sicque tu, " mon feal amy, je te prye que tu me conseilles de " toute ta puissance ad ce que je puisse ma volente " adcomplir quy ainssy me tourmente ou aultrement " les angoisses et doleurs internes et cordiales sy me " menront sans remede briefment a ma fin." Quant le amoureux roy eut ditte briefment[5] son intention,

[1] *commanda.* C.2.
[2] *eschauffoit.* B. C.2.
[3] *Vulphin.* B. C.2.
[4] Omitted. B. C.2.
[5] *briefment* omitted in B. C.2.

Ulphin luy respondy : " Certes monseigneur, je vous vol-
" droye de toute ma puissance aydier[1] et conforter, mais
" je ne voy mye comment ce puist estre possible, comme
" nul ne puist avoir acces a elle par nulle maniere,
" car elle est enclose dedens le chastel de Tintagol,
" qui est scitue dedens la mer et de toutes pars avi-
" ronne dicelle, fors seullement en une petite entree[2]
" faitte ou il y a toudis troix chevaliers[3] quy la
" gardent, car tant en y souffist comme il ny ayt
" voye que pour ung cheval ancores a grant paine ;
" et avec ce celle voye est tortue, et inicque de sa
" nature sicque il est impossible de y entrer et y fust
" devant toute la puissance du monde ; mais je cuyde
" et ay fiance que se vous volies donner foy es ars de
" Merlin il vous feroit avoir ladcomplissement de la
" joye que vous tant parfaitement desirez." Uther Pendragon, quy ce conseil ot moult agreable, fist appeller Merlin, quy en lost estoit venus, auquel le desconforte roy conta sa douleur, en luy pryant que pour Dieu il luy volsist donner aulcune esperance. Lequel, quant il congneut la grant anxiete et le grief martire ou lamour de Ygerne lavoit mys, il en ot grant pyte, car il lamoit de leal amour, sy luy dist : " A ceste
" chose parfaire nous convendra user de soubtillite non
" acoustumee et des ars merveilleux, et te diray com-
" ment. Je scay certaines choses par quoy je feray
" que tu auras proprement la fourme et figure du duc
" Gorlois par telle maniere que tu le ressambleras en
" toutes choses[4] et se ainssy te plaist[5] je transmueray
" apres par apparance Ulphin, ton chevalier, en la sem-
" blance de Jourdain de Tintagol, quy tres especial[6]
" serviteur est du duc Gorlois, et moy-meismes me

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[1] *aydier en toutes manieres.* C.2.
[2] *entree faitte par maniere dune pointe en une pierre moult estroite ou il y a tousdis.* B. C.2.
[3] *chevaliers eslcus.* B.
[4] *manieres de faire.* C.2.
[5] *estre fait.* B. C.2
[6] *amy et.* C.2.

" feray apparoir estre tel que[1] Briselle, un sien aultre " serviteur, par lequel moyen nous porrons aler france- " ment devers la ducesse Ygerne." Le roy, quy le ceur et toute sa pensee avoit ravie en lamour de la dame, commyst tantost la garde de son ost et les negoces du siege a certains cappitaines, et se soubmist es ars ou cautelles de Merlin, sy fut sans delay transformez par lapparence en lespece ou samblance du duc Gorlois, et Ulphin en Jourdain, et Merlin en Briselle, par telle fourme que jamais nul neust congneu quilz ne feussent les dessus nommez, par samblance de viaires et de contenances. Puis se mysrent a chemin et errerent tant par voyes oblicques et incongneues quilz parvindrent a Tintagol, ou ilz hucherent les guettes[2] et le portier lesquelz congneurent tantost leur seigneur Gorlois, et cuydans que ce feust il, le mysrent luy et ses compaignons dedens le chastel. Sy demoura celle nuyt[3] le roy avec la ducesse Ygerne en grant soulas et consolation, car tous ses desirs il parfist en elle comme deceupe par la fourme et semblance du duc Gorlois son mary quelle amoyt sur toutes riens. Et sy la decepvoit le roy par laournement de ses parolles lesquelles il faingnoyt moult caultement, car il disoit ainssy : " Mon seul confort et ma seulle " joye, je me suys emble par nuyt de nostre chasteau " assegie, pour veoir vostre estat que je sur toutes " choses aime et desire a scavoir." Pourquoy la dame sophistiquee luy fournissoyt tous ses plaisirs, ne nulle[4] chose ne luy deneoyt ; sy conceupt la dame en celle nuyt un filz nomme Artus, qui en son temps fut roy de la Grant Bretaigne le plus memorable de tous les aultres, car il est triumphant ou chiel par les merites de ses vertus et proescheuses entreprinses, tant contre paiens comme es marches catholicques.

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[1] *en semblance de.* C.2.
[2] *gaittes.* C.2.
[3] *toute la nuit.* C.2.
[4] *aucune.* C.2.

De la mort au duc Gorlois et prinse de sa forteresse assegie par lost britonnicque en labsence du Roy Uther Pendragon, et comment il espousa Igernie, et de la venue de lost saxonnicque a lesmouvement de Cocta et Orsus, quy senfuyrent ou eschapperent de la prison. CHAPITRE IX^e^.

ENTRETANT que le roy Uther Pendragon estoit en grant leesse dedens le chastel de Tintagol avec la belle ducesse, comme vous avez oy, ses gens quil avoyt laissies en son ost, desirans de en son absence faire aulcune chose memorable pour sa grace acquerir, se ordonnerent moult sagement, puis applicquerent aux murs de la forteresse les engins et les echielles en moustrant a ceulx de dedens grant signe dassault, et adfin quil les peussent lors provocquier a bataille ilz tramysrent leur artillerie et toute la legiere armeure sans quelque ordonnance en faysant grant noise assaillir les assegiez, et les gens darmes venoient apres, rengiez en leurs eschielles par belle discipline darmes. Laquelle cautelle sy esmeut Gorlois et ses chevaliers ainssy comme ilz le desiroient a issir hors du chastel, extimans que les Bretons estoient comme desconfys a cause quilz venoyent en sy grant confusion, sans ordonnance eulx assaillir ; car ilz ne povoient pas veoir les batailles par grant deliberation ordenees,[1] pour la poudriere[2] que ceulx qui devant avoient este envoyiez faysoient illec lever, pourquoy ilz extimoyent que eulx qui tous estoient esleus et esprouvez les desconfiroient legierement. Sy issirent a grant cours de chevaux contre les assaillans, desquels ilz occyrent grant foyson a laborder, laquelle chose nestoit pas difficyle a faire comme ilz feussent legierement armez ; mais les aultres,

[1] *ordonnees.* B. C.2.

[2] *pouldriere.* B. *pouldre.* C.2.

quy mye ne dormoyent, voyant loccysion de leurs compaignons sy commencerent a retraire tout bellement, comme instruiz avoyent este, en eulx deffendant, et les gens darmes de derriere sestoient divisez en deux parties, dont lune se preocupa[1] par une voye traversable lentree de la forteresse et toute la terre qui[2] protendoit jusques au duc Gorlois; et laultre partye luy vint audevant, sicque il fut enclos. Et lorsquil vey le perilleux debat ouquel folement il sestoit boute il commenca, comme vaillant prince, a conforter ses hommes et enhorter de bien combatre; " car certes," disoyt-il, " messeigneurs, tout nostre salut et toute " nostre vye se[3] gist en nos vertus." Puis se myst es plus grans presses de ses ennemys en les detrenchant de toutes pars, sicque sa proesse estoit ainssy comme un miroir de chevalerie a ses hommes; mais certes ce ne luy valut riens, car ses chevaliers, qui estoient en petit nombre au regard de leurs ennemys, cheoient agraventez de tous costez comme ceulx qui estoient enclos, et luy meismes y fut occys, dont ce fut grant dhommage pour le pays de Bretaigne, car moult avoyt este preux aux armes, constant en diversitez en tous cas perilleux. Sicque puis quil fut mort, sa forteresse fut prinse en pou de contempt, et les richesses dicelle, qui de diverses villes y avoient este aportees, ravies, non mye par egalite de sort selon lordre et dignite dun chascun chevalier, mais selon la faveur de fortune quy leur adminystroit, et facultes de leurs forces.

De ceste victoire parvindrent tantost messages, quy de la fureur des glaves estoient eschappes, au chastel de Tintagol a la ducesse Igerne, lesquelz luy reciterent a grans gemissemens et effusion de larmes la mort du

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[1] *se preocupa par voie.* B. C.2. | *procripa.* A.

[2] *se.* B. C.2.

[3] *si.* B. C.2.

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duc Gorlois, leur seigneur, et la prinse de sa forteresse ; mais quant ilz veyrent le roy Uther Pendragon quy portoyt la propre fourme et figure de leur maistre Gorlois, ilz par tres grant vergongne se commencerent fort a esmerveillier, disant en eulx-meismes : " Et com-
" ment ! navons-nous mye veu issir avec nous le
" duc[1] Gorlois et soy combatre contre lost du roy par
" merveilleuse proesse ? et puis le veysmes nous abatre[2]
" entre ses[3] ennemys ou il fut perchye de maints
" glaves et gesir avec les mors, comme il ne remuast
" ne pye ne main, et la terre entour luy toute ver-
" meille de sang ; et sy veysmes les chevaulx le de-
" fouller[4] de leurs piedz ou nous le laissames ; et sy
" est ycy venus devant nous tout sain des[5] membres.
" Est-ce songe ou phanthasye que nous veons ou que
" nous avons veu combatre avecques nous ? Certes
" oil comme cestuy-cy soit vrayement nostre seigneur
" Gorlois et illec emprez luy Jourdain et Briselle ;
" mais cestuy quy avecques nous estoit ou chasteau
" estoit un deable quy ainssy nous a livrez a nos
" ennemyz." Et ce disoyent-ilz comme ignorans les sophistications de Merlin, et aussy leur sambloit bien que se leur duc Gorlois eust este avec eulx, considerée la grant discipline darmes quy tousjours avoyt en luy flory, que il ne leust pas enhorte de eulx sy follement habandonner a leurs ennemys. Mais ainssy est-il aulcunesfois que cautelle preva sagesse et precede en fais darmes, et pour ceste couleur cuidoient certainement les Cornubeiens que le roy Uther Pendragon feust le duc Gorlois leur seigneur. A ces rumours et altercations que les chevaliers avoyent entreulx, respondy le roy en souriant en soy et embrachant la ducesse et dist : " Ma douche amye, je ne suis mye occys, car
" ainssy ne la pas volu dame Fortune la parverse quy

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[1] *noble duc.* C.2.
[2] *mort.* C.2.
[3] *nos.* C.2.
[4] *fouller.* C.2.
[5] *de ses.* B.

" ainssy a vos hommes souffert[1] a griefz martires finer. " Certes, jay le ceur dolent ains suis vif ainssy " comme tu me voyes.[2] Et a nous meismes nous est " a doubter que le roy et son ost maintenant eslevez " en grant ardour de courage a cause de la victoire " eue ne viengnent asseoir cestui nostre chastel pour " nous grever, et par sa fierete, se nous luy resistons " et il nous puist dominer, nous face par griefz mar- " tires finer, comme il soit le plus ardant en rigeur " de justice maintenir que oncques rengnast en la " Grant Bretaigne. Certes, ma femme et mamour, je " cuide pour le meilleur et le plus pourfitable, consi- " deree nostre presente infortune, que je debvroye aler " au-devant de luy pour nous a luy pacifier adfin de " obvier plus grant peril quy a nous se magnifeste." Ces choses disposees, le roy se parti du chastel, sy sen ala devers son ost, et tantost Merlin le transmua de celle figure gorloise quil portoit en sa propre fourme de paravant; et Ulphin et luy aussy en leurs samblances, destruites celles qui par ingromance avoient este en eulx appartenantes.[3]

Quant le roy Uther Pendragon fut venus en ses logis, ses princes le festoierent moult en demenant grant joye, car moult avoient este en doubte pour sa personne, puis luy compterent leur victoire, la mort Gorlois et la prinse de la forteresse. La mort du bon duc Gorlois, non obstant quil luy feyst guerre, luy atendry le ceur, et dist que " grant " dhommage estoit pour lisle[4] de Bretaigne, car toute " sa vie avoit ete leal a la couronne, et eussions " par adventue luy et moy entemps acorde paix " ensamble se il feust demoure en vye," sic que teles et aultres loenges le provocquoyent a larmoyer pour la mort du bon duc Gorlois. Mais toutesfois son

[1] *souffert a griefz et douloreux martires finer, dont certes jay le ceur moult dolent.* C.2.

[2] *voyes maintenant.* C.2.

[3] *apparantes.* B. C.2.

[4] *le royaume.* C.2.

cueur quy estoit en Tintagol, non obstant quelconques apparence de couroux le mettoit en souveraine joye, car son ceur disoit : " Maintenant auray-je ce " que tant ay desire ; maintenant sera complee[1] a moy " par la loy de mariage Ygerne qui est mon seul confort " et le refuge de mon salut." Lors commanda le roy lost a deslogier et prendre le chemin vers Tintagol, laquelle chose fut ainssy faitte comme il ordonna, sy fut le chasteau prins et la ducesse Ygerne rendue ou livree au roy, qui tantost lespusa[2] a moult grant feste et joye merveilleuse ; sy vesquirent depuis ensamble en moult grant amour longuement et eurent un filz et une fille, dont le filz fut nomme Artus, comme dist a este cy-dessus, et la fille Anne. Et eult toudis depuis paix en son royaulme par lespace de douze ans, car le roy Uther Pendragon par sa justice et droiture estoit tant cremus et doubtes des rebelles Picz, Saxons et Escotz, quilz nosoient machiner contre luy traysons ne rebellions ; mais la douzieme annee apres ses noepces une moult griefve maladye le prinst, dont il sacoucha au lyt malade, ou il geut long temps. Sy en vindrent les nouvelles a Cocta, le filz Englist le tirant, et a Orse son cousin, eulz estans es prisons royaulx et commys en la garde daulcuns fermiers ; lesquelz advertis de lenfermete royal corrumpirent leurs gardiens par dons et promesses, et tant firent quilz les delivrerent de prison et eulx meismes sen alerent avecques eulx ; sy passerent la mer et en pou de temps arriverent en Germanie, ou ilz evocquierent celle proditoire gent a bataille, extimans que puisque le royaulme de Bretaigne estoit ainssy comme prive de duc puisque le roy Uther Pendragon estoit malade,[3] sy nestoit ancores nulle esperance de son salut ; pourquoy il leur sambloit que ilz porroient legierement concquerre le dit royaulme,

[1] *couplee.* B. C.2.
[2] *lespousa.* B. C.2.
[3] *et avoit ja este longue espace, sy nestoit.* B. *et avoit ja este longue temps dont nestoit.* C.2.

laquele vaine esperance leur fist en peu dheure assambler un ost ainssy comme innumerable.

Ceste assamblee ne fut mye longuement ignoree des barons de Bretaigne, car la rumour de la fuyte des deux traytres estoit assez souffisante occasyon de povoir cuidier des Saxons leur nature, cest a scavoir, pesans batailles et grans effusions de sang. Pour la cause devant ditte le roy par la promotion de ses presentes tramyst ses messages par tout son royaulme, portans lettres pour assambler ses hommes a certaine journee. Mais entretant comme ilz mirent a eulx appareillier et a estre au lieu a eulx asseigne, celle infame gent germanienne applicqua en Albanie, sy descendirent a terre et commencerent a demolyr cytes et cytoiens[1] tout ensamble, et les aultres cultiveurs quy par feu ne povoient estre martirises exterminoient ilz par glave dollereux ; les fruitz de terre adnihilloient et toute chose vivant mettoient a la mort sans nul regard de sexe ne de eage, meismement les petits enffans quy la fureur des glaves tyrannicques seulent eschapper. Ceste inhumaine tirannye diwlga tantost la calamite des fuyans aux princes de la Grant Bretaigne, quy ja estoyent tous appareillies et pourveus de leurs hommes, sy le notiffierent au roy, quy au lyt couchoyt malade, lequel commyst tantost[2] son effort au duc Loth de Londonesye, chevalier de moult grant vertu, meur en eage et en sapience, sicque la franchise et debonnairete de luy et de ses nobles merites avoit[3] hesiste le courage du roy a luy donner en mariage sa fille Anne et la cure et le gouvernement de son royaulme tant comme la maladie le tendroit, et meismement limperial gouvernement de celluy ost[4] present, adfin quil alast combatre les Saxons. Sy se parti du roy son seigneur atout son effort et chevaulcha contre ses ennemys par lart de discipline

[1] *hommes, femmes et enfans.* C.2.
[2] *tout.* B. C.2.
[3] *avoient.* B. C.2.
[4] *tout lost.* C.2.

darmes, contre lesquelz il eult maintes batailles et doubteuses, sans victoire pleniere sortir de nulle part, car maintes fois il fut poulsez ou chassiez du champ, et constrains de soy retrayre es citez et es lieux fors, et aultresfois chassa il les ennemys et cohercha eulx retraire en leurs nefz, sicque la contention et les dhommages estoient ainssy comme egaulx et a egale esperance de victoire. Et la cause sy estoit car les princes et citoiens de lisle englesse, enflez du vent de vanite orguilleuze estoient indignez deschoir [1] es commandemens du ducq Loth [2] comme pluiseurs barons du pays plus riches et plus puissans de lui feussent en lost et pourtant ne se vouloient combatre, ains toudys se retrayoient et vouloyent [3] mieulx veoir la doleance qui se magnifestoit devant leurs yeulx en la desolation de leur pays et de leurs terres que triumpher leurs ennemys soubz lempire du bon duc Loth.

Comment le roy Uther Pendragon tres griefment malade se fist porter en lost, ou il blasma moult aigrement ses princes, et comment il fut portes en sa litiere en la bataille, ou les Saxons Cocta et Orse furent mors et tout leur ost desconfit. Le Chapitre X^e^.

En ce temps dont a present nous parlons estoit lisle de Bretaigne ainssy comme toute destruite, en toutes les provinces dicelle se demoustroient les ruynes de ses cites, pour liniquite des princes dicelle ; sy le notiffya au roy son beau-pere le duc Loth par ses lettres ; lequel couchoit griefment malade comme vous avez oy cy-dessus en petite esperance de sante. Quy, oye la teneur des lettres, revocqua en soy sa vertu en vaincquant la maladie par tres aigre couroux, et com-

[1] *de chevir.* B. C.2.
[2] *es commandemens du ducq Loth.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.
[3] *amoient.* C.2.

manda que en un bon curze il[1] fust tantost porte en lost sur lequel on feist une litiere pour porter a deux coursiers en la bataille. Laquelle chose fut ainssy faitte, et sy-tost quil fut venu en lost il commanda que tous les nobles venissent a luy, lesquelz y vindrent sans demeure, mais quant ilz furent tous venus, il les regarda moult fierement, et puis les chastia par parolles moult aigrement de leurs lascetez, disant en telle maniere: "Hee!" disoit-il, "comment est-il " ainssy que vostre vaine glore lye et incarcere ainssy " vos corages dedens vostre corps? Avez-vous avec " les Saxons vos tant cruelz ennemys fait conjuration " et juree la desolation de vostre pays et lagravation " et destruction de[2] vos citoiens? Certes se Dieu " plest, nennil; mais ce fait cestuy sy abhominable " vice qui vos ceurs ainssy enfle. Navez-vous honte " de veoir la destruction de vostre pays et de oyr les " lamentables voix et clamours des miserables cultiveurs " dicelluy qui oncques ne fynerent de eulx voloir pener " pour vous qui vous tenes cy en repos et en oyseufete " comme se vous neussiez point de guerre? Et que " penses-vous? Cuidies-vous que la fureur tyrannicque " des Saxons apres quelle aura tout mys a destruction " vous laisse vivre et seignourir entreulx? Nennil, " vrayement.

"Doncques, O vous mes chevaliers, que toudys ay " plus tenus a compaignons que a subgetz, je vous " prye que vous vous aprestez appertement, car par " cely Dieu qui de mort nous racheta, puisque[3] par " aultruy conduit ne volez envahyr vos ennemys, je " suis celluy quy vous y menra." Sy se fist tantost mettre en sa litiere sur deux coursiers, car en aultre maniere ne seust peu tenir ne dreschier pour la grant griefvete de sa maladie; puis il commanda que on

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[1] *il.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.
[2] *de mon royaume et de.* C.2.
[3] *que puisque,* A. *que* omitted. B. C.2.

desploiast le dragon dor quil portoit en sa baniere, et apres que les batailles furent rengies, il ordonna que en toutes choses feust gardee lacoustumee industrie darmes. Et ce fait, chevaucha lost en bonne ordonnance vers la cite de Laminth, ou les cruelz Saxons tourmentoient par paines[1] intollerables tous[2] les crestiens que la fureur de leurs glaves povait sourprendre. Cocta et Orse, quy par aulcuns transfuges avoient sceue toute lintention de lost britonnicque et ladvenement de leur roy en une lytiere, furent moult indignez en faysant leurs derisions des Bretons et de leur roy Uther Pendragon, et en les mesprisant disoient orguilleusement que ilz ne daigneroient combatre contre eulx, car grant infamete ce seroit, disoient les tirans, de inferer armes contre cestuy ost dont le roy est desja demi mort, comme en luy nait pas tant de force quil se puist mouvoir ne estre droyt sur un cheval, ains vient a bataille tout couchye ainssy comme mort. A cause de cestui inraisonnable beubant desprisans combatre contre les Bretons, se recullerent en leur cite et firent laissier toutes les portes ouvertes pour donner signiffyance aux Bretons quilz ne se retraioient mye pour nulle doubte quilz eussent deulx, mais seullement pour eschever de combattre a eux a cause de leur[3] seigneur quilz tenoient ja[4] vaincu.

Quant cest orgueil fut denuncye au bon roy Uther Pendragon, il approcha la cyte et commanda que de toutes pars elle feust assaillie et les murs dicelle rompus, laquelle chose fut ainssy faitte en assez peu de temps. Sy entrerent les Bretons dedens en faisant merveilleuses occysions des Saxons lesquelz voyant ce furent moult[5] esbahys, sy se retrairent sur un petit mont, qui dedens la cite estoit, avec leurs ducz

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[1] *maulx.* C.2.
[2] *inhumainement tous.* B. C.2.
[3] *leur droit.* B. *leur dit.* C.2.
[4] *ja pour.* C.2.
[5] *durement.* B.

Cocta et Orse, lesquelz se repentoient ja de leur oultrecuidance, car ilz perchevoient bien quelle leur avoyt porte dhommage, et commencerent a eulx combatre par souveraine force, et tant quilz firent reculler les Bretons jusques au-dehors des murs ou la bataille commenca dure et aspre, car la estoyt demouree la moittie de lost britonnicque. Sy fut loccysion grande merveilleusement et en avoient les Bretons du meilleur comme leurs gens tous reposes feussent venus[1] a la bataille, sicque les Saxons perissoient de tous costez, mais la nuit vint qui departi lestour et destourba la victoire laquelle eussent en la fin sans faille obtenue les Bretons se fortune eust peu destourner un petit au soleil son curze et ses rays esclarcir et la nocturne thenebre desiree des lassez prolongier. Sy furent celle nuyt les navrez appareilliez et aysiez, et fut lost britonicque en grant joye et bruit de trompettes pour plus espaouir les ennemys, lesquelz se tenoient dedens leur cite en eulx soigneusement gardant, car ilz congnoissoient bien lors que par leur orgueil ilz avoient encoragie les Bretons a leur tres grant dhommage, et tellement que se neust este la nuyt ilz eussent este destruis comme dessus a este dit. Sy proposerent les Saxons de yssir le lendemain au bien matin atoutes leurs gens darmes adfin de provocquier les Bretons a bataille campal, laquelle hesistation ou assamblement desiroient plus les Bretons que eulx-meismes ne faisoient. Sy le firent ainssy que propose lavoient; mais tost[2] furent appercheux de lost britonicque, pourquoy le roy de ce adverty fist rengier ses gens et mettre en bonne ordonnance, qui ja estoient tous armez par turmes, cest a dire par echielles, en commandant que sans delay on alast contre les ennemys qui assez lentement, pas a pas[3] serrez venoient tous en leurs ordres. Quant vint a lassambler, apres le trayt passe, les gens darmes sentreferirent durement des lances

[1] *venus freschment.* B. C 2.
[2] *moult tost.* C.2.
[3] *par pas.* B. C.2.

dont maintz corps perdirent la vye, et estoit lardeur des Bretons tant grande que ilz envahirent les Saxons premiers, lesquelz leur resisterent moult puissamment, sy fut loccysion et effusion de sang moult grande, puisquilz orent les lances brisees et quilz se joignirent ensamble aux glaves acherees, lestour fut moult pesant et perilleux, plain de cris ou gemyssemens miserables de chevaliers qui a terre versoient, car les Bretons assailloient en eulx habandonnant par sy grant fierete que tous sambloient estre sainglers entre chiens quant bien sont eschauffez par chasse. Mais ce neant moins se combatoient les Saxons en supportant la fureur britonicque moult aigrement. Sy demoura ainsy la bataille grant partye du jour sans ce que la victoire se declinast de nulle part; mais finablement une hesle[1] des Bretons a pie se frapa entre les ennemys a coste sicque leurs ordres furent rompues et leurs batailles discypees et leurs deux ducz Cocta et Orse, qui merveilles darmes avoyent fait ce jour sur les Bretons, y furent acraventez et mors. Lesquelz estoient le seul confort de lost saxonnicque, car tantost que leur mort fut dywlguee entre les Saxons oncques puis ne resisterent ne champ ne tindrent, ains misrent toute leur entente ou esperance au fuir. Sy demoura la victoire aux Bretons, qui ne les poursievirent pas longuement, car moult estoient les pluiseurs debilitez et plains de plaies, et pour ce fist sonner le roy Uther Pendragon la retraite et sesjoui en son ceur par sy grant leesse que, comme devant il ne se peust remuer ne lever sans ayde daultrui, il se drescha legierement dedens sa litiere et dist a ses barons en riant par voye joyeuse : " Ces Saxons sy mappelloient en grant desrision " le roy demi mort pour ce que je me gysoye moult " affoibli de maladye en ceste litiere, et ainssy est que " je y estoye, Dieu mercy, mais certes je me tieng

[1] *esle.* C.2.

" plus oblegie a Nostre Seigneur, de quy toute victoire " prent commencement et fin, et trop plus mest agreable " ou plaisant cestui triumphe que jay obtenu moy " estant[1] roy demi mort que se je sain eusse iceulx " meismes nos ennemys par gloire de victoire sur- " montez. Sy en sera toute ma vye plus joyeuse, et " la mort doubtee, a chascune creature deue, je recep- " vray trop[2] plus pacyamment; car cest beaucoup " greigneur loenge envers Nostre Seigneur Dieu et " les hommes, selon mon estimation ou jugement, de " vouloir honnourablement morir et benignement re- " cepvoir la mort pour la garde, protection et saulve- " ment de son pays et du peuple habitant ou demou- " rant en icelluy, que de vivre en servitude ou ver- " gongne honteuse et reprochable." De veoir ainssy leur roy faire chiere joyeuse furent les Bretons, grans et petis, grandement reconfortez, sicque pour ceste cause et pour amour de la victoyre par eulx obtenue ilz demenerent grant bruit ceste nuytie, et ce nest pas de merveilles, car ces choses leur donnerent bien matiere de exaltation et grant resconfort.

Comment les tirans Saxons proditoirement firent morir le roy Uther Pendragon par la fontaine dont il beuvoyt leaue quilz empoysonnerent. LE CHAPITRE XI^e^.

CESTE victoire ne desconfist mye du tout la puissance saxonnicque, car maintz milliers de eux se retrahirent es parties de lisle devers acquilon ou habitoient les Picz, et en Albanie meismes, quy toudys a este refuge aux ennemys de lisle devers Aquilon. Lesquelz voians leur desconfiture ne desisterent pas pourtant a executer le plus quilz peurent leurs mauvaisties et traysons, car

[1] *nonobstant.* C.2.

[2] *recepvray plus pasciamment.* B. C.2.

toudis admonestoient et provocquoyent les courages picquains et escochois, anchiens ennemys aux Bretons, de armes inferer contre le roy Uther Pendragon et ses subgetz en appert, car non obstant quilz hostelaissent et eussent tousjours favorise a la partye ennemye, sy ne se demouroyent [1] ilz pas pour [2] paour des armes britoniennes ne sy ne se armoyent pas les citoyens de lisle. Desquelles guerres le roy Uther eut bien nouvelles quelles se appareilloient entreulx, sy proposa en soy de les sievyr, mais ses princes luy persuaderent ou desconseillierent, car grant griefte de maladye sy lavoyt trop plus occupe et opprume apres la victoire eue que devant,[3] a cause du traveil prins en sourmontant sa force en la guerre. Sy desista le roy de son intention, pourquoy les courages des Saxons de ce advertis furent en tyrannye aguisiez, car toudys ne cessoient de violence inferer a ceulx du royaulme en ravissant villages,[4] et hommes, lesquelz ilz faisoient opprobrieusement et par divers tourmens morir. Et pour ce quilz congneurent que toutes les forteresses estoient gardeez et quilz ne povoient en leur tumulte nullement pourfiter, fors que destre vacabonds parmy les champs, comme les hommes se feussent retrais es fors lieux, et les proies soubstraites, jusques a la sante du roy, se pourpenserent de machiner traysons, adfin que par les arts saxonnicques criminelz ilz peussent proditoirement faire morir le bon roy Uther Pendragon. Mais comme toute possibilite de y avoir entroyte leur feust fourclose pourceque toutes choses estoient par les barons songneusement gardees, ilz sadviserent de le trahir par venin ainssy comme avoyt este son predicesseur et frere, le roy Aurelien, et pour trouver maniere de ceste chose adcomplir tramysrent aulcuns de leurs chevaliers qui malicieux estoient en habis de truans,

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[1] *demoustroyent.* B. C.2.
[2] *pour.* B. *par.* C.2. omitted in A.
[3] *paravant.* C.2.
[4] *pillages,* A. B. *pillaiges,* C.2.

quy avec eulx porterent poysons morteles. Lesquelz traytres couvers de cellui sophisticque habit parvindrent en la cite de Wrolant, ou le roy se gisoyt malade, sy encquirent diligamment tout lestat de la court, car bien estoient instruis les traytres du langage britonicque. Et entre toutes les [1] voyes quilz esleurent pour faire morir le roy, ilz emprindrent et confermerent une la plus seure et la moins perilleuse pour eulx, ce fut car le roy a cause[2] de sa griefte de sa maladie ne trouvoit saveur en nul beuvrage fors en leaue dune fontaine tres clere et tres saine, qui estoit scituee empres la salle du pallaix royal, laquelle les parnicieux traytres empoysonnerent de venin incurable, par telle malice que toute leaue quy[3] decouroyt en fut infectee, car ilz mirent les poysons dedens une pierre taillie moult soubtillement ou leaue sourdoit par conduis subterrains. Et ne tarda guerres apres que le roy, qui moult souvent beuvoyt a cause de la challeur de sa maladye, manda querre de leaue de la fontaine ja infectee, sy en beut et tantost lui hasta la malignite du venin mortel,[4] dont il morut ou grief dhommage du rengne et des habitans dicelluy. Et apres lui a cause de la fontaine infectee morurent pluiseurs personnes jusques ad ce que la fraude proditoire fut congneue, pour laquelle cause fut celle fontaine destruite et condempnee ou muree.

La rumour de la mort du roy fut en pou de temps dywlguee par toute lisle, sy vindrent les prelas du royaulme pour celebrer les obseques, et porterent[5] le corps, apres ce quil fut prepare de licqueurs aromaticques, au couvent des freres du Mont de Ambrith, ou furent en moult grant solempnite et pleurs des princes et du

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[1] *entre autres manieres et voies dont lon pourroit penser esleurent.* C.2.

[2] *a cause de sa maladie.* C.2.

[3] *quy en.* B. C.2.

[4] *du venin sa mort, et morut.* B. C.2.

[5] *emporterent.* B.

peuple celebrez par les prelas ses funerailles, et puis fut mys en sepulture en la chainture gyganticque demprez le corps du noble roy Aurelien Ambroise son frere, qui ces sepultures avoit fait reedifyer comme oy avez.

Du couronnement de Artus, filz de[1] *Uther Pendragon, par Dubritius, arcevesque de Legionne, et comment il desconfist Colgrinus, duc des Saxons, et tout son ost, et lassega a Eboracle sa cyte.* LE CHAPITRE XII[e].

TREPASSE doncques de ce present siecle le roy Uther Pendragon, sassamblerent les nobles barons et chevaliers du royaulme de Bretaigne en la cite de Clocestre de toutes les diverses provinces dicelluy adfin que Dubritius, larcevesque de Legionne, couronnast le gentil jovenencel Artus, filz du roy Uther Pendragon, par le consentement de tout le peuple insullaire duquel il avoit la faveur et auctorite, et meismes ardamment ad ce faire le requeroient a cause de la lamentable guerre que les Saxons continuoient, quy ad ce leurs courages aiguisoit ; car quant ilz sceurent la mort du roy Uther Pendragon ilz excyterent leurs amys et parens de Germanie en eulx emflambant et animant et mettant en avant la grant vaillance de leur duc Colgrinus que lors les conduissoit, adfin de extorquer et terminer le rengne des Bretons, car desja avoient par leur puissance subjugue a eulx toute celle partye[2] qui sestent des[3] le fleuve du Hombre jusques a la mer de Cathenes.[4] Or doncques Dubritius, larcevesque, gemissant la calamite et perdition du peuple, adcompaignie de pluiseurs evesques, enonist[5] Artus du diadesme royal

[1] *filz du roy.* B.
[2] *partie de lisle.* C.2.
[3] *des le.* B. *delez le.* C.2. *des.* A.
[4] *Cathenates.* B. C.2.
[5] *enoinst.* C.2.

et le consacra roy. Artus vrayement adoncques estoit jeune en leage de quinze ans, florissant par vertueux et merveilleux courage et inacoustumee largesse, auquel tant de grant merite et de grace la naturelle largesse avoyt preste et distribue que de tous peuples estoit ainssy comme merveilleusement amez. Artus doncques luysant par aornement de grace et des enseignes royaulx, ensievant les meurs de ses predicesseurs, avoit repoulse et de soy dechassie le vyce[1] de avarice, a cause de quoy sy grant multitude de chevaliers, que cestoit chose innumerable, luy estoient affluans et venans a son service, sicque a pou que la prodigallite de luy en distribuant le sien diligamment ne lout fait indigent et povre, non obstant que la largesse de luy quy estoit mesuree par preudhommye le peust en temps faire traveillier par indigence, toutesfois par continue calamite ne povoyt labourer, car ce eust este contre la condition de bonte naturelle.

Comme doncques le jeune Artus resplendyst en vertu et en preudhommye, et eust en sa pensee jugge et dyscerne dobvier a la fureur des Saxons et de les iniquiter et subjuguier, adfin que par droyt de guerre, par les richesses copieuses dont ilz estoient plains, il enoichyst[2] et destribuast aux chevaliers et familles qui le servoyent, et ad ce lesmouvoyt droyture de rayson comme la monarchye de lisle de la Grant Bretaigne par droit patrimoine luy appartenist. De la jouvente donc a lui subgette assambla un grant ost, lequel il conduisy par voye sceure en querant la voye de Eboracle, cyte des Saxons.

Ces choses sceues par Colgrinus, duc des Saxons, des Escotz et des Picz vint[3] alencontre du roy Artus empres le fleuve du Glas, ouquel lieu la bataille commenca entre les deux ostz, dure sans doubte et

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[1] *chassie le vyce.* B. *dechassie le mauvais vice.* C.2.

[2] *enrichist.* C.2.

[3] *sen vint.* C.2.

cruelle, car la plus grant partye des gens des deux lez cheyrent mors en la place ; toutesfois fut lost de Artus au derrenier victorieux et les Saxons desconfis. Sy fut Colgrinus des Bretons poursievys jusques a Eboracle, la cyte ou il se garanty, et neantmoins lassega le roy Artus. Endementiers que ces choses se faysoient, Baltucus, le frere du duc des Saxons, estoit vers le navire ou il avoyt este tramys pour conjoyr ladvenement du duc Thedric de Germanie, quy leur debvoit venir en ayde contre le roy Artus. Lequel Baltucus, comme il sceust linfortune de la bataille estre tournee sur son frere, et comment il sen estoit fuys et retrays en Hebroyc ou Eboracle,[1] la cite ou il estoit assegye, en soy meismes plain de sollicitude delibera de faire une course de nuyt parmy lost du roy Artus, et par emblee luy et son ost entrer en Hebroich,[2] de laquelle il estoit pres a dix milles. Mais ceste chose fut au jeune roy Artus denunche, lequel, la chose soubtillement consideree, il commanda au duc Cadore de Cornubye quil prensist avec lui six cens chevaliers et trois mille peons, et que ce jour meismes par voye traversale il se transportast entre la mer et lost de Baltucus, et quant il passeroit il lassaillist par derriere, ce quil fist, et les envahy impitueusement ; lesquelz desjoingz et mal ordonnez furent en peu dheure, par le soubdain assault, mors et desconfis. Mais Baltucus, voyans ses gens desbaretez, constraint par paour de mort senfuy plain dyre et de couroux pour ce que toute voye de donner salut a son frere luy estoit fourclose. Considerant doncques et pensant en son ceur parfondement se voye aulcune de collocution lui porroit estre saulvable par laquelle il peust entrer en la cite ou son frere estoit assegye, car il extimoit que se ilz eussent este ensamble que legierement peussent advyser le port de sceurete pour

[1] *Eboach.* C.2. | [2] *Elborith.* C.2.

eulx et pour leur peuple ; et comme ad ce parfaire de pluiseurs manieres par luy pensees nulle ne luy feust sceure, il sapensa de prendre habit de harpeur et fist rere sa barbe et cheveux et prinst en sa main une harpe, sy commenca en ce point habitue de cheminer parmy les chasteaulx de ses ennemys en harpant, et par les notes et chants quil juoit ou composoit sur sa harpe chascun le cuydoit estre menestrel, parquoy a nul il nestoit suspect, sicque harpant toudys sadvancha tout bellement parmy lost du roy Artus jusques il vint aux murs de la cyte de Ebroich,[1] continuant tousjours sa dissimulation encommencee, et finablement parvint jusques aux gardes de son frere quy sur les murs estoient, desquelz il fut appercheus et trais dedens la cite et menez a son frere le duc Colgrinus. Lesquelz freres, sy-tost quilz se veyrent, par embrachemens et baisiers tres desirez[2] se festierent,[3] et apres comme sur leur guerre ilz eussent eu ensamble maintes devises ou advis, nulle esperance de pouvoir desconfire ou deslogier leurs ennemys ne de la cyte enchapier[4] ny feut trouvee, pourquoy ilz estoient ainssy comme au desesperer de toute ayde quant nouvelles leur vindrent que les legatz quilz avoyent tramys au duc Cedric[5] de Germanye lavoyent amene et conduit saulvement avec un ost de six cens nefz chargies de force chevalerie jusquelz[6] en Albanie prendre port, cest a dire en Escoche, quy lors ainsy avoyt nom.[7] Et commes ces choses feussent nonchees au roy Artus, eue deliberation sur sy grant appareil de guerre, luy conseillierent ses Bretons de relenquir et laissier le siege, adfin que se la grant et innumerable multitude de leurs ennemys feust sur eulx venue, ilz neussent commis

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[1] *Eborith.* C.2.
[2] *moult convoitiez.* C.2.
[3] *festoierent.* C.2.
[4] *eschapper.* B. C.2.
[5] *Cedrich.* B. C.2.
[6] *jusques.* B. C.2.
[7] *nom.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.

doubteuse bataille, a cause du grant et excedent nombre de Germaniens, et de la grant chevalerie de la cyte, qui les eussent peu enclore[1] et malement mener, occyre et navrer.

Comment le roy Artus laissa le siege de Ebroich et ala a Londres pour soy conseillier et tramyst messages en Armoricque au roy Hoelus son nepveu pour querre secours. LE CHAPITRE XIII^e^.

ARTUS voyant le conseil de ses gens luy estre leal se retray en la cyte de Londres, ou il fist convocation du peuple et de tous les barons et seigneurs de son royaulme pour avoir leur conseil sur la guerre des Saxons et Germaniens, qui se magnifestoit tres grande ; et comme ilz feussent assamblez, il leur requist quilz consideraissent diligamment sur lestat devant dyt quele chose il auroit a faire pour le meilleur et pour plus sceurement obvier et resister au fel esbruissement de traitres Saxons et Germaniens, tres incredules et desloyaulx paiens pour le commun bien de crestiente, de luy et de son royaulme. Or doncques, sur ce veues et considerees maintes choses, finablement du consentement de tous furent envoyes messages en Armoricque Bretaigne devers le roy Hoelus, nepveu du roy Artus, lesquelz luy avoyent a declarier et remoustrer la douleur et calamyte ou le pays de Bretaigne estoit. Ce Hoelus estoit filz de Dubritius, roy en son temps des Bretons Armoricques, lequel avoyt eu espousee la seur du roy Artus. Lequel Hoelus, quant il sceut la qualite de la guerre inferee a son oncle, commanda sans delay son navire[2] et assambla des meilleurs hommes en armes de son royaulme jusques au nombre

[1] *enclorre.* B. C.2.

[2] *navire appointier, puis assambla.* B. C.2.

de quinze mille, puis entra en mer sy tost quil polt avoir vent propice et singla tellement que en brief terme atout son ost, sans trouver en chemin quelque destourbement ou arrierance, il arriva et prinst terre au port de Homo[1] en Engleterre, ouquel lieu le vint recepvoir, festoier et conjoir le noble roy Artus, son oncle, grandement adcompaignie des prelatz, princes et barons[2] de la Grant Bretaigne qui moult estoyent joyeulx de la venue du roy Hoelus d'Armoricque et du bel ost quil amenoyt; sy sentrefestoierent par embrachemens et honneurs ainssy comme il appartenoit.

Comment le roy Artus desconfist les paiens Saxons a Kaerlindeoch, la cyte quilz avoyent assise, et comment ilz luy jurerent en la forest de Calidonnienne de luy rendre treu, et en baillerent hostages, mais ilz se parjurerent, sy furent leurs hostages cruellement acraventez.[3] LE CHAPITRE XIIII[e].

APRES ladvenement du roy Hoelus peu de jours passez, le roy Artus, assamblees ses batailles, se myst sur les champs et vint par ses journees a la cyte de Kaerlindeoch, que les paiens saxonniens avoient assize, laquelle estoit scituee et fondee en la province de Lindesferenze, empres la montaigne de Locate, qui aultrement est appellee Lindicolnie, dont issent[4] deux fleuves. Sy advint que comme le roy Artus feust arrivez, et les paiens leussent apperceu, ilz ordonnerent leurs eschelles chaudement et commencerent la bataille, cruelle et dollereuze pour eulx, car il y morut six mille paiens, les ungz par glave, les aultres, perdue esperance, se noyerent ou fleuve qui pres estoit du lieu de la bataille. Laquelle chose voyant les aultres paiens,

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[1] *Hamo.* B. C.2.
[2] *et bourgois.* C.2.
[3] *craventez.* B. *tourmentez.* C.2.
[4] *saillent.* C.2.

soubdainement laissie leur siege, senfuyrent esbahys et paoureux pour la mort et desconfiture de leurs compaignons, lesquelz le victoriant Artus ne laissa pas a poursievyr et detrenchier jusques ad ce quilz vindrent en la forest de Calidone. Lesquelz, quant ilz furent la venus, se rassamblerent et ralierent de toutes pars en prenant[1] courage et vigour, tous dune voulente de resister tres asprement au roy Artus et a ses gens, sy en occyrent et detrenchierent pluiseurs a grant doulleur, car ilz uzoient de la force du lieu inicque et empeschant tant par[2] les branches comme par la nature dicelluy, car ilz evitoient legierement tous les assaulz des Bretons par les arbres de gaurelos et dartillerie, car main a main ne povoient ilz ataindre lun laultre. Laquelle chose considerant le roy Artus, il commenca a hennorter[3] ses gens et leur commanda de copper les arbres tout entour des paiens, affin quilz feussent assegiez et les peust concquerre a moins de peril comme il fist pour ce quilz navoient nulz vivres, et sy nen povoient yssir a cause des troncz des arbres coppes tous alentour, sy contendoit le roy Artus de les la tant tenir enclos quilz enrageroient et periroient de faim ; sy fist ses coppyes[4] avironner ce lieu et demoura illec ainssy trois jours. Les Saxons quy en sy grant doulleur et perplexite se veoient que peu sen faloit quilz ne perissent de faim, supplierent au roy Artus quil leur donnast issue et sceurete par telle convenance quilz laisseroient tout leur or, argent et aultres bagues fors seullement navire pour eulx repasser en Germanie, et oultre, luy promettoient rendre treu et faire le pays[5] tributaire aux Bretons ; desquelles choses adcomplir prometoient de baillier bons hostages.[6]

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[1] *reprenant.* B.

[2] *par.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.

[3] *enhorter.* B.

[4] *ces Saxons environner de toutes pars.* C.2.

[5] *pays de Germanie.* B. C.2.

[6] *bons et souffisans hostages.* B. C.2.

Ceste requeste oye, le roy Artus prinst conseil a ses barons lesquelz luy loerent quilz prendroient les hostagiers Saxons adfin de eulz appaisier ensamble, sic que par ce conseil le roy Artus confedera a luy les Saxons par la maniere devant touchye, sy prinst leurs pleges et richesses tellement que riens ne leur demoura fors soullement leurs nefz. Lesquelz, comme ilz furent sur la haulte mer pour retourner en leur pays, se commencerent en leurs ceurs a dolloir et repentir amerement de la convenance faitte et obligee, de leur foy juree et de leurs hostages baillies, mais nonobstant tout ce saccorderent de retourner leurs voilles vers Bretaigne et sexploiterent tellement quilz arriverent au port des Couthonisiens, gastant et destruisant les rivages de la mer jusques a la mer Sabrine, et puis alerent parmy le pays, faisant grant destruction dhommes, de femmes et enfans, sans nul espargnier de quelconcques estat quilz feussent ; puis prindrent leur voye vers Pague[1] et assegierent la cyte de Bladone. Ces choses denonchees au vaillant roy Artus, il se commenca grandement a esmerveillier de la detestable iniquite de ces Saxons, sy fist sans delay faire justice de leurs hostages et en delaissant la guerre quil avoyt emprinse pour subjuguier les Escotz et les Picz, hastivement delibera de aler lever le siege de devant Bladonne et opprimer les traytres paiens sans quelconcques mercy. Le roy Artus doncques en tres grant dolleur de ceur et fort tourmente de ce quil laissoit le roy Hoelus, son nepveu, couchant griefment malade en la cyte de Aclud, se hasta tant que en brief temps il entra en la province de Surmeseteuse, en laquelle estoit le siege, et comme il veyst lost des ennemys il commenca yreusement en manechant a dyre telles ou samblables parolles : " Ces tres cruelz hommes " appelles Saxons ont dedigne et reprouve moy garder

[1] *Prague.* C.2.

" la foy par eulx solempnellement juree a mon Dieu[1]
" et Createur ; mais en gardant la mienne foy vouee
" et juree, luy moy edant,[2] en leur sang desloyal
" de tout mon pouvoir et ma force vengeray le
" sang de mes loyaulz cytoiens. O vous doncques, mes
" chevaliers, mes hommes et mes amys, prenez vos
" armes et vous armez, sy envahyssons ces traytres de
" tout nostre pouvoir, desquelz certes, Jhesu Crist
" nostre Dieu nous aydant, nous aurons la victoire et
" luy le triumphe glorieux."

Comment Dubritius enhorta les Bretons deulz fierement combatre contre les paiens, et comment ilz les desconfirent par la proesse de leur roy[3] *Artus.* Le Chapitre XV^e^.

Ainssy que Artus parloit a ses chevaliers adfin de eulx encoragier, le saint preudhomme Dubritius, arcevesque de Legionne, comme il feust montes sur une petite montaigne qui joingnant a lost estoit, il commenca en ceste maniere a parler aux chevaliers de lost de une voix doulce et agreable, disant : " O vous
" hommes anoblis par profession crestienne, chevaliers
" de Jhesu Crist nostre Saulveur, ayes devant vos
" yeulx le regard de vostre pays et de vos citoiens,
" lesquelz, pour certain, se vous laissiez martirisier par
" tyrannye des paiens plains de detestable trayson,
" ce vous sera grant reproce et infamete pardurable
" se par vertu souveraine ne resistez a leur fureur.
" Combates-vous doncques pour vostre pais mesmes, et
" nayes doubte de la mort, car se vous y morez, jamais
" plus ne souffrerez quelque douleur, paine ne tribu-

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[1] *Souverain Dieu.* C.2.
[2] *aydant.* B. C.2.
[3] *bon roy.* B. C.2.

" lation, car morir pour nostre loy et pays certes nous " est victoire, et sy est a nostre ame remede et me- " decine: vrayement quiconcques aura pour ses freres " mort soufferte, son ame par maniere dune vive hostie " sera presentee devant Dieu de Paradys, car certes il " ensieult les traces de nostre Redempteur Jhesu Crist " lequel na pas dedigne [1] mettre son ame pour ses " freres. Se doncques aulcuns de vous en ceste ba- " taille seuffre mort, elle luy soit donnee en penytance " et absolucion pleniere de tous ses delitz et pechies." Et lors ces parolles dittes et receue la benediction du bon arcevesque chascun en joyeuse chiere se hasta sans plus de demeure de soy armer et obeyr au commandement du saint homme Dubritius, et Artus meismes se arma de armeures moult nobles et exellentes, ainssy comme la majeste dun sy grant [2] roy le requeroit, et myst sur son chief un noble heaulme reluisant de fin or auquel par maniere de timbre limage dun dragon vollant [3] soubtillement estoit posee, puis myst son escu a ses epaulles appellee Pridgem [4] ou estoit empraint lymage de la glorieuse vyerge Marie, laquelle par la remenbrance de sa samblance souventesfoiz huchoit a son ayde. Apres il chaigny [5] Caliburne, la tres bonne espee qui avoit este forgie en lisle dAvalon; apres myst Routh sa lance a sa dextre, laquelle moult lennoblissoit a cause de sa resplendeur, car elle avoit le fer long et large aulcunement et estoit moult convenant [6] a batailles. Quant le roy Artus et ses gens furent armez et appareillies, il ordonna ses batailles, sy les mena assaillir les mescreans Saxons, lesquelz estoient rengiez par maniere de cercle ainssy que ilz avoient a coustume. La ou la bataille commenca elle fut forte

[1] *dedaignie.* C.2.
[2] *tant hault.* C.2.
[3] *thimbre dragon lymaige vollant.* B.
[4] *Pridguem.* B. *Pridgenon.* C.2.
[5] *chaindy.* C.2.
[6] *convenable.* C.2.

et cruelle, car les Saxons se combatoient[1] souverainement tout le jour, sicque ily morut maint bon crestien, laquelle chose voyant le roy Artus, pour ce que le jour se declinoit commenca luy et les siens par grant vigour à soy recueillir en la haulteur de une petite montaigne laquelle leur fut la nuyt chasteau et forteresse ; mais au monter[2] il y perdy moult de ses gens, car les Saxons qui estoient au sommet de ceste montaigne, entant comme leur cours contre les Bretons montans estoit plus fort et isnel les grevoient ilz plus. Neant moins les Bretons a grant paine, deboutez les ennemys, obtindrent la plus haulte partie de la montaigne, sy se joingnirent a leurs adversaires et recouvrerent courage sy se combatirent moult vayllamment et leurs poitrines retournees, de toute leur force resisterent moult hardiement. Non obstant que les Saxons feussent deboutez de celluy mont, sy estoit de toutes pars la bataille assez egale, car on se combatoit partout moult asprement, en laquelle maniere se passa la plus grant partie du jour, de quoy Artus estoit moult courouchye et esmerveillie pour ce quilz avoyent ainssy continuellement resiste et navoyt peu avoir victoire, sy rempoigna Calibourne son espee, sy commenca haultement a crier Sainte Marie, et se myst par grant effort dedens les rens des ennemys en eulz craventant et discipant leur bataille, car tous ceulx attaingnoyt[3] en appellant[4] layde de Dieu il faisoit lame partir du corps par un seul cop, et ne cessa de soy combatre jusques ad ce que la bonne espee Caliburne en ot occys quattre cens et soixante et dyx.

Les Bretons voyans leur seigneur ainssy esprouver eulx enflambez dyre le sievyrent et rompirent les ordres de leurs ennemys par vive force en les occyant de tous costez. Sy cheurent en celle desconfiture le

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[1] *combatirent.* B. C.2.
[2] *au monter la montaigne.* C.2.
[3] *quil attaindoit.* C.2.
[4] *invoquant.* C.2.

duc Colgrinus et Baltucus son frere, sicque maint milliers de payens furent illec agraventes et occys; mais Thedericus de Germanie duc, voyant la doulleur de ses compaignons, pour eschiever la mort se tourna en fuite pour de mort eschapper.

Comment le duc de Cornubie tua le duc Thederic et prinst ses nefz et ses gens en dedition. LE CHAPITRE XVI[e].

COMME doncques le roy Artus eust eu victoire des payens et il sceust aussy bien la fuyte du duc Thederic, il commanda a Cadore duc de Cornubye quil prensist un certain nombre de gens darmes avec luy, sy se hastast de poursievir ledyt Thederic, et ceulx de sa compaignie, car il ne le vouloyt pas plus chassier alors, ains se vouloy haster daler en Escoche pour ce que on luy avoit denunchye que les Escotz et les Picz avoyent assegye Hoelus, son nepveu, le roy de Armoricque, que nous appellons maintenant la Petite Bretaigne, en la cyte de Aclud, ou il lavoit laissie malade comme dyt est paravant; sy se hasta moult pour luy donner ayde, adfin quil ne feust prins ne opprime par les barbarins. Entretant que le roy Artus menoit son ost vers Albanie, le duc de Cornubie adcompaignie de dix[1] mille hommes ne sievy pas seullement les Saxons quy senfuyoient, mais avec ce se hasta de occuper leur navire, adfin quil leur ostast la voye de retourner en leur pays, laquelle il gagna en peu despace, puis loccupa[2] de bons chevaliers pour opprimer les fuyans et leur oster toute esperance de salut, et atout le demourant de sa brigade[3] sievy les

[1] *deux.* C. 2.
[2] *la garny.* B. *la garnist.* C. 2.
[3] *compaigne.* C. 2.

fuyans partout ou il les scavoit, en les occyant et detrenchant ainssy comme le roy Artus luy avoyt commande. Sy estoient les Saxons tourmentez par double tourment, pourquoy ilz ne scavoient de quel part tourner, car leurs nefz [1] estoient prinses, sy ne se povoyent deffendre ains se quatissoient [2] parmy les cavernes, boiz et montaignes, adfin que espace de vivre ilz peussent trouver ; mais finablement comme nul lieu ne leur feust sceur ilz en grant angoisse parvindrent en lisle de Clavecaert [3] ouquel lieu les sievy le duc Cadore en les occyant comme tousjours il avoit fait, ne ne cessa jusques ad ce quil eut destruit et mys a mort leur duc Thedric et le remanant deulx prins en dedition, cest a dire quilz se soubmirent du tout a sa voulente et de ce lui baillerent bons ostages.

Comment le noble roy Artus desconfist les Escotz en lysle dun estang, et le roy de Hybernie aussy qui les vint aydier et secourir. Le Chapitre XVII e.

Prins doncques en dedition les Saxons par le duc Cornubyen, il sen revint atout son ost a Aclud ou il cuidoyt estre le roy Hoelus de Armoricque assegye, contendant de illec soy joindre au roy Artus, mais le roy Artus, qui prevenus y estoit, avoyt delyvre Hoelum son nepveu de loppression des Escotz et des Picz quy lavoyent assegye et les avoit enchassyes et desconfis.

Toutesfois non obstant leur desconfiture sestoyent ilz retrays et rassamblez vers Mureith en intention de lassegier sy y fut envoye devant le duc Cador atout son ost, et le roy Artus les sievoyt atout son effort, pour ce quilz avoient este troix fois desconfis et sy se

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[1] *navires.* C.2.
[2] *coitissoient.* C.2.
[3] *Clauecaret.* C.2.

rebelloient tousjours. Sy furent poursievis jusques a la province nommee de la cite devant ditte, mais oye la venue du roy Artus ilz se recueillerent es isles qui estoient encloses de lestang de Lynoyoth, pour ce que le lieu de sa nature estoit fort sceur et inaccessible. En cestuy estang a bien soixante haulz rochiers tout entour ou tous les jours se magnifestent grans compaignies daisgles quy ont leurs nidz sur ces haultes roches ; sy sassamblent illec tous les ans et la ainssy comme par clamours divines magnifestent les prodiges, cest a scavoir grandes et merveilleuses adventures quy sont a advenir ou royaulme. Et ces ennemys sen estoient illec fuys en ceste isle adfin que de la forche de lestang, qui moult estoit large et parfond, et du lieu meismes ilz se aydassent ; mais certes tout ce ne leur pourfita[1] guerres, car le roy Artus assambla tantost toute la[2] navire quil polt trouver,[3] sy en avironna tous les fleuves entrans et yssans du dit estang ou lacq adfin quilz ne peussent issir[4] dillecq ne avoir nulz vivres, et en cest estat les tint[5] quinze jours, sicque ilz moroyent par milliers de[6] rage de faim. Comme doncques ilz feussent opprimez par ceste maniere, Gillomarus le roy de Hybernie vint a moult[7] grant ost de barbarins pour donner confort a ceulx qui en ceste isle[8] estoient[9] constrains, mais Artus sachant sa venue, layssa tantost son siege et tourna tout leffort de la guerre contre les Hyberniens, lesquelz en une seule bataille furent tous desconfys et sans nulle pitee acraventez, et lexemple de ceulx-la constraingny le remanant de leurs compaignons a retourner en leurs maisons, et ceste victoyre eue le roy Artus commanda occyre tous les

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[1] *prouffita.* C.2.
[2] *tout le.* C.2.
[3] *finer, et.* B.
[4] *saillir.* C.2.
[5] *se tinst.* C.2.
[6] *par.* C.2.
[7] *atout.* C.2.
[8] *douleur.* B. *maniere.* C.2.
[9] *estoient inhumainement.* C.2.

Escotz sans nul respit, sy les occyoit-on partout ou on les trouvoit, sans[1] mercy ; pourquoy tous les evesques d'Escoche gemissans et plourans la cruele mysere de leur pays et de leur peuple dollereux prindrent toutes les relicques des saints quilz avoyent et les choses saintes, puis tous revestus des aournemens de leglise, nudz piedz sen vindrent au roy Artus supplyer mysericorde en grant effusion de larmes pour eulx et leur peuple, a genoulx ployez adfin quil eust pytie de la gent plaine de toute dolleur, car assez en estoient mors, et que pour la reverence de Jhesu Crist ne voulsist ce petit remanant destruire de tous poins, ains luy pleust que ceulx qui demoures estoient eussent une petite partie de la terre en subjection de perpetuelle servitude. Ceste pryere meut le roy en pitie et en larmes, car la contemplation des sains preudhommes le constraindoit ad ce, sy leur ottroya leur supplication et par ceste maniere pardonna son maltalent au remanant du peuple.

Comment le noble roy Artus de Bretaigne fist refaire les eglises que les mauldis paiens avoient inhumainement destruites. Chapitre XVIIIe.

Parfaitês ainssy ces choses, Hoelus, le roy de la Petite Bretaigne, gemissoit moult en son ceur du siege de lestang devant dit, et moult sesmerveilloit du nombre des fleuves et de la grandeur dyceulx quy en issoyent et aussy des isles quy par celluy estang estoient closes, de tant de roches haultes et de tant de nidz daigles, et comme il tournast a merveilles en son corage toutes les choses quy sont en cestuy lacq, car il en y a un en cestui province qui trop plus fait a esmerveil-

[1] *sans aucune.* C.2.

lier, lequel est plus grand [1] que cestuy bien vingt piedz, et de droitte mesure plus hault de chincq piedz ouquel a quattre angles fais merveilleuzement par nature sans euvre humaine et en chascun diceulx a quattre diverses manieres despeces de poissons quy la sengendrent, et ne trouveroit-on jamais les poissons de lun des angles a lautre. Le roy Artus, son oncle, luy dist: " Cher " nepveu ancores en y a il un aultre en cestui royaulme, " ou pays de Galles emprez Sabrine, lequel ceulx de la " contree appellent Linligault, ouquel il advient quant " la mer est plaine et elle commence a fluctuer vers " Galles les undes de la mer et les grans fleuves dycelle " se entrent en cestui estang qui touche a la mer et " les boyt ainssy comme un abysme ne jamays ne " porroit estre raemplie ; mais quant la mer se descroyst " et fleue a lopposite, adoncques vomyst il et met hors " les eaues quil a engoullees a maniere dune montaigne, " sicque il couvre toutes ses rives et mouille derechief. " Adont quant leau de toute la parfondeur dycelluy " lemplist, se les gens de tout le pays de Galles estoient " dessus la rive trestous nudz, personne deulx ne sen " porroit ja departir que le fleuve ne les devourast " tous se ilz avoyent tourne le dos envers lestang ; " mais se ilz estoient tournes le visage envers le fleuve " ilz nauroient ja nul mal, suppose que leau feust dessus " eulx de tous costez."

Adoncques donne pardon par [1] le roy Artus au peuple dEscoche il sachemina pour aler vysiter la cyte de Hebroich, car il vouloyt illec celebrer la feste de la Nativite de nostre Seigneur qui estoit lors prochaine. Sy advint que quant il entra dedens et il vey et regarda [3] la pyteuse destruction des eglises faitte par les payens qui lavoyent tenue, il en ploura et gemy en son ceur moult tendrement et aussy lexillement du benoit Sanson

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[1] *grand ung pied, et de droitte.* C.2.

[2] *par.* B. Omitted in A. C.2.

[3] *il eut regarde.* C.2.

arcevesque dycelle cyte et de tout le peuple tenant nostre foy, car tant y avoient seignoury les Saxons en sy grant fureur que ilz avoyent abattues toutes les eglises, pourquoy le service divin y estoit de tous poins cesse. Mais le roy fist [1] lors rappeller les nobles et le menu peuple pour revenir en leur cite, et ordonna Pyramus, son chapelain pour rediffyer les eglises et les maisons, et les restituer aux seigneurs dycelles, et restabli les nobles en leur honneurs premerains [2] dont ilz avoyent este deboutes par la guerre des Saxons.

Comment le roy Artus myst le pays d'Escoche en son anchienne liberte, et comment il espousa Geneviere, quy estoyt de noble lignage de Romme et la plus belle de tout le royaulme de Bretaigne. LE CHAPITRE XIX^e^.

ENTRE les nobles du pays d'Escoche y estoient trois freres nez de lignage royal desquelz lun avoyt non Aneleseth, le second Urianus, le tierch Loth, lesquelz par leffort des Saxons avoyent este mys soubz le jouc de servitude. Ceulx-cy sur tous les aultres volt especiallement honnourer le roy Artus pour cause de leur droyt paternal, sy donna a Aneleseth le royaulme d'Escoche, a Urianus son frere bailla il le ceptre royal de la region de Murefreusye,[3] et a Loth le maisne bailla il le gouvernement de Londonesye et de tous les provinces quy delle dependoyent. Lequel Loth ou temps de Aurelien Ambroose avoyt eue espousee sa seur, et en elle engendra Galganus et Mordreth. Et remyst lors le roy Artus le royaulme d'Escoche en sa premiere

[1] *commanda lors rappeller tous les nobles hommes.* C.2.
[2] *premierains.* B. *prumieraines.* C.2.
[3] *Meurefreusie.* B. *Meurefrusie.* C.2.

dignyte et francyse. Ces choses ainssy faittes, le roy Artus espousa Geneviere, qui estoit issue de noble lignage entre les Rommains, et avoyt este nourrye es chambres Cadore, roy de Cornubye, moult songneusement, sy sourmontoit toutes les dames de Bretaigne en beaulte et en sachance.

Apres en leste sievant il rassambla son ost pour aler en lisle de Hybernye subjuguier les habitans, laquelle chose il desiroit[1] et especialement pour soy vengier du roy dycelle, quy lannee precedente luy avoyt fait[2] guerre; mais quant it fut arrive le roy Gillomarus atant de gens comme il polt assambler lui vint alencontre, sy commenca la bataille aspre et dure pour les Hyberniens quy estoyent ainssy comme tous nudz et sans armes, pourquoy ilz furent desconfis et detrenchies en peu dheure, et Gillomarus leur roy meysmes fut constraint de soy mettre en la volente du roy Artus, et a lexemple de luy tous les princes et nobles de Hybernye esbahys durement furent moult joyeux destre recheus a mercy; pourquoy tout le pays fut tantost subjuguie. Et puis transporta le roy Artus sa bataille en Yzlande ou pareillement il se combaty et victorya les Yzlandois et myst en sa subjection, sicque la rumeur en fut tantost dyvulguee par toutes les isles prochaines comment nules provinces ne luy pooient resister, et pourtant Doldonius le roy de Zeelande et Gimasius le roy des Orcades, adfin de obvier aux inconveniens dangereux es quelz ilz avoient veu encourir leurs voysins, se mysrent en la subjection du roy Artus. Puis sen retourna en Bretaigne, ou il ordonna lestat de son royaulme par ferme paix lespace de douze ans quil y fut en repos.

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[1] *laquelle chose forment il desiroit.* C.2.

[2] *mene.* C.2.

Comment le roy Artus, apres ce quil ot repose longtemps en grant felicite, passa la mer et concquist Norguegye, Dace, Neustrie, et tous les pays de Gaulle. LE CHAPITRE XX^e^.

NON obstant que le roy Artus feust sans guerre sy navoyt il point mains de sollicitude pour bien gouverner son royaulme selon droyt et justice, car pour certain cestoit un vrai miroir a tout le monde aourne de vertus, flourissant en sy benigne largesse mesuree par raison que de toutes les parties du monde luy accouroyent les preudhommes reluisans par fais chevalereux ; sy se augmenta tellement sa famille que a paines sambloit il estre possible que une seulle maison les peust soustenir, car les nobles de toutes regions extimoient que nul lieu nestoit sur terre pareil a la maison du roy Artus, tant par lart de chevalerie qui y reluisoit plus que en nulle aultre partye, et aussy par la dyvulgation de son extimable[1] largesse et preudhommye jusques a la fin de la terre. Pour ceste cause les roys et princes doultre mer furent envahys dune paour nonmye petite mais assez grande, car ilz doubtoient quil ne passast la mer a ost et les alast assaillier, sicque il leur tollist leur pays et provinces a eulx subjetz. Solliciteux doncques estoient et plains de curres[2] tres pesans, sy renforchoient leurs pays et provinces ; leurs cytez, villes et forteresses renouvelloient et ediffioient[3] chasteaulx nouveaulx en lieux ydoynes et propices adfin que se lost du roy Artus venoyt sur eulx et ilz eussent necessyte ilz peussent dedens entrer ainssy comme a refuge. Comme lon notiffiast ces choses au roy Artus, soy eslevant en

[1] *inextimable.* C.2.
[2] *grans cures.* C.2.
[3] *et diffioient.* A. *et edifioient.* B. C.2.

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son ceur[1] pour ce que tout le monde le doubtoit, prins lors premierement desir de voloir concquerre Europe et mettre en sa subjection, sy fist aprester[2] ses navires et ses gens appareillier et eut en pou dheure un grant ost, sy passa la mer et arriva en Norguegie ad fin quil enfeyst roy Loth son serourge, qui avoit este nepveu du roy Sychelinus, roy de Norwegue, lequel en langoisse de la mort avoyt laissie son royaulme au dyt roy Loth, son nepveu ; mais les Norwegues lavoient refuse, sy en avoient esleu un aultre, quy estoit un puissant baron du pays nomme Reculfus, lequel sachant la venue du roy Artus assambla de toutes les cytes a luy subgettes une grant bataille, moyennant laquelle il cuidoyt resister a la puissance du doubte roy Artus. Et adoncques le filz du devant dyt Loth nomme Galganus, cest a dire Gavain, estoyt en leage de douze ans ou service du pape Supicius, ou lavoyt baillie son oncle, le roy Artus, duquel il prinst armes comme il sera dyt. Le roy Artus doncques comme il applicquast en Norwegue, le roy Reculfus avec la multitude de tout le pays luy vint alencontre, sy eurent ensamble bataille tres aspre et au commencement aucques egalle. Mais en la fin les Bretons eurent du meilleur, car reprins en eulx hardement, et faitte une forte envahye, ilz occyrent le roy Reculfus avec grant partye de ses gens, et le remanant senfuy.

Eue victoire, le roy Artus ala assaillir les cytes, villes et chasteaulx du pays en mettant tout en carbon et le povre peuple a lespee sans misericorde,[3] et ne cesserent jusques ad ce que ilz orent toute Norguegie et Dace mys en subjection, desquelz pays le roy Artus fist couronner Loth, son serourge ; puis ces choses adcomplies, il rentra en ses nefz et naga vers Gaulle, ouquel

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[1] *courage.* C.2.
[2] *comanda quon apprestast.* C.2.
[3] *hommes femmes et enfans sans nul misericorde.* C.2.

pays tantost quil y fut arrivez, il commenca a gaster et destruire tout ou il passoit. En cest temps estoit gouvernee la province Gallicque par Forlonus,[1] tribun Rommain, de par Leon, empereur de Romme ; lequel Forlonus, sy tost quil fut advertis de ladvenement du roy Artus assembla les chevaliers de Gaulle et tous ceulz qui pooient armez porter de la partye qui au dyt empereur obeyssoit ; et assambla au roy Artus par bataille, mais luy ne ses gens ne porent endurer leffort des Bretons, ains furent desconfis, car Artus avoyt en sa compaignie toute la jouvence des isles a luy subgettes, pourquoy il estoit de tant plus difficyle a vaincre ; et aussy presque tous les meilleurs chevaliers du dyt pays de Gaulle luy estoient en ayde et de sa propre famille a cause de sa largesse, comme dyt est cy-dessus, car tant de biens leur avoyt fais quilz estoient a luy obligies et grandement tenus. Forlonus doncques, comme il apperceust que la disconfiture de la bataille se tournast [2] contre luy et les siens, laissa [3] le champ et senfuy a asses petite compaignie a Paris, ou il rassambla ce petit de gens qui demourez luy estoient, puis garny le mieulx quil polt la cyte et ancorres desiroyt moult de rassambler a bataille contre les Bretons, pourquoy il pourchassoit partout ayde.[4] Mais ce sachant Artus vint mettre le siege souldainement devant Parys, et comme le siege se contynuast et ne laissast on riens entrer dedens la cyte, ainchois que un moys feust passe Forlonus, le tribun, commenca a cheoir ainssy comme en desesperance pourceque son peuple moroyt a grant doulleur de faim devant luy ; pourquoy en son ceur il en souffroit tres grant angoisse, sy sadvisa, pour le salut de sa gent, quil manderoyt au roy Artus que sil estoit aussy preux comme on dysoit il voulsist prendre bataille a luy seul a seul, corps contre corps, et que celluy qui porroyt

[1] *Folonus* and *Forlonnus*. C.2.
[2] *se commencoit a tourner*. C.2.
[3] *habandona*. C.2.
[4] *ayde et secours*. C.2.

avoir la victoire obtenist le pays et gouvernement du vaincu. Cestui Forlonus estoit chevalier de grant estature, fort amerveilles et plain de grant hardement, sy avoyt en soy-meysmes grant fiance, pourquoy il demandoit la bataille. Mais quant le message eut ceste chose nonchye au roy Artus il en fut moult joyeulx, et loa moult en son corage le chevalier Forlonus, sy luy fist dire quil estoit tout prest de tenir et parfaire la dite bataille et jurer dentretenir les convenences par luy alleguies. Sy fut donnee foy lealle de chascune partie pour la besongne parfaire a certain jour.[1] Auquel jour ainssy assigne convindrent les deux parties en une plaine qui la estoit dehors la cyte appellee lisle Nostre Dame, et entandis les gens des deux campions estoient en grant esmay pour paour destre mys soubz aultrui empire et servitude, plus les Bretons que les Parisiens, car ilz amoient bien le roy Artus plus quilz ne faisoient les Rommains, et lopposite estoit es Bretons, sicque ilz fremissoient de paour, non obstant quilz eussent grant esperance en la proesse de leur noble roy. Les deulz princes furent armes convenablement sy comme il appartenoyt, et montez sur deux chevaulx de merveilleuze agillite, et nestoit pas chose trop legiere de congnoistre a quy le triumphe de ceste bataille deust advenir. Lesquelz tantost comme ilz furent entres ou champ se departirent en parties opposites lun de laultre, puis sans demeure, frapez les coursiers des esperons, misrent les lances et escus comme il appartient, chascun selon sa fachon sy sentreferirent sy granz copz comme ilz peurent. Mais Artus, qui plus cauteleuzement portoit sa lanche, attaingny Forlonus en la poytrine parmy lescu si bien quil le percha et le versa par terre moult angoisseusement. Sy sacha[2] le roy Artus son espee, le cuidant ferir avant quil feust releve ; mais Forlonus se releva isnellement

[1] *jour sur ce assigne.* B. | [2] *tira.* C.2.

en dreschant sa lance, et vint au devant du roy, sy frapa son cheval en la poytrine par tel vertu que maistre et cheval churent[1] a terre, et fut le cheval mort. Les Bretons quy la bataille regardoyent, quant ilz veirent leur roy a terre gesir, doubtant quil ne feust mort, a grant paine porent estre retenus quilz nalayssent tous ensemble assaillir les Gaulles, non obstant quelconcques treves ; mais comme ilz voulsissent passer le terme de la foy par eulx fyancee, ilz veyrent le roy Artus releve, qui sappareilloyt de deffendre, lequel mis son escu devant soy ala envahyr son ennemy Forlonus, quy aussy a sa contenance monstrait bien semblant de chevalier. Sy se combatirent moult vaillament en frapant de ca et de la longuement, car sans doubte un cop nestoit pas donne dune part que de laultre ne feust rendu ; sy ne reculoit ne lun ne laultre. Ainssy comme ilz sentrefaisoyent sentir le fer lun a laultre et ne peussent ancorres lun laultre sourmonter, advint une foys entre les aultres que Forlonus, voyant quil avoyt advantage de bien employer son cop, frapa de toute sa force le roy Artus au front, sy le navra moult durement, sicque se neust este la bonte du healme certainement il leust occys, et commenca le sang a rayer tellement quil rougy lescu et le heaulme du roy Artus ; mais quant il vey son sang, sa force et hardement luy doubla, pourquoy, enflambe de moult grant ire et maltalent, leva Caliburne, son espee, de toute sa puissance sy lempainst par tel vigeur dessus le healme de Forlonus quil luy divisa la teste en deux parties, et a ce cop il cheut a terre et rendy lame presentement.[2]

En ce lieu fut tantost partout sceue la fin de la bataille et parmy la cite de Paris ; laquele chose oye, les citoyens dicelle incontinent ouvrirent les portes de la cyte et alerent au-devant du roy Artus, lequel apres cette victoire eue il divisa son ost en deux parties des-

[1] *tomberent.* C.2. | [2] *prestement.* B.

queles il en charga lune au roy Hoelus et luy charga[1] quil alast combatre Guidart, duc des Poitevins et tout son pays subjuguier, et lautre partie de son ost yroit subjuguier les aultres provinces de Gaulle. Sy se parti Hoelus, lequel tantost quil fut venus en Acquitaine commenca a gaster le pays et assaillir les cites, mais finablement par pluiseurs assaulz et batailles quil eut avec Guidart il le constraingny de soy mettre en la subgection du roy Artus, puis entra en Gascongne quil depopula par feu et par glave et les[2] princes de ce pays subjuga.

Quelz merveillez! le roy Artus et ses princes furent par dix[3] ans ou pays de Gaulle pour le conquerir et les provinces dicelluy, puis quant il ot mys en sa subgection tout le dyt pays il retourna a Paris, ou il tint sa court, a laquelle il fist appeller tout le peuple de Gaulle. Sy le conferma par bonnes loix en paix et transquilite, et donna Neustrie, que lon appelle[4] maintenant Northmandye, a Benero son senescal et connetable, et a Kario ou Quehus,[5] un noble chevalier, donna la province dAngiers, et pluiseurs aultres provinces donna a aultres nobles hommes quy lavoyent servy en ce royaulme durant ce voyage dangereux. Puis myst en paix et union toutes les cytes, villes et chasteaulx ou forteresses en ordonnant dillygamment leurs estats et ainsy comme vous oez, en teles euvres passa le noble roy Artus liver du dizieme[6] an quil avoit mys a conquerre le pays de Gaulle et les provinces dicelluy qui loingz sestendoyent. Et puis ces choses ainssy faittes, le temps deste venu sen retourna en Bretaigne.[7]

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[1] *commanda.* C.2.
[2] *les.* B. *tous les.* C.2. *ces.* A.
[3] *deux.* C.2.
[4] *nomme.* C.2.
[5] *Quehus.* B.
[6] *dusiesme.* C.2.
[7] *en son royaulme en la Grant Bretaigne a grant joye.* C.2.

Cy parle de la grant feste que celebra le noble roy Artus en la cyte de Legionne, et comment il y vint moult de grant princes et barons.[1] LE CHAPITRE XXI^e^.

QUANT le roy Artus fut retourne en son pays de Bretaigne et la feste de Penthecouste approcha, le roy Artus a cause du triumphe[2] quil avoit eu en Gaulle fut aulcunement esleve par grant[3] leesse, sy desira de tenir celluy jour devant dit une grant[4] feste, et porter couronne et ceptre royal avec tous les aultres aournemens royaulx ; et estoyt sa voulente de faire appeller a ceste solempnite tous les roys, ducz, contes, et barons qui subjetz luy estoient, adfin que de renouveller avec eulx foy et amystie. Sy le fist denoncer par toutes les terres doccydent ; pour lequelles choses publyer il manda ses messages et heraulz ausquelz il charga faire les dyligences en tel cas appartenans. Laquelle feste par le conseil de ses privez il ordonna estre faitte en la cyte de Legionne laquelle est scituee sur la riviere[5] de Thamise en pays tres doulz, pres de la mer de Sabrine, et sy estoit le plus habondant en ricesses de toutes les cytes de la Grant Bretaigne, et pooit on venir a navire par le dyt fleuve jusques a la cyte ; sy sambloit chose moult expedient a ceulx de dela la mer que la feste feust illec celebree. Sy avoyt daultre coste belles praieries et beaulx boiz, et sy estoit par dedens anoblie de riches pallaix reluisans de fin or sicque sans doubt il sambloit que Romme feust transportee en Legyonne. En ceste cyte avoit deux eglises principales, dont lune estoit fondee en lonneur de Saint Julii, Martir, laquelle estoit aournee dune religieuse compaignie de dames vierges qui vyvoyent

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[1] *et des grans princes et barons, qui y furent.* B. C. 2.
[2] *grant triumphe.* B.
[3] *souveraine,* B.
[4] *moult grant et honourable.* C.2.
[5] *le fleuve.* B.

moult saintement; et laultre eglise estoit fondee en lonneur de Saint Aaron son compaignon, eglise cathedrale, et estoit souveraine et metropolitaine de la plus part des eglises de Bretaigne. Et sy avoit en ceste cyte estude de astronomye et de tous ars ou len encerchoit les cours des estoilles et les choses merveilleuses a advenir, que les maistres dycelle estude congnoissoient, et lesquelz demoustroient au roy Artus icelles par vrayes raisons.

Tant de delices fist le roy Artus appareillier pour celle festivite que cest chose incredyble, a laquelle furent mandez tous les princes de Gaulle par les legatz du roy Artus pour venir a la court et meismes ceulx des isles collaterales du grant Ocean. Sy y vint tout le premier Angueleseth roy dAlbanie, Urian roy des Murefreusiens, Cadvala Lauirth [1] le roy des Venedozes, cest a dire de Norgalles, le roy Scault des Demetoires, cest des Subgalloys. Il y vint troix arcevesques de troix eglises metropolitaines, cest a scavoir celluy de Londres, celluy de Eboracle ou Ebroith, et aussy celluy de Legionne, le benoyt Dubritius, quy avoyt este le premier legat du siege de Romme en Bretaigne, et sans doubte il estoit sy resplendissant en saintete que par sa pryere Dieu garissoit toutes manieres de langours ou maladies.

De toutes les nobles cytes doccydent y vindrent les consulz, car il y vint Morulth le consul de Cloudiocenth, Maron de Guingoreuz, le duc Dorobenie et aultres pluiseurs qui nestoient mye de mendre puissance que ces consulz, ne de moindre dignite, comme estoient Heroeth,[2] Denanth Mapapo, Cenes Mahoyt, Peredruth Maberidurth, Grifult Nanoyth, Reguith Mathgluth, Eldeleuth Macledoith, Kinchar Mabainganith, Kintingare, Gorbomath Masgloyt, Clofault Kininmane-

[1] *Lauioth.* C.2.

[2] *Conf. Galf. Mon.*: "*præter consules prædictos venerunt non minoris dignitatis heroes.*"

thon, Kinbellium Maptru Nath, Galhem Nicohtes, Kinlith[1] Manetouth[2] et aultres pluiseurs quil seroit chose ennuyeuse de les tous nommer. Des isles collaterales du pays de Bretaigne Gollomarus le roy de Hybernie, Maluasius le roy de Illandye, Doldanius le roy de Gollandye, Gimasius[3] le roy de Orgadye,[4] Loth le roy de Norguegye, Acallius le roy de Dace. Des parties doultre mer y vindrent le duc Leodegaris de Boullongne, Beduerus le duc de Northmandye, Borellus duc du Mans, Gayus duc dAnjou, Guitard duc de Poitou, et tous les douze pers de France, lesquelz conduissoit Gerinus conte de Chartres. Et sy y vint Hoelus, roy dArmoricque, avec tous ses barons, en sy grant appareil que ce soit[5] fort a descripre. Et generalement y vindrent tous les princes dEspaigne, qui nestoit pas trop grant merveille, car certes la largesse du noble roy Artus le rendoit par le monde universel envers tous plain damour et faveur fervente.

Comment les princes qui venus estoient a la court que tint le roy Artus furent festoyez,[6] et comment lui et la royne sa femme porterent couronne le jour de la solempnite.[7] LE CHAPITRE XXIIe.

QUANT les roys et princes furent tous assamblez le jour de la solempnite de Pentecouste, les archevesques, adfin de aourner le roy Artus et luy mettre en son chief le dyadesme royal, vindrent ou pallaix, pour ce que la cyte ou estoit la feste estoit le siege du saint arcevesque Dubritius ; il fut ordonne pour administrer et faire le service divin, celluy jour. Et quant le roy fut appareillie et aourne il fut mene moult noblement

[1] *Kilwith.* C.2.
[2] *Manethon.* C.2.
[3] *Gumasius.* B. *Gunasius.* C.2.
[4] *accompagnie de.* C.2.
[5] *seroit.* B. C.2.
[6] *honnourablement festoiez.* C.2.
[7] *le jour de la solempnite.* Omitted in B. C.2.

a leglise metropolitaine, sy luy assistoient deux arcevesques, lun a dextre et laultre a senestre, et devant luy aloyent quattre roys, cest a scavoir celluy dAlbanye, celluy de Cornubie, celluy de Demecye, cest a dire de Galle,[1] et celluy de Norgalles, devant lesquelz quattre roys se portoient quattre espees dor toutes nues ; et apres venoient grant multitudes de barons en belle ordonnance, qui par joyeux regard rendoyent leurs rencz merveilleux et tres melodieux chantz.

Daultre part la royne Geneviere, aournee de couronne royal et daultres noblesses qui a mageste royal de roine peuvent appartenir conduissoient pluiseurs arcevesques et evesques a leglise Saint Julii, ou estoit le couvent des vierges ; et devant elle portoient quattre aultres roys quattre coulombez blances, car telle estoit la coustume en signiffiance de chastete. Et apres elle venoient les dames et damoyselles, vestues et aournees moult noblement de robes reluisans par or et pierres precieuses, de pourpre de velours et daultres maintes manieres, lesquelles chantoyent par tres grant leesse sy doulcement et melodieuzement que il sambloyt plus en leurs doulz accors que ce feussent voix angelicques que humaines. Finablement quant le roy fut venus a leglise cathedral et la royne au couvent des vierges, la joye renforca[2] merveilleuzement, car la estoient tant de paires de menestrelz quy de leurs instrumens faisoient sy grant et sy armonieuse melodie[3] que les chevaliers par le doulz son des instrumens estoient ainssy comme tous ravis, sicque ilz ne scavoient ou aler, car sans nulle doubte laffluence des delices mondaines dont tant y avoyt estoit chose incomprehensible, en tant que se le divin office eust dure tout le jour, jamais a nul neust ennuye.

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[1] *Galbe.* B. C.2.
[2] *renforcha.* B. *recommenca en renforchans.* C.2.
[3] *melodie.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.

Finablement, adcomplis et celebres les misteres de la messe, le roy et la roine, retournez en leur maistre pallaix despouillierent leurs vestemens[1] royaulx pource quilz estoient trop pesans, sy en prindrent de plus legiers qui estoient moult[2] nobles. Puis se assist le roy Artus ou milieu de ses roys, princes et barons en son pallaix, et la roine sen ala avec ses dames, car lors gardoient ancores les Bretons les coustumes Troyennes qui telles estoient que les hommes mengoient ensamble a part et les femmes pareillement, laquelle coustume se gardoyt quant on celebroit la solempnite daulcune grant feste. On fist seoir par les pallaix chascun selon son ordre et dignyte, sy fut ordonne Gayus Dapifer, le duc dAngiers, moult noblement vestu dermines adcompaignie de mille nobles jovenceaulx pareillement tous fourez dermines[3] pour asseoir les metz devant les princes. Et daultre part Beduerus, duc de Northmandye, fut estably maistre eschanson,[4] avec luy mille jovenenceaulx tous vestus de pourpre et fourez dermines comme luy-meismes pour administrer en couppes et taisses dor de merveilleux ouvrages diverses manieres despeces de vins et aultres delicieux beuvrages.

Le pallaix de la roine estoit ordonne par aultre maniere, car elle avoyt sans nombre de serviteurs et mynistres, qui tous estoient vestus diversement chascun selon que son office le requeroit, sicque la robe nottifioit loffice dont il estoit, sy faisoient les serviteurs leurs administrations acoustumees sans rien changier, et sans doubte se je vouloye reciter tous les delices quy a ceste feste furent, je doubte que lystoire ne se rendist aux lisans[5] ennuieuze a cause de trop grant prolixite, car le pays de Bretaigne estoit ores par Artus retourne et esleve en tel estat que en affluence

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[1] *aournemens.* C.2.
[2] *triumphans et nobles.* C.2.
[3] *dermines comme lui meismes.* C.2.
[4] *essanchon.* C.2.
[5] *liseurs trop.* C.2.

de ricesses, en superfluite daournemens, en habondance de chevalerie et de tous biens, elle precelloyt et sourmontoit toutes les aultres terres. Tous les chevaliers qui adoncques estoient de lisle ayans le non[1] de exellente preudhommye et proesse darmes avoient robes tout un et pareillement avoient leurs femmes, dames, et amyes, car en ce[2] nulle dame ne feust amoureuse dun chevalier, sil navoyt paravant troix fois son corps prouve par industrie et force darmes, pourquoy les dames quy avoyent esperance joieuze damoureux desir promettoient leur amour lealle aux chevaliers amoureux, laquelle chose leur faisoit garder chastete, et les chevaliers pour doubte de perdre leurs dames en estoient meilleurs et plus hardis. Apres ce quilz furent tous raemplis de divers metz ou vyandes, graces rendues a Nostre Seigneur, se leverent de le table par aler[3] en esbat dehors la cyte, ou ilz se deliterent en moult de diverses manieres, car les chevaliers commencerent lesbatement a cheval par maniere de tournoy et joustes plaisans a regarder, et les dames estoient aux frenestres[4] et crenaulz de la cyte pour les regarder ; aulcuns en y avoient qui gettoient la pierre et la barre de fer ; aulcuns aultres se delitoient aux eschez et aux tables, et ainssy chascun sesbatoit selon ce que la diversite des gieux le requeroit. Les dames qui aux cresteaulx[5] estoyent esmouvoient le ceur des chevaliers de desirer a avoir chascun la victoire de son compaignon de quelconcques esbatement que ce feust.

Au derrenier[6] comme le jour declinast chascun retourna en la cyte ; sy recommenca la feste et la joye plus grande asses que paravant navoyt este, car le roy Artus donna a tous ceulx qui victoire avoient eue aux dis esbatemens beaulx dons a chascun selon son estat. Consumez en ceste maniere les troix premiers

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[1] *renon.* B.
[2] *ce temps.* C.2.
[3] *de table pour aler.* B. C.2.
[4] *fenestres.* B. C.2.
[5] *creneaulz.* C.2.
[6] *Au desrener.* C.2.

jours, le quatriesme le roy Artus fist assambler tous les prelatz et barons qui en ceste feste lestoient venus conjoir ; sy confirma a chascun sa terre et leur donna en oultre citez et chasteaulx assez largement selon ce que les meritez dun chascun lavoyent deservi envers luy a ceste heure ou aultresfois.

Comment le roy Artus crea pluiseurs archevesques et evesques, et de ladvenementz des legatz envoyez de Romme. LE CHAPITRE XXIIIe.

AINS le departement de ceste feste le benoyt Dubritius, arcevesque de Legionne, renonca a son benefice et entra en un hermitage, ou il usa le demourant de sa vye moult saintement. Sy fut fait arcevesque en son lieu Satratur,[1] loncle du roy, homme plain de science et example de toute vertue.[2] Et saint Sanson renonca aussy a son archevesquie de Dollenses ; sy fut estabh en son lieu Celianth, qui estoit evesque ou royaulme dArmoricque-Bretaigne, duquel la vye et les vertus le rendoient envers le monde moult beneure. Sy fut aussy donne leveschye de Leycestre a Magaunius, et en la cyte de Aclud fut envoye pour evesque Eledemius. Comme ces choses se faisoient par le roy Artus, entre ses barons vindrent devant le roy douze hommes assez anchiens par nature, a moult reverens et honnourables vyaires, quy en leurs dextres portoient rams dollivier en signe de legation, par pas atemprez ; sy le saluerent et luy presenterent unes lettres depar Lucius Tiberii Cesar, lesquelles touchoyent en telle maniere : " Lucius, par divin mistere procureur de la " chose publique de Romme a Artus de Bretaigne, salut ! " tel comme ses fais le merissent ! Moy merveillant sur " toy mesmerveille fort sur ta tyrannye plaine de per-

[1] *Conf. Galf. Mon.* "*in cujus locum sacratur David regis avunculus.*"

[2] *et debonnairete.* C.2.

" fidye desloyal. Ancores mesmerveille je plus de lin-
" jure que tu as oze perpetrer encontre le peuple Rom-
" main, la memoration de laquelle certes me rent in-
" digne et forment plain de moleste. Se tu as este boute
" hors de toy-meismes par furieuze operation ne deffuis
" point ne trop ne te haste de apperchevoir quelle chose
" ce soit par tant de injustes actions le saint senat de
" Romme avoir offendu, lequel tu ne doys pas ygnorer
" tout le monde estre en sa subgection, et neant
" moins le treu que doibt Bretaigne, lequel le senat
" tavoyt commande payer, car Gaius Julius Cesar
" et aultres pluiseurs haulz hommes ennoblys de Rom-
" maine dygnyte et administration lont eu ja par moult
" de temps passe, tu as, en meprisant lempire dun sy
" grant ordre comme de Romme, presume detenir et
" non payer. Et oultre, tu as soubmys a ta duction[1]
" Gaulle, la province Alobrogeenne, et les isles doccydent
" mesymes toutes destruites, desquelz pays les rois ont
" tousjours le treu paye a mes predycesseurs anchiens,
" comme la Rommaine puissance envers tous peuples
" ayt tousjours prevalu et obtenu. Or doncques
" que ainssy soit que de tant de tes injures le com-
" mun senat ayt dyscerne et sentencie a toy estre
" assigne terme a la my Aoust prochain venant pour
" repeter a toy rayson de tes fourfaitures, je te com-
" mande venir a Romme ou terme prefis adfin de
" satisfaire aux Rommains, tes seigneurs, et toy remet-
" tre a la sentence que justice aura dittee et ordonnee
" sur toy, ou aultrement je meysmes tes pays visiteray,
" et toutes choses[2] que ta foursenerie aura de la
" chose publicque ravies, par puissance darmes meffor-
" ceray de icelles restituer."

Ces lettres leutes et recytees en la presence des roys, princes, et barons qui la estoient en la compaignie du

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[1] *dition.* B. *dommination.* C.2.

[2] *et toutes choses que usurpe aura de la chose publicque.* C.2.

roy Artus, le roy se leva et entra en la Tour du Geant pour soy conseiller a ses barons a scavoir mon quil debvoit respondre sur telz mandemens; mais ainssy comme tous les barons montoyent les degrez de la tour, Cador, le roy de Cornubye, qui point nestait liez en corage pour ces lettres, ne se polt tenir quil ne venist devant le roy; sy commenca a rire ainssy comme il avoit acoustume, et lui dist telles parolles: "Sire, "dyst-il, je avoye este jusques a maintenant en paour "que les barons, qui par longue paix avoyent este "oyseulx, que le repos ne les rendist freilles[1] et "imbeciles aux armes, par quoy la fame et renom-"mee quilz ont de noblesse chevalereuze et proesse "darmes dessus tous ceulx du monde feust en eulx "de tous poins effacee. Quy doubte que lusage darmes "ne face le jeu des hommes et les inflammacions "femenines aneantir et tous les vertus[2] renouveller "es chevaliers? car certes on doibt doubter que ce "quy estoit et procedoyt de vertu, dhonneur, de har-"diesse, et de fame, la paresse des Bretons nayt macule "et enlaydy pour ce que ja a bien cinq[3] ans passez que "repos nous habonde[4] toutes delices sans nulle excer-"tion de bataille. Et pourtant doncques je croy que "Dieu, adfin quil nous delivrast de ce vyce, a induit "et meu les Rommains en ceste voulente, a intention "que ilz nous remainent en nostre premier estat et "preudhommie darmes." Ces parolles ou semblables ainssy dittes par le roy Cador au roy Artus, les barons qui montes estoient les degres de la tour sassirent sur les sieges, chascun en son ordre, pour conseillier le roy de ce quil avoyt a faire, au mieulz quilz porroyent pour le meilleur.

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[1] *foibles.* C.2.

[2] *toutes vertus.* B. C.2.

[3] *pour ce quil y a bien six ans.* C.2.

[4] *nous a habandonne.* B. C.2.

Sensieult loroyson que fyst le roy Artus a ses princes sur la sentence de la lettre a luy tramyse par lempereur Rommain. LE CHAPITRE XXIIIIe.

QUANT un chascun se fut mys en son ordre, sillence faitte, le roy Artus commenca de parler a tous les barons qui la estoient presens, en ceste maniere: " O " vous mes compagnons en[1] toute ma prosperite et ad- " versite, de quy les proesses et preudhommyes jay ja " tant de foiz esprouvees tant en conseil comme en " euvres et industries bellicques, maintenant necessite " nous constraint que vous tous dune industrie de " sapience pourveez[2] queles choses et combien grandes " sur telz mandemens nous ayons a faire et produire, " car comme vous scavez tout ce quy par entendement " de sapience est diligamment pourveu et congneu on " seuffre et sceut porter plus allegement[3] quant vient " au fait; et pour tant se nous tous par commun " estude considerons et examinons la furour de la " guerre quy sappareille par les Rommains, nous souf- " frirons trop mieulx le fais dycelle porter se elle vient " a effect, laquelle toutes fois ilz extiment moult a " nous non estre[4] doubteuse comme son commencement " sortisse de cause non droituriere et plaine de vanite. " Quy doubte que le exaction du treu soyt demandee " par enraysonnable justice lequel ilz desirent soub- " straire du pais de Bretaigne? Et dist Lucius que je " lui doy baillier pour ce que Julle Cesar et aultres " ses ancesseurs lont eu et posside. Ceste rayson est " comme nulle et plaine de fallace, car se nous en- " sievons les fais de nos peres anchiens lesquelz en " armes applicquerent en cestuy pays, qui estoit vaca- " bonde et inhabite, sy y esleuerent leur habitation " par le decret des dames avant que Dieu ne les

[1] *en.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.
[2] *prouveez.* C.2.
[3] *alegrement.* B. *a legierement.* C.2.
[4] *non estre a nous.* B. C.2.

" Rommains venyssent oncques a lumiere ou cong-
" noissance. Puis doncques quilz concquirent cestuy
" pays sur les geans deu a leurs enffans, se de aulcuns
" de nos predicesseurs indeuement ilz ont leve et ac-
" tione[1] tribut, comme Julle Cesar et aultres empereurs
" qui par leur tyrannye lont receu, quy jadys sans
" nulle cause raysonnable esmeurent guerre contre noz
" peres et les constraingnirent estre tributaires a eulx ;
" mais comme nulle chose par vyolence conquise ne
" puist estre possidee du victeur injuste loyaulment,
" je conclus et arbitre le exaction de cestui subside
" estre inraisonable, et le droit par lequel ilz nous
" dyent estre leurs tributaires estre injuste et tyran-
" nicque. Et par samblable droyt et raison nous
" pouons dire ceulx de Romme estre nos sers tributaires[2]
" et pourtant celluy quy est plus fort de nous ou
" deulx la partie desiree sy prengne, car se Juilius
" Cesar et aultres Rommains ont[3] aulcuns roys de
" Bretaigne subjuguiez ou temps passe et que a pre-
" sent treu leur en doye estre rendu, je juge sem-
" blablement que Romme nous est tenue de treu payer,
" car nos predicesseurs ont anchiennement Romme
" concquise et obtenue, comme fist Belinus, celluy
" tres noble roy des Bretons, moyennant layde de son
" frere Brenius, duc de Sens, (laquelle chose a este
" ditte tout au long cy-dessus en son lieu desent,[4]) et
" firent pendre ou milieu du marchye publicque de
" Romme vingt quatre nobles hommes Rommains et
" mille jovenenceaulx que Romme leur avoyt baillies
" pour hostages, a cause de leur rebellion ; sy posside-
" rent et maintindrent la cite par long temps.

" Constantin, le filz Sainte Elaine et Maximien furent
" de nos predicesseurs et de nostre sang, et sy furent
" lun apres laultre ennoblis du dyadesme royal du
" pays de Bretaigne, et de Bretaigne furent eslevez au

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[1] *exactione.* B. C.2.
[2] *serfz ou tributaires.* B. C.2.
[3] *ont.* B. C.2. *ou.* A.
[4] *decent.* B. C.2.

" trosne de lempire Rommain. Jugiez doncques, O " vous mes chevaliers, se jay queremonie de repeter des " Rommains treu pareille [1] que nous avons de Gaulle " et des isles collateraulx par nous par puissance darmes " conquisez. Il me samble que je ne leur en ay riens " a respondre, car ilz ne les deffendirent en nulle ma- " niere quant nous les soubstraymes de leur seignourie." Cest a dire quil semble [2] au roy Artus quil avoyt aussy grant occasion et aussy juste cause ou raisonnable de demander treu aux Rommains de Itallie, comme ilz avoyent de le demander a luy de Bretaigne, de Gaulle et des seignouries quil avoyt concquises sur lempire de Romme. Par quoy il lui sambloit quil nestoit aulcunement tenu de leur donner responce. Et en ces parolles myst fin le roy Artus a son oroison.

Sensieult loroyson du roy Hoelus de Armoricque en persuadant la guerre contre les Rommains. LE CHAPITRE XXV^e^.

APRES que le roy Artus eut finee son oroyson, Hoelus, le roy de Bretaigne-Armoricque, qui tous les aultres roys excedoyt en puissance darmes et de richesses, se drescha [3] en piez et commenca son oroison en ceste maniere : " Non obstant que ung chascun des assistens souffesist " bien a degerer [4] ceste matiere et plus grant chose, " je ne cuide nul plus prudent conseil trouver ne plus " sceur que cestui que la discretion de ta dilligente [5] " prudence a empresent demoustre certainement et ta " deliberation prudentement prouve, dont a toy sans " doubte nous debvons loenges, car en toy est laffec- " tion dhomme plain de constance, leffect de sage en- " tendement et le prouffit de sain conseil. Et certes, " se tu veulx aler a Romme selon la sentence de ta " devant ditte rayson, je ne doubte point que tu naies " triumphe la ou nous combaterons comme acteurs et

[1] *pareillement.* C.2.
[2] *sambloit.* B. C.2.
[3] *se leva.* C.2.
[4] *decreter.* C.2.
[5] *presente diligence et prudence a tout maintenant a enpresens.* C.2.

" gardeurs de nostre liberte en demandant justement " de nos ennemys ce que par injustice ilz veullent de " nous prendre et usurper. Et certainement quicon- " ques sefforce de rapiner sur aultrui par tyrannye " par son meysme merite est frustre de son intention " de celluy quil en cuidoyt opprimer, se en soy vertu " et hardement reposent. Car doncques se les Rom- " mains desirent a nous desnuer de nostre liberte, " sans doubte celle deulx nous despouillerons se par " toy licence de les envahir nous est prestee, laquelle " vrayement fait a desirer de tous Bretons leaulx. Ne " dyent mye les propheties[1] de Sibille tesmoignies et " figurees par vrays argumens,[2] cest a dire par les chantz " et voyz des oyseaulx que de la lingnie de Bructus " naistra un[3] qui la tierche fois obtendra lempire rommain. " De deux a ja este la sainte voix sibilienne adcomplie, " comme tu las touchie, et il est certain de ces deux " tres clers princes, cest a scavoir Belinus et Con- " stantin avoir gouverne deux empires Rommains tres " nobles ; et maintenant la providence de Dieu et les " destinees te veullent eslever ou troysieme. Haste- " toy doncques de recepvoir che que Dieu ta appa- " reillie ! sicque il ne differe haste-toy de dominer[4] cellui " qui te veult subjuguier ! Delivre-toy de nous exau- " cier, car certes pour ton exauchement je ne fineray " pas a prendre playes, neis jusques a la mort ; et " adfin que ces choses tu parfaces a ton honneur je te " compaigneray atout mille hommes darmes."

La deliberation Agnoleseth[5] *aultrement dyt Angelus, roy*[6] *dAlbanye.* Le Chapitre XXVI^e^.

Quant Hoelus eut mys fin a ses parolles, Angelus, le roy dAlbanye, se drescha et commenca a declairier le

[1] *Bretons prophetes.* C.2.
[2] *anguremens.* C.2.
[3] *naistra un qui la.* B. C.2.
[4] *dominer.* B. C.2. *donner.* A.
[5] *Anelesecht.* C.2.
[6] *roy.* B. *le roy.* C.2. *au roy.* A.

grant desir quil avoyt sur lexaltation du roy Artus, disant en ceste maniere : " Depuis la voix de loroyson " de Monseigneur oye, mon entendement emflamba mon " ceur de tant grant leesse et joye que sans doubte il ne " me seroit pas possible de la recyter en vostre presence " tellement que a paines scavoye[1] tenir ma contenance, " car il me samble que nulle chose dygne de memoire " en tant de batailles par nous faittes a tant de roix[2] " et de peuples ne sera et samblera tout estre neant se " les Rommains demeurent et les Germaniens sans " bleceureus[3] et se nous ne exercitons nos armes contre " leurs batailles lesquelz ont autresfois nos pays destruis " et nos peres craventes sicque nous soyons venus[4] " prendre vengence des delitz anchiens par leurs " predicesseurs commis. Hellas ! que la demeure me " tarde et la licence me feust joyeuse, car lors, Sire, " que laurez ottroye mon corps oultre mesure[5] sera " esjoy. Je me esleece doncques et esjoys en lespe- " rance et desir du jour de la bataille, auquel nous " convendrons contre nos ennemys, ou certes je arrouse- " ray ladeur[6] de mon corps de leur sang, lequel si " fluoyt et couroyt ainssy comme une fontaine par " moy ne sera empeschye, ains certes luy augmenteray " ses ruisseaulx et son cours croisteray. Vray Dieu ! " ne verront jamais mes yeulx la lumiere en laquelle " nos banieres seront souflees par le doulz vent ! Hee ! " que les plaies me seront doulces et amyables a " inferer ou recepvoir la ou nos dextres seront jointes a " nos ennemys ! Certes voire la mort doulce me sera " ou en vengant nos premiers peres ou en deffendant " nostre liberte et exauchant nostre roy. Alons doncques " assaillir ces Rommains qui sont ainssy comme demy " hommes et maintenons la bataille jusques ad ce que

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[1] *scavoie.* B. *scavoye je.* C.2.
[2] *roys.* B.
[3] *blecheures.* B. *sans nulles blecheures.* C.2.
[4] *veus.* B. C.2.
[5] *grandement.* C.2.
[6] *lardeur.* B. C.2.

" nous,[1] nos enemys vaincus, ayons la possession de " leurs honneurs et obtenons vraye victoire, et je " croisteray nostre ost de deux mille chevaliers armez, " sans les peons." Apres ce que le roy dAlbanye ot ainssy parle, chascun de ses barons quy la estoient presens promysrent pareillement de servir leur seigneur, comme ilz y estoient tenus, en tant que le nombre de gens darmes au roy Artus promys par les barons de lisle de Bretaigne furent esperez a soixante mille sans ce que devoyt amener le roy Hoelus de Armoricque-Bretaigne, et sans ceulx aussy que promisrent amener les roys et princes des isles subgettes au roy Artus, comme le roy de Hybernye, le roy dIzlande,[2] cellui de Gorlandye, de Orcadye, de Norgusie et cellui de Dace, desquelz le nombre montoit jusques a vi. fois xx. mille ; et les princes de Gaulles,[3] comme le duc de Rodeths, le duc de Portineuses, le duc des Estairiens,[4] le duc de Sens, le duc dAngiers, le duc du Mens,[5] et le duc de Poitou, quy promysrent lxx. M. hommes darmes, et Gerinus le duc de Chartres et les douze pers de Gaulle[6] et les consulz des bonnes villes promysrent xii. fois x. cens hommes darmes, sicque lost de Gaulle montoyt, sans ceulx de pie, qui ne se nombroient point, a lxxiii. mille[7] et deux cens.

De la response que fist le roy Artus aux legatz Rommains, et comment ses barons sappareillierent atoute diligence. Le Chapitre XXVII[e].

Voyant le roy Artus que tous ses barons vivement et tout dune pensee estoient exanimez et appareilliez a son service et commandement, il commanda de briefment repairier en leur pays et faire ordonner les gens quilz avoyent promys a amener, et que sans

[1] *comme nous ayons nos.* C.2.
[2] *Dyzlande.* B. *Dillande.* C.2.
[3] *Gaulle.* C.2.
[4] *Eschairens.* C.2.
[5] *Mans.* C.2.
[6] *France.* C.2.
[7] *lxxiii. mille hommes.* C.2. *lx. et xiii. mille.* B.

nulle faulte ilz feussent es Kalendes dAoust ou port de Barbefluith[1] ad fin que lors quant ilz seroyent assamblez ilz alaissent tous alencontre des Rommains es fins des terres Allogres,[2] cest a dire Bourguignons. Adoncques quant ces ordonnances furent faittes, le roy Artus fist appeller les legatz Rommains et par iceulx meysmes manda a lempereur que ce nestoit pas son intention de paiier treu aulcun aux Rommains ne aussy par consequent de soy submettre a sentence deulx desquelz il ne tenoit,[3] mais contendoit de aler atout son ost vysiter les Rommains et eulx demander ces meismes choses lesqueles ilz luy requeroient. Atout ceste response se partirent les legatz Rommains; et aussy prindrent congye du roy Artus les roys et princes,[4] qui a ceste court estoient, pour aler querre leur gens darmes. Quant les messages furent venus a Romme ilz firent leur rapport a lempereur Lucius Hyberius,[5] lequel oyant la responce du roy Artus, par la licence du senat il tramyst messages aux roys et princes dOrient que sans delay atout le plus grant ost quilz poroient assambler ilz se transportaissent en Italye pour aler subjuguier le roy Artus de la Grant Bretaigne, qui ne vouloit obeir a lempire[6] Rommain. Sy en y vint en pou de temps grant quantite, car le Epystrefus[7] de Mede y vint a moult grant ost, aussy fist[8] Scorus de Libye, Teucher de Frige, Cerxes roydes Ictures, Pandrasus le roy dEgypte, Manissa[9] le roy de Babilonie, Euander roy de Sirie, et Ypolitus de Grece, avec luy tous les princes et ducz de sa seignourie; aussy y vindrent maintz senateurs, telz que Lucius Catullus, Marius Lupidus, Gayus Metellus Cocta, Quintius Millius Catyllus, Quintius Caritius et moult daultres,

[1] *Harrefluicht.* C.2.
[2] *Allohogres.* B. *Allobogres.* C.2.
[3] *riens.* B. C.2.
[4] *les roys, princes et barons.* C.2.
[5] *Thyberius.* The T inserted by a later hand. C.2.
[6] *lempereur.* C.2.
[7] *le roy Epystrefus.* B. *Episcrephus.* C.2.
[8] *fist secours.* C.2.
[9] *Manussa.* C.2.

sicque en tout lost il y ot cent et quarante[1] mille hommes. Apres ce que lempereur Lucius ot ordonne a son samblant toutes choses en tel cas necessaires, il commenca a trayre son ost vers le pays de Bretaigne ou[2] commencement des Kalendes dAoust. Entretant[3] que ces choses se faisoyent, le roy Artus fist[4] traire son navire au port de Hamon,[5] sy ordonna Mordreth son nepveu regent et gouverneur de son royaulme et gardien de la roine Geneviere sa femme, et puis entra en mer atout son ost, sy se frapa le tempeste des vens es voilles, sicque briefment il arriva a[6] Port de Salut a sy grant multitude de nefz que cest chose comme incredulle.[7] Sy advint que luy estant en la mer pour le tourment dycelle environ myenuit, un tres fort somme le prinst, sy sendormy, quant il commenca a songeir[8] quil veoyt un grant ours voller par lair a grant clamour et murmure, sicque la mer et tous les rivages en trambloient. Et daultre part il lui sambla quil veoit un terrible dragon voller devers occydent, lequel par la[9] resplendeur de ses yeulx flamboyans enlumynoit toute la terre, et finablement que lours venoyt contre le dragon,[10] quy plus aigrement se combatoit par son alaine enflambee, et brusla lours tellement quil le convint verser a terre. Et en ce songe prinst une freour a Artus, pourquoy[11] il sesveilla : sy raconta[12] son songe a ses chevaliers qui empres luy estoyent, les quelz luy exposerent en telle maniere,

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[1] *chinquante.* C.2.
[2] *droit au.* C.2.
[3] *Entandis.* C.2.
[4] *commanda.* C.2.
[5] *Hanyon.* C.2.
[6] *au.* C.2.
[7] *incredible.* C.2.
[8] *sy sendormy, mais il neut gueres dormy quant il commenca a songier.* B. *si neut gueres.* C.2.
[9] *la.* B. C.2. *sa.* A.
[10] *venoyt contre le dragon, et commisrent ensamble bataille ; mais le dragon qui plus aigrement se combatoit, par son alaine enflambee brusla lours.* B. *venoit contre la mauvaise beste, cest a scavoir le dragon, et commencoient enssamble tres dure bataille, mais le dragon, &c.* C.2.
[11] *par quoy.* B.
[12] *dont recita.* C.2.

disant que luy-meysmes estoit signifie par le dragon, et lours segnyfioyt aulcun grant dragon,[1] contre lequel il se debvoit combatre et le vaincre en bataille comme le dragon avoit fait lours, et que ceste vision nestoit aultre chose que le signe de sa victoire : mais aultre chose conjecturoit Artus quoy quil demoustrast, car il extimoit pour lui et pour lempereur[2] avoir eu celle vision. En pensant a la ditte vysion il perchupt laube du jour rougir,[3] et tantost apres il arriva au port de Barbefluith[4] ouquel lieu sans demeure il fist chascun descendre et illec fichier ses tentes, car ancores nestoient pas venus les roiz ne tous ses princes et barons de diverses provinces[5] quy promis luy avoyent de la estre a la journee a eulx par lui assignee, comme dyt a este cy-dessus.

Cy devize comment le proesceux roy Artus se combaty vaillamment a ung grantz geant a la roche du Mont Saint Michiel. LE CHAPITRE XXVIII[e].

ENDEMENTIERS que le roy Artus sejournoit en ses tentes sur la rive de la mer, attendant ses princes comme oy avez, nouvelles luy vindrent que un geant de merveilleuze grandeur estoit venus en ce pays des partyes dEspaigne, lequel avoyt ravye Helaine, la niepce Hoelus,[6] ja y avoyt huit jours passez, sy len avoyt portee au sommet de la montaigne que maintenant nous dysons[7] le Mont Saint Mychiel, et comment moult de chevaliers lavoyent syeu[8] pour recouvrer la damoiselle, mais ilz avoyent este par luy tous desconfys et degettes jus du tertre.[9] Lesquelz ancores depuis lavoyent envahy par mer et par terre, mais il les avoyt tous discipes[10] et leurs nefz

[1] *dragon.* A. B. C.2.
[2] *lempereur Rommain.* C.2.
[3] *commencier a rougir.* C.2.
[4] *Harrefluicht.* C.2.
[5] *et . . . provinces.* Omitted. C.2,
[6] *du roy Hoelus.* B. C.2.
[7] *nommons.* C.2.
[8] *sievi.* B. C.2.
[9] *du tertre.* B. C.2. *de terre.* A.
[10] *depichiez.* C.2.

fait enffondrer par certains instrumens bellicques desquelz il se aydoyt, et avoyt prins maintz chevaliers lesquelz il avoyt devourez piteusement. Quant le roy Artus ot entendu ces choses, non obstant la magnanimite dicelles et le peril qui[1] en povait naistre, sy se pensa il de laler combatre : pourquoy il se arma celle nuit environ la seconde heure, et prinst avecques luy Gayus Dapysfer[2] et Beduerus son eschanson seulement, sy se party de ses tentes et prinst le chemin pour monter sur la montaigne, car sans doubte en lui avoyt tant de vertu et de proesse que il desprisoit et luy sambloit chose illicite de mener son ost contre telz moustres, et se confioyt tant en Dieu que, moyennant son ayde, il luy sambloyt que luy seul souffissoit pour le geant destruire. Et quant ilz furent un pou montez contremont la montaigne, ilz sarresterent et veyrent un petit rochyer, sy ne scavoyt le roy se le geant habitoit en ce lieu, pour quoy il envoya[3] Beduerus adfin den scavoir la verite, lequel se party deulx, mais comme il ne[4] peust aler, pour la mer[5] qui enclooit cestui rochier, il vey un aultre petit tertre de pierre auquel estoit lyee une petite naisselle en laquelle il entra, sy naga jusques a ce rochier auquel il ne pooit paravant aler. Sy commenca a monter au sommet du rochier, et quant il ot[6] un pou monte il oy un ullement de voix de femme moult miserable par samblant, et comme la voix lui feust doubteuze, il commenca en soy a avoir horreur et paour, car il cuidoyt que ce feust un moustre, sy se tint un pou en pensant, puis reprinst cuer et hardement, sy sacha[7] son espee et monta sans delay au sommet de la montaigne, ou il ne vey riens fors tant seulement le rochier que il avoyt veu dembas. Sy commenca a regarder

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[1] *quil.* C.2.
[2] *Dapifer.* B. C.2. *Dapyser.* A.
[3] *il y envoya.* B. C.2.
[4] *ny.* B. C.2.
[5] *marine.* C.2.
[6] *ot un pou monte il oy ung ullement de femme.* B. C.2.
[7] *tira.* C.2.

entour luy et une tombe y vey faitte de nouvel jouste laquelle y seoyt une dame asses anchienne quy plouroyt et se dollousoit[1] moult amerement, laquele tantost comme elle vey le chevalier, laissie son deul, le commenca a araysonner et luy dire en telle maniere: " O tu homme maleureux, plain de maleurete, quele " fortune te conduit et fait embatre en ce lieu mise- " rable raemply de toute amertume, car sy tost " comme le geant quy cy demeure sesveillera il venra " a moy pour adcomplir son delit luxurieux, et syl te " treuve il te occyra et mettra ta noble jouvente a " fin. Vray Dieu! ayes mercy de moy et de cestui " jeune innocent!" Toutesfoys cestuy[2] alors comme ilz parloyent ensemble cellui tresvil[3] homme de merveilleuze et inveue[4] grandeur, geant dyabolicque, estoit absent lequel avoyt la niepce du roy Hoelus, resplendissant par vertus et beaulte corporelle, tres cruellement par tyrannye inhumaine myse a mort, pour ce quelle ne volu consentir a sa voulente maulvaise. "Laquelle;" dyst lanchienne dame, "jay ycy en- " sepvelie et ensepulturee; et moy," dist-elle, "qui estoye " sa nouryce, le desleal geant ma cy liie a lyens de " fer adfin que je ne puisse eschapper; et saces que " sy tost que il venra icy toy-meysmes fera il finer " sans nulle misericorde par tourmens horribles et " non acoustumez, car il a grant tristresse en son ceur " de ce que ma tres noble damoyselle ne luy a ses " delitz[5] charnelz volu adcomplir pour quelconcques " paine que faire luy ay[6] peu. Helas! et qui est le " ceur tant dur qui ne se feust amolli de veoir les " paines quil lui a fait souffrir jusques a la mort? " Et se ne feust la grace de Nostre Seigneur qui la " confortee en tous ses tourmens, je ne croy mye quil

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[1] *se lamentoit moult aigrement.* C.2.
[2] *cestuy.* Omitted in B. C 2.
[3] *terrible.* C.2.
[4] *et non veue et inveue.* B. C.2.
[5] *desirs.* B. C.2.
[6] *ayt.* B. C.2.

" soit possible que la fraisle nature de tes[1] cent " pucelles eust peu soustenir le tierc[2] de la paine quelle " a soustenue. Et certes elle estoyt amye de Dieu et " de ses sains, comme bien y a paru, car jose bien " dire quelle est digne de loenge et miroir de virginite " dessus toutes nobles pucelles. Elle estoit la vye de " mon ceur, ma doulcour[3] et ma joye ; laquelle il na " peu enordir ne envilloner par sa orde crimynelle " luxure, par quoy luy enflambe de feu luxurieux, par " maniere ville et orde a recyter, en moy a par force " adcomply son charnel desir, jen appelle Dieu a tes- " moing, et le temps miserable de ma viellesse. Sic " que, o tu, mon amy, ma vye dolleureuze te soit " exemple de toy saulver ! Hee Dieu ! et que demeu- " res-tu icy ? que songes-tu ? que[4] ne vyses-tu a toy " saulver et sans delay fuir de cy adfin que ta longue[5] " demeure ne te soit occasyon de tourment ? car se le " desmesure geant, moustre par nature, vient[6] cy pour " sa vilipendieuse ordure en moy exerciter, cuides-tu en " vye demourer et quil te laisse quoy ? certes nennil, " ains par mort tres cruelle et abhominable te ac- " raventera." Quant Beduerus eut toutes ces parolles oyes, en tant comme liniquite du lieu et nature en choses doubteuses donnent possibilite, il commenca par parolles doulces et amyables, le mieulx quil polt, a resconforter[7] et apaisier la doleur de la dame en lui prometant secours prochainement, sy se parti atant delle et retourna au roy Artus, a qui il recorda[8] toutes les choses que veues et entendues avoyt. Quant le roy Artus ot entendu le rapport de Beduerus, il gemy durement linfortune de la noble pucelle, sy commanda

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[1] *telz.* B. C.2.
[2] *la tierce partie.* C.2.
[3] *doulceur.* C.2. *doulchour.* B.
[4] *comment.* C.2.
[5] *louenge et.* C.2.
[6] *vient maintenant.* C.2.
[7] *a la resconforter et rappaiser.* C.2.
[8] *racompta.* C.2.

a ses deux compaignons quilz lui laissassent la charge de ceste besongne, et que tout seul se combateroyt ou geant; sy ne voulloyt en nulle maniere quilz luy aydassent[1] silz ne veoyent quil en eust grant necessite; mais se il avenoyt que le pys tournast contre luy quilz le secourussent de tout leur pooir en assaillant le geant vygoureusement. Adont descendyrent tous trois a pie, puis monterent sans demeure sur la grant montaigne, ou Beduerus savoit que le malostru[2] geant habitoyt. Sy aloyt le roy Artus devant a moult grant hardement; sy estoit cellui inhumain geant au feu, qui se chaufoit, et mengoit un grant porc duquel il avoyt ja la pluspart devoure en son corps, et le demourant le rostisoit sur le charbon. Lequel, sytost quil perceupt le roy Artus et ses compaignons, sailly sus tout esbahy pour ce que pas navoyt acoustume que len le venist guerroyer a ceste heure, et prinst une grant machue[3] de fer quil avoit, laquelle eust a malaise este levee de terre par deux fors hommes. Et[4] le roy voyant ce, tira son espee et myst son escu devant luy ainssy comme hastivete le constraingny, car il cuidoit prevenir au geant ainchoys quil peust avoir prinse sa machue; mais le geant, qui congneut la voulente du roy Artus a sa contenance, le prinst et haulcha par sy grant pooir[5] quil frapa tel cop sur lescu du roy Artus que du son du cop tous les rivages de la entour en radentirent,[6] et les oreilles meysmes du roy Artus et de luy en sambloient estre sourdes. Artus, qui avoit senti la pesanteur du cop et la force du geant, plain de aigrete et dyre enflambe drescha son espee de toute sa vertu[7] contre le front du geant, sicque il luy fist une grant playe de laquelle le sang commenca a raiier sy radement quil lui couvroit les yeulx et la

[1] *aydassent au moins.* C.2.
[2] *mauvais.* C.2.
[3] *massue.* C.2.
[4] *Mais.* C.2.
[5] *pooir.* C.2. *paour.* A. B.
[6] *redentirent.* B. *retentirent.* C.2.
[7] *vigeur.* C.2.

fache; et se neust este quil avoit mise sa machue au-devant du cop,[1] qui la radeur de lespee entrerompy, il eust este mort sans remede de ce horion. Mais quant le geant se senti ainssy feru et aveugle, il reprinst en soy hardement, sy fut plus aigre et plus horrible que devant, ainssy comme le saingler, lequel quant il a este chassies est si cruel quil ne doubte point soy aler ferir[2] en lespieu du veneur; aussy ce geant se bouta parmy lespee du roy, sy se coupla a lui et le fist par vive force flechir les genoulx a terre; mais le roy du honte quil ot de ce quil sestoit agenouillie par la force du geant sailly sus isnellement, et reprinse vertu il commenca a maillier fraper et estechier[3] sy continuellement que le geant navoyt loisir de soy tourner ne vyser,[4] et ne cessa le roy jusques ad ce quil ot celluy parvers tirant navre de mortelle playe, et puis lui coppa la teste; mais quant[5] le roy lui bailla le cop mortel,[6] il crya sy abhominablement quil sambloit proprement que tous les vens feussent assamblez en ce lieu. Quant le geant fut mort, le roy dyst a ses deux compaignons: " Faites paix! Je vous " dy certainement que homme ne vey oncques de sy " grant vertu ne sy puissant que cestuy estoit, fors " Rychonne le geant qui nestoit pas de moindre,"— lequel il avoyt occys en la montaigne Armo, ou il lavoit semons a bataille. Cestuy Rychonne avoit tant occys de puissans roys, et avec ce desconfit et mate que de leurs barbes il avoyt fait peaux pour soy afeuller[7] es grans festes. Lequel Richonne avoit mande au roy Artus quil escorchast[8] tantost sa barbe se[9] lui envoyast, et que ainssy comme il estoit souverain roy

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[1] *de lespee.* C.2.
[2] *fourrer.* C.2.
[3] *et estechier.* Omitted in C.2.
[4] *vyrer.* B. *virer.* C.2.
[5] Omitted in C.2.
[6] *dont il crya.* C.2.
[7] *affuller.* B. *affubler.* C.2.
[8] *lui acourchast.* C.2.
[9] *sy.* C.2.

de tous les terriens, aussy mettroit-il sa barbe dessus toutes les barbes des aultres roys que concquis avoyt, pour lonneur et amour de lui, et que se ainssy ne le vouloyt faire quil sappareillast de ses armes et se venist combatre a luy, car il le deffioyt et provocquoyt a bataille par tel couvenant que cellui qui auroyt victoire emportast les peaulx et la barbe de laultre. Sy se combaty[1] Artus a lui, et le vaincqui et emporta ses despouilles et ses barbes, sicque Artus depuis quil avoyt victorie[2] cestui Richonne, il navoit veu nul sy fort geant comme estoit cellui que a present il avoyt mate et occys. Apres ceste sa belle victoire lui et ses compaignons atout la teste du geant avant le definement de la nuit sen retournerent en ses[3] tentes, sicques tantost quilz y furent venus,[4] sa victoire dywlguee, les chevaliers a grans routes venoient a ses tentes en le honnourant et loant de sa belle victoire merveilleuze, par laquelle il avoit delivre le pays de sy grant tourment. Mais le roy Hoelus sur toute riens estoit triste et doulent du cas de sa niepce de son infortunite et mort piteuse et cruelle, sy fist ediffyer une belle voulte dessus le corps de sa niepce, laquelle prinst le nom de la vierge[5] qui dessoubz estoit ensepvelie, et ancores lui dure a present,[6] cest a scavoir la voulte du tombeau Helaine.

Comment le roy Artus ala au-devant des Rommains, et comment les legatz commencerent premiers la bataille. Le Chapitre XXIX.

En ce lieu sejourna le roy Artus tant que tous ses princes et la quantite de gens que promis avoyent de

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[1] *se combatirent enssamble, mais Artus.* B. *le roy Artus.* C.2.
[2] *ot victoire de.* C.2.
[3] *leurs.* B. C.2.
[4] *quil y fut arrivez et sa.* B.
[5] *dame.* C.2.
[6] *jusques a present.* B. C.2.

amener furent tous arrivez, puis se desloga et commenca a errer contre les Rommains, lesquelz, comme on luy avoyt nunchie, estoyent empres la ville de Ostum[1] en Bourgongne, ou ilz avoyent fichye leurs tentes de coste le fleuve dAlbe, sy avoyent leur ost moult renforchye de palliz, de fossez et de chasteaulx de boiz, et luy fut dyt en oultre que ilz estoient sy grant peuple que cestoit chose comme incrable[2] et lui seroit fort de resister a eulz. Neantmoins ce ne polt esbahir le noble corage du roy Artus ne lui faire en riens muer son emprynse, ains dyst a ceulx[3] qui ces nouvelles lui aporterent que il scavoit bien quilz estoient grant nombre de gens et beaucoup plus quilz ne disoient, " Mais," dist Artus, " la victoire ne gyst pas du tout en " multitude, ains certes est plus es chevaliers esleus et " exercitez ou uzitez en industrie darmes, lesquelz ne " sont mie en lost rommain, car long repos les a amolliez, " et rendus imbecilles et foibles a soubstenir les faix de " bataille, et aussy la pluspart de eulx sont Indois et " barbariens qui nont nul hardement envers ceulx que " la vertu des dextres de mes chevaliers a aulcunesfoiz " sous mon conduit victoriez." Toutes choses diligamment considerees, le roy Artus hasta son ost,[4] adfin de occuper aulcun lieu ydonie sur[5] la ditte riviere ou les Rommains estoient logies, ainssy comme on luy avoit rapporte.

Sy exploita tant en pou de terme que il arriva au[6] fleuve, dessus lequel assizes ses tentes et toutes choses en son ost bien ordonnees de fossez et cloysons et deffences, il cercha dilligamment la contree adfin de trouver place propice pour lui faire ediffyer deux ou troix chasteaulx tout en un pour soy recuellir dedens se necessite le constraingnoit ad ce, sicque, le lieu

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[1] *dOstung.* C.2.
[2] *increable.* B. C.2.
[3] *aux hommes.* C.2.
[4] *erre.* B. C.2.
[5] *sus.* C.2.
[6] *au dit.* B. C.2.

trouve et la matiere aprestee pour[1] la grant multitude de son ost, ilz furent en brief terme ediffyes, et lors ce fait par le commun acord de ses barons il tramist trois legalz a lempereur rommain, cest a scavoir, Gerinus conte de Chartres, Bessonus de Monthfort, et Gavain son nepveu, lesquelz, tantost quilz furent venus en lost rommain, furent menes a lempereur Lucius Hiberii. Sy lui exposerent comment le roy Artus les avoit illec envoyes pour lui denunchier que tantost et sans delay il volsist transporter son ost hors des metes des terres du pays de France lequel estoit en sa juridiction et seignourie, comme il leust concquis par puissance darmes sur les Rommains mesmement ainssi que aultresfois il avoit fait sur les Gaullois ; sicque plus grant action y avoit il que eulx comme il le possedast paisiblement par le consentement de tous les princes et peuples de Gaulle, ou aultrement se partir ne se voloit, lintention du roy Artus estoit de la deffendre par celle meismes vertu et puissance darmes par laquelle concquise lavoit, et lui mandoit[2] bataille au jour ensievant, sicque cellui a qui Dieu en volroit donner la victoire eust la seignourie de Gaulle.

Apres ce que les legatz du roy[3] eurent fait bien et deuement leur legation ainssy comme il appartenoit et chargie leur estoit, Quintilien, qui estoit ordonne gouverneur sur toutes les provinces de Gaulle par le decret du senat, et avoit ceste legation moult contre ceur, commenca a parler apres ce quilz orent leur parolle finee, et en ceste maniere a improperer, cest a dire a blasmer et dire aux Bretons maintes villonnyes, disant en effect que les Bretons habondoient[4] plus en orgueil et manaces de parolles que en preudhommie

[1] *par.* B. C.2.
[2] *demandoit.* C.2.
[3] *roy Artus.* B. C.2.
[4] *habondoient.* B. C.2. *habandonnoient.* A.

darmes ou en hardiesse. Quant Gavain entendy les reproces et les villonnies que cellui leur disoit, a ceste cause enflambe dire ne se polt abstenir quil ne sachast [1] son espee, de laquelle il getta un grant cop sur cestui Quintilien, sy lui coppa la teste, puis fist voye de sa ditte espee a lui et a ses compagnons, et en rompant la presse vindrent a leurs gens qui gardoient leurs chevaux, voulsissent ou non les Rommains, sy monterent dessus; mais les Rommains grandement troublez les commencerent a siever, les ungz a pie, les aultres a cheval, sy comme la hastivete de la besongne leur souffroit, ad fin quilz vengassent la mort de Quintilien au sang de tous les legatz qui senfuioient a force de chevaulx. Mais neantmoins les Rommains tant que couroux plus les esmouvoit se hasterent a force de leurs chevaulx, sicque lun entre les aultres qui mieulx montez estoit les attaingny et frapa Gerinus, conte de Chartres, en le poulsant par derriere; mais il se tourna soubdainement, la lance ou poing, et lempaigny ou corps du Rommain par tel vigeur quil le reversa tout mort sur la terre, et Boso, le conte de Montfort, qui ce cop avoit veu, commenca en soy forment a loer la proesse et preudhommie du conte Gerinus, et desira forment de ainssy faire, car eulx trois et tous leurs gens estoient armez pres [2] pour combatre, exepte que a lentree des tentes rommaines ilz avoyent laissies leurs lances, leurs escus et leurs heaulmes a leurs escuiers, lesquelz quant ilz veyrent leurs seigneurs ainssy hastez les adouberent hastivement. Sy laissa Bozo courre son destrier contre cellui qui de plus pres les sievoit,[3] lequel il ataingny de la lance dans la bouce, sicque il le percha tout oultre, et chey mort a la reverse;[4] puis apres frapa Cabellus, qui de pres le poursievoit, sy le navra morteillement, pour quoy les compaignons qui ce vey-

[1] *tirast.* C.2.
[2] *prestz.* B. C.2.
[3] *sievoit.* B. C.2. *sievoient.* A.
[4] *renverse par terre.* C.2.

rent neurent talent de lapprochier. Et entretant Marcellus Nucius, qui grant desir avoit de vengier Quintilien,[1] a consievy Gavain, sy le tiroit ruddement par derriere quant Gavain, qui estoit un des vaillans chevaliers du monde, car pour celle cause le bon pape Suspicius[2] qui par espirit de prophetie avoit congneu la grant proesse qui en lui debvoit estre, lavoit fait de sa propre main chevalier, et renvoye au roy Artus en Bretaigne, lequel le luy avoit tramis jeune enfant pour le faire clercq. Sy se retourna Gavain encontre Marcellus, et lui bailla tel cop[3] de son espee quil tenoit a deux mains, que non obstant son heaulme et ses aultres armeures il le fendy du sommet de la teste jusques en la poitrine, et lui dist en frapant quil denoncast a Quintilien, quant il seroit en enfer avec lui, que les Bretons habondent en tel orgueil et en telles manaches. Puis, ce fait, rassambla Gavain toutes ses gens entour lui, sy les admonesta par briefves parolles, comme la hastivete de la besongne le requeroit, de deffendre vigoureusement leur pays et leurs vies saulver, et que chascun selon son povoir se penast de envahir les[4] ennemys ainssy que il avoyt fait devant leurs yeulx. Sy retournerent trestous selon son commandement, et abati[5] chascun le sien ; mais les Rommains non obstant que de grant ceur[6] les envahyssent ne les porent remuer de dessus[7] leurs archons, ains rompoient leurs lances. Quant chascun eut employe sa lance, les Bretons sacherent leurs espees et se deffendoient comme sainglers en eulx tousjours retraiant, non mye par fuite tumultueuze, mais par pas serrez, en detrenchant leurs ennemis qui les approchoient, et tant se retrairent les Bretons par la flote des

[1] *Quintilien.* B. C.2. *Quitilien.* A.
[2] *Supplicius.* C.2.
[3] *et lui donna tel horion de lespee.* C.2.
[4] *leurs.* C.2.
[5] *abatirent.* C.2.
[6] *par grant courage.* C.2.
[7] *dessur.* C.2.

Rommains qui tousjours croyssoient, quilz vindrent jusques a une forest en laquelle six mille Bretons sestoient embuschies et unis, quant ilz avoient oy dire lassault des legatz, car ils estoient par[1] le roy Artus envoyez en fourage. Sy estoient par adventure venus a eulx aulcuns des gens messire Gavain, qui leur avoient conte laffaire ; les quelz sy tost quilz veyrent les leurs entrer en la forest saillirent de tous costez sus aux[2] Rommains, qui sans ordonnance poursievoient les legatz, les lances es poingz et les escus aux colz en poingnant les chevaulx des esperons a tres grans crys et clamours, des quelz les Bretons de premiere venue occyrent la plus grant partie, et les aultres voyant ce retournerent tout court vers les tentes,[3] mais pour tant ne cesserent mie les Bretons de les poursievir et detrenchier, sicque les ungz ilz prenoient prisonniers et les aultres faisoient finer par glave en faisant deulx merveilleuze occysion. Laquelle male adventure denoncherent les fuians a Petreius, senateur de Romme, qui avoit soubz sa baniere quinze mille[4] hommes armez ; sy se hasta le plus quil polt pour ses gens secourir et coure[5] sus aux Bretons qui poursievoient les Rommains, atout ses chevaliers qui frecz et reposez estoient ; sy en occyst pluiseurs et les aultres constraingny de rentrer en la forest dont ilz estoient issus, laquelle chose toutesfois il ne fist mye sans grant perte de ses chevaliers, car les Bretons la ou ilz venoient en lieux estrois et ou ilz veoient leur advantage retournoient contre leurs ennemys, sy faisoient deulx grant et merveilleuze occysion, sicque il les convenoyt souvent retraire et fuir, laquelle fuite doubloit leur hardement. En ceste bataille y eult grant occision et eust adont la grant vigeur et

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[1] *par.* B. C.2. *pour.* A.
[2] *sur les.* C.2.
[3] *tentes Rommaines.* C.2.
[4] *dix mille.* B. C.2.
[5] *courut.* B. C.2.

chevalerie des Bretons recouvree leur bataille, se neust[1] este une nouvel ayde de cincq mille hommes qui sourvint aux Rommains, lesquelz sans delay se ferirent en la meslee, pourquoy le capleis[2] encommenca plus grant que devant. Mais les Bretons, ce non obstant, resistoient aigrement par souveraine vertu, car tous ceulx qui les dos avoient tournes paravant estoient venus[3] a la bataille, sicque il sambloit que nouvelle ayde leur feust venue, et prindrent[4] le corage par lequel en tant[5] dures batailles ilz avoient este victorieux, sicque ilz faisoient grant mortalite de leurs ennemys; et les Rommains par opposite, qui estoient bien six contre un se combatoient aussy par bonne ordonnance moult asprement, sicque de nulle part on ny reculloit. Les[6] Bretons, qui de nulle chose ne sadvisoient fors de mater et occyre leurs ennemys, adfin de eschapper de cellui doubteux debat mettoient de toute leur affection leur force et vertu a donner grans copz;[7] pourquoy ilz ne tenoient ainssy comme nul ordre de bataille, mais se combatoient et embatoient parmy les ennemys sans preveoir quelconcque voye de salut, sy en moroit grant foison; mais les Rommains se combatoient trop plus cauteleusement, car Cocta les conduissoit et gouvernoit, lequel comme sage duc et instruit en lart bellicque enseignoit ses Rommains et aydoit, sicque quant il veoit advantage il faisoit assaillir les Bretons, ou aultrement faisoit retraire ses Rommains tant quil veoit sa queue liure, et par ceste maniere se rafreschissoient les Rommains, sicque ilz inferoient aux Bretons moult grant dhommage. Laquelle chose percheut Bosonus, le comte de Montfort, sy

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[1] *se ne feust une.* B. C.2.
[2] *capleys.* B. *chappleis.* C.2.
[3] *acourus comme gens forsenez.* B. C.2.
[4] *reprindrent.* B. C.2.
[5] *tant de.* B. C.2.
[6] *Les.* B. C.2. *Ces.* A.
[7] *horions.* C.2.

advisa entre ses compaignons ceulx quil congnoissoit estre les plus preux, lesquelz il joigny a lui ainssy comme par maniere dune nouvelle eschielle, en les admonestant de bien faire, disant en ceste maniere: " Nous avons," dist-il, " commencee ceste bataille sans " le sceu et licence du roy Artus, nostre seigneur, " pourquoy a nous est[1] a prendre garde que de " ceste meslee ne decheons, car se le reproce[2] de " la desconfiture se tourne sur nous, ce sera en tres " grant vitupere et merveilleuze occysion de nos " chevaliers, et sy esmouverons les Rommains telle- " ment en hardiesse que la fin de nostre roy et de " nostre liberte sera venue. [3]O vous, mes amys[4] " et compaignons, vostre force reprenez et[5] vostre " hardement, sy me sieves et envahissons les ca- " therves des Rommains, adfin que se fortune le per- " met et nous veult donner ayde nous mettons a " mort Petreyus,[6] le consul qui par son industrie " darmes et grant providence gouverne ainssy noz " ennemys." Et apres celle briefve exortation hurta le cheval des esperons, sy le syevirent tous les Bretons quil avoyt esleus, sicque ilz rompirent les rencz des Rommains par leur impetueulz assault en faisant grant occysion, et ne tiroit le comte Bozo a aultre chose que de parvenir au lieu ou Petreyus[7] estoit, sy se combati tant quil parvint jusques au dyt Petreyus, lequel il prinst par le col et le versa a terre; mais il chut sur lui, car ainssy lavoyt il paravant emprins; sy commenca entre eulx deux la merlee dure et aspre. Les Rommains pour leur duc remonter y coururent de toutes pars, et les Bretons qui grant joye avoyent du

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[1] *pourquoy avons a.* C.2.
[2] *responce.* C.2.
[3] *Prenez doncques, O vous.* B. C.2.
[4] *chevalliers.* C.2.
[5] *et* omitted in B. C.2.
[6] *Petreyus.* B. C.2. *Preteyus.* A.
[7] *Petreyus le consul estoit.* B. *Petreyus consul Romain estoit.* C.2.

duc Petreyus rompoient les ordres des ennemys, sy aydoient le mieulx quilz pooient au comte Bozo, sicque sur les deux chevaliers qui a terre estoient sy grans clamours et sy merveilleuzes occysions [1] se faisoient que a paines est il creable ; et estoit la presse sy grande que a paines povoient ilz fraper lun laultre, car les Rommains rendoient grant paine pour leur duc delivrer, et [2] les Bretons resistoient de tout leur pouvoir adfin quil feust retenus, sicque tant de playes y estoient donnees et recheuptes [3] que merveilles estoit, et la perdirent maintz chevaliers et vaillans hommes leurs vyes. Sy eust on peu veoir qui y feust mainte hache [4] et mainte espee ensanglantees a la terre gesir, et maintz chevaliers de haulte proesse qui par force de glave faisoient voye entour eulx ; mais finablement les Bretons rompirent les ordres des catherves rommaines par envahyes impetueuses, sy entrerent tous au fort lez de leur bataille avec le comte Bosonus. Et lors Petreyus se rendy prisonnier, de quoy les Bretons furent grandement resvigourez, sy envahyrent les ennemys privez de leur duc plus aigrement que devant en les hastant durement, par quoy ilz ne se scavoient de quel coste tourner, car ilz estoient grandement lassez et debilitez du pesant estour que maintenu avoient toute la journee dont les pluiseurs estoient navrez angoiseuzement, sicque puissance de povoir resister leur estoit faillie, pourquoy ils tournerent les dos en fuiant vers leurs tentes par sy grant tourbe [5] et tumulte que les ungz faisoient les aultres verser, mais ce en saulva pluiseurs que les Bretons lassez laisserent la poursieute a cause que empeschies estoient de

[1] *tant grant clamour et sy grant occysion.* C.2.
[2] *mais.* C.2.
[3] *recheus.* B. C.2.
[4] *y eust este maintes haches.* C.2.
[5] *tourbe et multitude de tumulte que les autres faisoient vers leurs tentes leurs compaignons verser, mais sen saulva assez que.* C.2.

la proie recuellir. Toutesfois ce non obstant sy en prindrent ilz pluiseurs et les mors despouillierent, sy ravirent en peu dheure tout le butin et les prisonniers misrent a chemin. Puis a grant leesse en loant Bozo qui de sy grant peril les avoyt gettez par son engin victorieuzement, ilz arriverent es chasteaulx que le roy Artus avoit fait bastir et ediffyer, comme il a este dyt cydevant, pour la sceurete et protection de lui et de son ost sur la riviere dAlbe ou ses tentes estoient fichyes ou assises ; sy furent receus de tous a grant honneur et presenterent au roy Artus Petreyus Cocta le senateur rommain et tous les aultres prisonniers, qui les receupt a grant leesse de corage et loa grandement le comte Bosonus et les aultres qui a cest estour avoient este preudhommes et vaillans champions, en eulx rendant graces de ce que sy vaillamment ilz avoient en son absence commencye la meslee sy honnourablement, car il lui sambloit, et verite estoit, que les Bretons en seroient plus doubtez des Rommains, leurs mortelz ennemys. Pour lesquelles choses remerir il leur donna pluiseurs beaulx dons, et oultre leur promist grans augmentations de provinces. Puis tantost apres il fist [1] amener devant lui Petreyus Cocta et les aultres prisonniers, sy ordonna Cador de Cornubye, Beduerus de Northmandye, et deulx consulz insulaires, cest a scavoir, Ritherith et Borellus, pour mener les dis prisonniers a saulvete, si leur bailla quinze mille hommes pour les conduire [2] jusques a Paris, adfin que se [3] dadventure les Rommains estoient [4] de leur partement advertis et vouloyent leurs gens rescourre, ilz par puissance darmes les peussent deffendre et obvier au tumulte des Rommains.

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[1] *comanda amener devant lui Petreyus le consul Rommain.* C.2.

[2] *parconduire.* B. C.2.

[3] *se.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.

[4] *estoient.* B. C.2. *et estoient.* A.

Comment les Bretons qui conduissoient leurs prisonniers vers Paris a quinze mille hommes armez desconfirent vingt mille Rommains qui les guettoient en une embusce. LE CHAPITRE XXX^e^.

AINSSY comme le roy Artus lavoit ymagine en advint, car les Rommains par leurs espies furent advertis[1] de tout lappareil que le dyt roy avoit ordonne pour conduire les prisonniers, comme oy avez, et le nombre des gens darmes et les noms des ducz qui les debvoient mener. Lesquelles choses venues a la congnoissance de lempereur Lucius, il esleut en tout son ost vingt mille hommes des plus proescheux pour ceste besongne achever, ausquelz il commanda de partir la nuit enseivant, et aler par lieux umbrages et tenebreux adfin de parvenir[2] aux Bretons. Les cappitaines de Bretaigne qui lendemain[3] estoient ordonnez a partir exploiterent leurs besongnes tellement que nulle deffaulte ny eut en leur fait. Avant le partement de ces vingt mille Rommains, lempereur leur ordonna de eslire tel cappitaine[4] que bon leur sambloit,[5] laquelle chose il faisoit adfin que soubz le conduit des cappitaines que ilz esliroient ilz feussent plus preux, mieulx duis et examinez. Sy esleurent deux senateurs rommains, cest a scavoir Wiltellium[6] Catellum et Quintium Carutium; et deux rois, cest a scavoir Euander roy de Sirie et Sortorius roy de Libie; puis prindrent sans demeure leur voye parmy lobscurete de la nuyt par boiz et vallees, costoiant tousjours le chemin par ou ilz extimoient que les Bretons passeroient, lesquelz comme ilz avoient comprins se partirent le matin a banieres desployes de lost du roy Artus, leurs prisonniers avec eulx; sy prindrent le chemin le plus droit quilz

[1] *adcertenez.* C.2.
[2] *prevenir.* B. *parvenir ou prevenir.* C.2.
[3] *lendemain au matin.* B.
[4] *tels cappitaines.* C.2.
[5] *sambleroit.* C.2.
[6] *Vitellium.* C.2.

peurent vers Paris ; sy neurent mie gramment chemine quant les Rommains saillirent sur eulx de toutes pars et en occyrent pluiseurs a leur premiere venue, car les Bretons chevauchoient espars sans ordre comme ceulx qui ne se doubtoient pas dembusche. Toutesfois neantmoins que en chose sy doubteuze paour eust envahy les premiers Bretons, leurs ducz les admonesterent de resister, et endementiers ilz ordonnerent leurs eschielles et misrent bonnes gardes sur les prisonniers dont estoient chevetains Beduerus et Ritherith,[1] et sur les combatans Cador de Cornubie et Borellus. Adoncques ces ordonnances ainssy faittes, les Bretons courageusement resisterent aux Rommains qui tumultueuzement et sans ordre de bataille en grant haste leur avoient couru sus, eux confians en leurs proesses et en leur grant nombre, sy estoit loccysion moult grande de tous costez. Mais les Rommains qui tous estoient chevaliers [2] esleus se combatoient moult asprement et eussent sans doubte recouvre leurs prisonniers et tous les Bretons occys se fortune dadventure ne leur eust hastivement envoye secours, lequel estoit par eulx moult desire ; car il advint que Guitard, duc de Poitou, qui par ses espies avoit sceu lemprinse [3] des Rommains, prinst avec lui trois mille hommes darmes, sy leur vint hastivement en ayde et se feri soubdainement entre les Rommains, a laquelle envahye cheurent maint homme par terre qui oncques puis ne se releverent.

Quant les Bretons apperceurent quilz estoient secourus, tous reprindrent en eulx hastivement courage et hardement en envahissant sy raddement leurs ennemys quen briefve espace [4] ilz eurent le meilleur ; mais ce ne fut mie sans grant perte de chevaliers preux et hardis, car le duc du Maulz [5] y fut navrez a mort, aussy

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[1] *Kitherith.* A. B. C.2.
[2] *hommes.* C.2.
[3] *lemprinse darmes que les Rommains avoient fait sur Bretons.* C.2.
[4] *temps.* C.2.
[5] *Mans.* C.2.

fut le consul Borellus qui avoit au commencement de lestour rompue sa lance contre le roy Euander de Sirie. Oultre ce y perdirent les Bretons quattre aultres nobles barons,[1] Irrelgas de Pareriin,[2] Manoisse[3] de Cardoricanense,[4] Allyduc de Tantagol[5] et le filz de Idel, lesquelz certes estoient preux et hardis a merveilles; et toutesfois ne furent ilz mie occys par eulx habandonner trop follement entre leurs ennemys, mais sans doubte en leur renc[6] ou ilz avoient este ordonnez pour garder les prisonniers en resistant par force darmes aux Rommains. Finablement comme les Rommains eussent commencie a perdre terre, les Bretons resvigourez par layde a eulx sourvenue[7] et parce quilz veyrent[8] reculler leurs ennemys furent plus aspres que au commencement; sy ne porrent les Rommains soustenir leur effort, ains tournerent le dos enfuiant vers leurs tentes, mais ilz furent vigoureusement poursyevis, sy ne cessa la chasse jusques ad ce quilz eurent occys Wltellium,[9] le senateur Rommain et le roy Euander de Sirie, en detrenchant et discipant aussy les aultres, sicque peu en y ot de saulvez. Et furent les prisonniers menes[10] a Paris soubz seure garde, et le roy Artus qui moult fut resjouy quant il sceult ladventure de ceste double victoire rémunera grandement les vaillans chevaliers[11] qui a ceste besongne avoient este.

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[1] *barons cest ascavoir Irelgas.* B. C.2.
[2] *Pareriin.* B. *Parrarim.* C.2.
[3] *Maurisse.* C.2.
[4] *Cadoricanense.* B. C.2.
[5] *Tintagol.* B. C.2.
[6] *rencq.* C.2.
[7] *sourvenue.* B. *survenue.* C.2.
[8] *aucunement.* C.2.
[9] *Witellium.* B. *Vitellium.* C.2.
[10] *menes.* C.2. Omitted in A.B.
[11] *nobles hommes.* C.2.

Comment lempereur Rommain deguerpy ses tentes pour aler a Ostum, et comment le roy Artus lui vint[1] *audevant en une vallee ou*[2] *il ordonna ses batailles.* LE CHAPITRE XXXI[e].

COMME doncques par ces choses les Rommains[3] feussent en esperance de plus grant victoire, pourceque fortune par deux fois les avoit ainssy eslevez triumphamment, Lucius Hyberius, lempereur Rommain, en estoit plain de cures et de sollicitude en son ceur, nonobstant que au dehors en tant[4] dadversitez il se portast moult atempreement, sy avoit il son courage tourmente par diverses vexations maintenant en pensant un et tantost aultre, sicque il ne scavoit ou soy arrester pour le mieulx et pensoit sil lui estoit expedient ou quil se combatist a Artus atout ses copies, ou quil se retrahyst[5] en la cite de Ostum, ou quil envoiast devers Leon, son compaignon, empereur de Ytalie, quil envoyast ayde a la chose publicque rommaine. Sy trouva en soy que lun de ces troiz chemins lui convenoit[6] tenir, sicque enfin pour le plus sceur a son advis il se delibera de guerpir secretement ses tentes et soy transporter a Ostum ; mais certainement ceste chose fut denunchye au roy Artus, lequel desiroit moult la bataille pour ses chevaliers qui estoient encoragies de bien combatre a cause de ce que fortune les avoit ja sy bien aydiet[7] par deux fois. Sy se parti Artus en la premiere heure de nuyt et exploita tant quil vint en une vallee appellee Siesia, par ou il convenoit Lucius passer ; et quant il fut la venu, il commenca a ordonner ses batailles dilligamment, sy en fist huit, en chascune

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[1] *ala.* B. *alla.* C.2.
[2] *la ou.* C.2.
[3] *Rommains.* A. B. *Bretons* written over an erasure in C.2.
[4] *au tamps daversite.* C.2.
[5] *rentrast dedens.* C.2.
[6] *conviendroit.* C.2.
[7] *aidez.* B. *aidie.* C.2.

desquelles il mist quinze mille et quinze cens hommes; puis ordonna ses aydes de gens de cheval au dextre coste, et au senestre il mist sa bataille pedestre de peons et bruigans legierement armez. Puis ordonna une legion de gens esleus, laquelle il charga a Morvid,[1] le consul de Clocestre, homme preu et hardy,[2] plain de prudence[3] bellicque, auquel il commanda que il ne se joingnist[4] a nul ordre, mais courust ca et la sus auz ennemys partout ou il veoit les Bretons reculler[5] et avoir du pis.[6] Puis donna un signe entre ceulx de pie et de cheval que la ou les chevaucheurs verroient mouvoir la bataille pedestre et aler envahir les ennemis, que ceulx soudainement par voye oblicque et travesamble[7] se frapassent soudainement en la plus grant presse des ennemys en desrompant et discipant leur ordre; et estoit la bataille de pie rengie selon la maniere des Bretons dez le coing senestre jusques aupres du dextre par samblant dune station quarree sur laquelle furent mis deux cappitaines, hommes soubztilz et advisez en fais de guerre, cest a scavoir Cador de Cornubye ou coing dextre, et Aneleseth roy de Albanie ou lez senestre. Sur la seconde bataille furent assignes deux vaillans contes, cest a scavoir Gerinus comte de Chartres et Bosonus, comte de Richedent et de Monthfort, qui en langue saxonnicque estoit appelle Exinceford. A la tierche furent baillies chevetains Sineachil roy de Dace et Loth le roy de Norguegye. La quarte conduiserent le roy Hoelus de Armoricque-Bretaigne et Gavain nepveu du roy Artus. Apres ces quattre batailles ordonnees en ordonna le roy Artus quattre aultres desquelles conduisirent la premiere Queux le seneschal et Beduerus duc de Northmandye; la seconde mist Artus au conduit de Holdenius roy des Ruthenes et

[1] *Norivd.* C.2.
[2] *vaillant.* C.2.
[3] *proesse.* C.2.
[4] *sadjoingnist.* C.2.
[5] *aucunement reculler.* C.2.
[6] *pieur.* C.2.
[7] *traversalle.* B. C.2.

de Guitard duc de Poitou ; de la tierche furent chevetains Vigenis de Legestrie et un noble consul avec lui ; et la quarte conduisy Urgenius de Bandonne.[1] Apres ces batailles ordonnees le roy Artus esleut un lieu convenable pour sa bataille au millieu de tous pour la fichier sa baniere ou estoit un dragon dor empaint, adfin que les latz[2] et les navrez se venissent la reposer et a refuge se necessite[3] leur estoit. Laquelle bataille commenca[4] convenablement il ferma par helles[5] a dextre et a senestre comme il appartenoit ; en laquelle bataille avoit soixante et six mille hommes darmes. Apres toutes lesquelles ordonnances il cercha tous les rencz adfin que nulle chose appartenant a bataille ny feust oubliee par negligence, puis retourna a sa bataille.

Comment Artus admonesta sagement ses chevaliers de bien combatre pour deffendre leur pais et leur liberte. LE CHAPITRE XXXIIe.

APRES ce que le noble roy Artus eut fait comme un bon duc ce que en cas si soubmis a fortune est acoustume de faire, cest par bon art et sage providence instituer ses batailles, il commenca ses chevaliers a haulte voix admonester et exorter en la maniere qui cy apres sensieult: " O vous," dist il, " Mes chevaliers et mes compaignons " qui de tant de royaulmes et provinces avez fait " Bretaigne estre dame et souveraine, je certes mesjouis " et eslece moult en vos proesses et preudhommies " darmes que je ne porroye certes extimer ne penser a " nulle force deffaillir, ains lespoire je de plus en plus " tousjours florir et enforchier ; et nonobstant que

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[1] *Badonne.* B. C.2.
[2] *las.* B. C.2.
[3] *se necessite de bataille les y constraignoit.* B. C.2.
[4] *commenca* omitted in B. C.2.
[5] *esles.* C.2.

" les [1] repos de cinq ans passez ait vos dextres et vos
" courages soubstrais des ars bellicques, et plus aiiez [2]
" vacquie es delices mondaines que lart de chevalerie
" exercite, sy extime je impossible estre de perir la
" bonte naturelle en laquelle vous estes nesz et esleus
" sur tous ceulx du monde en hardiesse et proesse
" chevalereuze. Hee! doncques estes-vous degeneres? [3]
" ne sievez-vous mie les traches de vos peres? certes
" ouil vous estes ceulx meismes en qui reluist la bonte
" anchienne par qui tant de pays et peuples ont este
" par nous a vostre ayde [4] soubmis, qui ancores lautrier
" repoulsastes les Rommains par fuite vytuperable, les-
" quelz habondent trop plus en aiguillonnemens pre-
" somptueux dorguel et proditions tumultueuses que
" en proesse de bataille, lesquelz tendent et affectu-
" eusement desirent nous desnuer de nostre liberte,
" sy ont transportes leurs ostz dYtalie et de devers
" royaulmes dOrient en nos contrees pour nous inferer
" bataille, et ja par deux fois, Dieu mercy, ont sentu [5]
" les forces britonicques a leur tres grant dhommage
" et ancores oultre refroidies par paour de leurs em-
" prins sen fuient a garant es cytez comme exsti-
" mans de non povoir resister a leurs puissances
" contre les nostres, vituperablement, sicque tantost
" leur ost laissees leurs tentes vagues, sen enterra [6] ou
" vous leur serez alencontre et les desconfirez, Dieu
" en ayde. Sy seres seigneurs des grans richesses
" dont leurs sommiers sont moult chergies. Et certes
" ilz seront desconfis et mates a pou de fait comme
" bestes despourveues et sourprinses es lacz,[7] car de ceste
" nostre emprinse ilz ne scevent [8] riens. Haa! quant

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[1] *le.* B. C.2.
[2] *aies.* C.2.
[3] *gens de guerre.* C.2.
[4] *par nous et par vostre aide.* B. C.2.
[5] *sentues.* C.2. *scenty.* B.
[6] *sen entreront la*, written on erasure in C.2.
[7] *las.* B. *laz.* C.2.
[8] *scurent.* B.

" je me[1] ramenbre la lascete de leurs courages or-
" gueilleux qui dOrient sont venus sur nous adfin de
" imposer a nostre pays liberal le joucq de perpetuelle
" servitude et nous faire leurs tributaires, je suis
" sans doubte en mon ceur plain de cuisances a pou
" a moy intollerables. Comment porteroient ilz elles[2]
" batailles que vous es pais de Dace, de Norguegie et
" de Gaulle avez souffertes et portees en les victo-
" riant en sy grant gloire de triumphe contre leurs
" ducz exercitez en toutes industriez batilleresses,
" et mesmes en Gaulle leur legat Frolles destruit[3]
" et les provinces dicelles soubstraites par vertu
" darmez de leur subgection et mises en ma juri-
" diction. Hee! doncques se par vostre vigeur et
" contencions bellicques sy briefves, sy griefves et sy
" grandes victoires avez tousjours eues, en ceste
" guerre[4] que feres-vous fors acquerir honneur et gloire
" de triumphe. Certes ce obtendres vous se par com-
" mune affection et une mesmes voulente nous voulons
" labourer par nos forces et opprimer ces ennemis qui
" en comparasion de nous ne sont ainssy que demy
" hommes, et de ceste victoire honneur et grant bien
" vous possiderez[5] se vous tous, mes chevaliers, a ma
" voulente et commandemens obeissies, car ceulx-cy
" desconfis nous transporterons nos effors a Romme,
" laquelle sera nostre a pou de contention, comme pres-
" ques toute sa force soit en cestui ost ennemy. Et,
" prinse Romme, vous estes seigneurs des ricesses de
" tout le monde que tous les peuples de la terre y ont
" assembles. Et que dirai-je des pallaix royaulx et
" imperiaulx flamboyans par or et pierres precieuses,
" maisons, tours, cytez et richesses innumerables? certes
" de tout serez victorieux et seigneurs." Et comme

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[1] *je ramembre.* B. C.2.
[2] *Comment ygnorent ilz les grans batailles.* B. C.2.
[3] *legaulx foulles destruits.* C.2.
[4] *guerre.* C.2. *legiere.* A. B.
[5] *possidera.* A. B. C.2.

le roy Artus ennortast ses chevaliers par telles parolles et admonitions, une merveilleuze clamour sesleva de tous les assistens sy [1] aultement, que les montaignes en redentissoient, affermans tous par pareille sentence plus vollоir en cellui champ morir que lui souffrir estre prins de ses ennemis, et que hardement leur baillast [2] la bataille car tous estoient prestz ou de vaincre [3] ou de morir plus que destre vaincus.

Comment lempereur rommain ordonna ses batailles apres une oroyson exortative faitte a ses chevaliers pour les encoragier. LE CHAPITRE XXXIIIe.

ENTRETANT que Artus parloit a ses chevaliers approcha lost rommain de la vallee ou estoient les Bretons. Sy estoit ja adverty lempereur Lucius Hyberius par ses espies de lappareil des Bretons et de leur fiere contenace,[4] pourquoy il commenca a doubter en sy grant peril de fortune. Neantmoins lui qui estoit homme vertueux et plain de courageux hardement, reprinse en soy la hardiesse par laquelle ilz avoient tout le monde subjuguie, il commanda aux Rommains aler avant, banieres desployees, en desistant de son entente premeraine, cest à dire de la fuite quil avoit empensee a cause de soy retraire a Ostum, comme jay devant touchie; puis appella tous ses ducz, princes et cappitaines a contion cest a dire a parlement, sy les commenca a admonester par les parolles qui sensievent: " O vous, peres reverens et mes tres chiers amis, a " vostre empire et seignourie tous les orientaulx roy- " aulmes doibvent estre soubmis, sy en aiiez memore, je " vous prie, les fais vertueux et le noble exemple de

[1] *tant.* C.2.
[2] *donnast.* C.2.
[3] *vivre.* C.2.
[4] *contenance.* B. C.2.

" vos peres ou predicesseurs, lesquelz nont eu nulle ab-
" homination despandre, voire, en soustenant le droit
" publicque, leur sang et de morir en[1] horribles ba-
" tailles, adfin quelle ne feust en nulle maniere abaissie,
" vous soient miroirs victorieux de preudhommie, car
" sans doubte les Rommains[2] se combatoient aux en-
" nemys ainssy comme se Dieu les eust pourveus de
" immortalite, par quoy ilz triumphoient a grans gloires
" et loenges, sicque en triumphant ilz estoient preservez
" de la mort, et ainssy se paraugmentoit la chose pub-
" licque et la loenge des Rommains par acroisemens de
" glorieulx merites. Et qui est ce qui a pourveu lestat
" publicque de Romme jusques es fins des terres se ce na
" este lonneur de largesse, la proesse, la preudhommie
" et lhonnestete des nobles hommes nos predicesseurs
" qui en eulx par tant de temps ont este possidez,
" sy les ont delaissies a nous leurs successeurs pour
" miroirs desirables a ramenbrer de tous Rommains.
" Cest ce doncques qui me exite et qui me emeut[3] a
" vous faire ceste presente exortation, desirant en mon
" ceur que ces vertus devant nommees, qui en nous
" sont par nature, soient maintenant resveillies et
" rapellees a lumiere, adfin que vous resistans et
" fermes en iceulx nos ennemis, qui de ceste vallee
" manaces et grant tumulte nous demoustrent, soient[4]
" vaincus et sur eulx recouvrez nos honneurs que
" par leurs mauvaisties nous denient, cest a dire eulx
" moustrer quilz sont en la diction[5] ou arbitre du
" peuple rommain. Et ne cuidies point moy avoir fait
" publyer ou dywlguer de moy retraire en la cyte
" de Ostum pour doubte que jeusse de a leurs effors
" non povoir resister, ains certes arbitroie, et en mon
" ceur delibere avoie que eulx, pensans nous deguerpir

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[1] *es horribles.* B. *es terribles.* C.2.
[2] *les Rommains.* C.2. Omitted in A. B.
[3] *qui me existe et mesmeut.* B. C.2.
[4] *sur nostre fait soient.* C.2.
[5] *dition.* B. C.2.

" nos tentes par paour, sembateroient par esperance de " nous tantost vaincre sur nous follement et sans " ordonnance, et nous a batailles ordonnees feussions " retournez sur eulx souldainement en les detrenchant " et occyant. Laquele chose nous eust este assez le- " giere a faire, se ainssy comme je le ymaginoye en " feust advenu, car ilz eussent este impoveus [1] et non " advisez, par qui [2] nous a peu deffort eussions mis a " fin cestui debat. Mais maintenant pour ce que, " aultrement que nous ne pensions, ilz ont procede " nous convient aussy aultrement pourveoir a nos " besongnes sicques prenons ceur [3] en nous en les en- " vahissant hardiement, et que sil advient que fortune " permette que au commencement la victoire apere soy " encliner de la partie des ennemys, pour Dieu ! naiiez " mye en vous pour tant moins de vigeur ne de courage, " ains a ceurs fermes soustenez les premiers assaulz, car " certainment on a veu souvent advenir en pluiseurs " batailles que ceulx qui au commencement avoient " le meilleur par samblant, au derrain estoient sour- " montez." Et atant mist fin le duc rommain a son sermon exortatif, sy se assentirent tous ceulx de lost a ses parolles et par grant faveur demanderent les batailles, en baillant les mains les ungz aulz aultres en signe de foy et de sermens par eulx voues, cest a entendre [4] plus vouloir morir que estre vaincus ou partir de la bataille non victeurs ; sy sarmerent hastivement et se misrent a chemin vers la valee ou estoient les Bretons. Quant ilz furent assez pres, lempereur ordonna ses batailles, et en fyst douze de tout son ost de gens de pie fermees es coingz par chevaucheurs moult discretement a maniere de cercles selon la coustume rommaine. Et avoit en son ost

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[1] *impourveus.* B. C.2.
[2] *parquoy.* B. C.2.
[3] *courage.* C.2.
[4] *dire.* C.2.

vi.^{xx} milliers, vi.^{cz} et lxvi. hommes[1] tant de pieu[2] comme de cheval ; puis commist sur chascune bons conducteurs et chevetains en les admonestant moult tendrement que ilz les feissent retraire ou aler[3] avant ainssy comme la necessite de la besongne le requeroit. A la premiere eschielle fut prefere Lucius Catellus, senateur rommain ; en la seconde fut commys Pretroiius[4] le roy de Lybie ; de la tierce fut fait duc Quintius Millius, un senateur de Romme ; a la quarte fut baillie un aultre senateur, frere de Cocta Petreyus. Et au dos de ces quatre en furent arengiez quattre aultres, de la premiere desqueles fut fait duc le roy Preces des Ictures ; de la seconde Pandrasus le roy dEgipte ; la tierce gouverna Pollicetes le duc de Vithinie ;[5] et de la quarte Teucher de Pichie.[6] Apres ces huit batailles en furent descriptes quatre aultres et baillies pareillement a quattre cappitaines,[7] cest a scavoir a Quintius Carutius la premiere, a Lesius Ostencius la seconde, a Suspicius Subuculus la tierce, et la quarte a Mauricius Silvain. Sy estoit lempereur rommain au milieu de tous ses ducz, leur enseignant en quelle maniere ilz se auroient a maintenir quant venroit a la bataille, et la fist poser laigle dor laquelle les Rommains portoient pour baniere ; puis commanda de publyer par tout lost que en tous cas les navrez et les lassez se retraissent illec pour eulx rafreschir et reposer.

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[1] *vi.^{m} milliers six cens et lxvi. hommes.* B. C.2.
[2] *pie.* B. *piet.* C.2.
[3] *marchier.* C.2.
[4] *Quintius Petrorius.* B.
[5] *Bithinie.* B. C.2.
[6] *Picie.* B. C.2.
[7] *Rommains.* C.2.

De la bataille merveilleuze dentre les Bretons et les Rommains,[1] *et de la noble victoire que obtint le roy Artus.* LE CHAPITRE XXXIVe.

PUIS que les batailles des deux costes furent ordonnees en my le champ, les Rommains dun coste de ceste vallee et les Bretons daultre, ilz se tindrent une grant piece sans eulx movoir; mais sy tost que les trompettes, cors et buysines eurent commencie a sonner, Lucius Catellus, qui estoit duc de la premiere bataille rommaine et avoit soubz son conduit les chevaliers dEspaigne, sapprocha de lavant garde des Bretons laquelle conduissoient le roy dAlbanie et le roy Cador de Cornubie, et laissa ses Rommains courre contre eulz a grant esperance de victoire, a sy grant force de chevaliers quil sambloit que la terre deust fondre desoubz eux; mais les Bretons qui se tenoient serres ne peurent estre desjoingz a celle premiere envahye, nonobstant que pluiseurs y versaissent a terre, a grant douleur rendant les ames, car les Rommains les assailloient asprement et par sy grant vigeur quilz ne scavoient ou tourner. Mais leur grant freour[2] leur appaisa un pou la bataille que conduissoient Gerinus et Boso, laquelle se frapa es Rommains entretant que les premiers resistoient par sy aspre envahye quilz abatirent tant de Rommains que la terre en estoit toute couverte, et desrompirent leur ordre tout oultre. Sy leur vint au devant le roy Certorius[3] atout sa bataille, a lassambler de laquelle il y ot grant noise[4] et y furent maintz corps privez dames; mais tantost survint la bataille du roy de Dace qui renforca grande-

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[1] *les Bretons et les Rommains.* B. C.2. *les Rommains et les Bretons.* A.
[2] *freur.* B. *fureur.* C.2.
[3] *Xertorius.* B. *Sertorius.* C.2.
[4] *et inhumain tumulte.* B. C.2.

ment lestour, sicque en pou de temps les batailles dun coste et daultre sassamblerent les unes aux aultres et desjoingnoient les gens darmes les rengz les ungz des aultres en perchant les batailles, sicque tant y moroit de gens dun coste et daultre que cest pitie de recorder, car certes la oyst on maintes clamours miserables et lamentations, tant de plaies bailler et recepvoir que la terre du sang qui en yssoit estoit toute vermeille, et tant grant oppression des corps cheans qui, baignoient[1] en leur sang, rendoient les ames, que les chevaulx[2] ne povoient passer. Sy se maintint a ce commencement la bataille assez egallement quant soubdainement Beduerus duc de Northmandie et dEsturie chey mort ou milieu de la[3] bataille, et Brayus[4] le senescal fut navrez a mort; car comme Beduerus eust rompue sa lance contre Bocto, roy de Mede, il le poursievi sy avant dedens sa bataille quil fut illec mys a mort; mais Brayus,[4] sachant sa mort, le desira moult de vengier, car il lamoit de bonne amour, sy se frapa es Mediens, a leur grant dhommage, ou il en fist cellui jour maintz perdre la vye, et tant quilz ne losoient approchier, mais de dartz quilz lui getterent le navrerent a mort. Lequel non obstant ce, a la maniere de gentil chevalier plain de proesse, avecques la bataille quil conduisoit commenca a ruer grans cops et abatre chevaliers, par quoy on lui faisoit partout voye; sicque, discipez et desbaretez les Mediens, rentra en son eschielle qui ancores estoit toute entiere, et la lui vint alencontre le roy de Libie atout sa bataille il[5] le recheupt vaillamment atout son eschelle ainssi comme il ne sentist nul mal et en pou dheure lui detrenca sa bataille, puis se retrahy avec aulcun pou de chevaliers qui portoient le corps du duc Beduerus a la baniere

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[1] *baignant.* B. C.2.
[2] *chevaliers aucunement.* C.2.
[3] *sa.* B. C.2.
[4] *Brayus.* A. B. C.2. for *Gayus* or *Cayus.*
[5] *mais il.* B. C.2.

du dragon dore. O combien grant doleur entra es ceurs des Northmans quant ilz veyrent le corps de leur duc par tant de plaies detrenchye ! O comme grans pleurs et gemissemens faisoient ceulx de Angiers qui leur noble duc voient ainssy piteuzement mort ! Mais sans doubte lors nestoit pas heure de soy arrester a telles queremonies[1] car les batailles qui de toutes pars estoient sanglentes, les ruisseaulx de sang qui de toutes pars decouroient et les durs assaulz qui pres deulz sembatoient ne leur donnoit[2] lieu de plaindre ne plourer,[3] ains leur les mors de leurs seigneurs vengier et eulx deffendre. Sy estoit la entre les plourans un noble jovenencel appelle Ilregas,[4] nepveu du duc Beduerus, qui pour la mort de son oncle avoit le ceur moult serre, sy pria ses compaignons quilz lui feussent en ayde pour vengier la mort de son oncle, leur naturel seigneur. Et lors se joingnirent avec lui trois cens chevaliers preux et hardis, lesquelz se fraperent parmy les batailles des ennemis, comme fait le saingler parmy les turmes des chiens, et coururent par soubdain cours de chevaulx la ou ilz veyrent la baniere du roy de Mede, non pas sans grant occysion des Mediens, car il ne leur chaloit de quelconcque adventure quilz[5] leur peust advenir mais que ilz vengaissent la mort de leur seigneur. Sy se advancherent tant en detrenchant hommes et chevaulx quilz vindrent au lieu par eulx desire ; sy congneut bien Ilregas[4] le roy de Mede aux armes, lequel il envahy tantost et occyst, puis malgre les Mediens livra le corps a ses compaignons et tout le decopa par pieces sur le corps du duc Beduerus, son oncle ; et ce fait rentrerent en la bataille au tres grant paour et clamour des ennemys, car ilz en faisoient merveil-

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[1] *seremonies.* C.2.
[2] *donnoient.* B. C.2.
[3] *ne de lamenter.* C.2.
[4] *Hylregas.* B. C.2.
[5] *quy.* B. *qui.* C.2.

leuze occysion. Hilregas disoit : " Hee ! mes compaig-
" nons, baignies vos corps ou sang de ces Rommains ;
" en tant comme force vous tient en vigour, vengiez[1]
" le sang de vostre duc pour vous espandu." Et adont commencerent a envahir leurs ennemis aussy fort que se ilz venissent prestement de repos sans avoir ce jour combatu, forment animez et encoragiez par ceste exortation briefve, en faisant moult grant clamour, sicque partout ou ilz venoient la terre estoit jonchee des corps qui par leur effort perdoient les vyes. Mais, non obstant ce, les Rommains resistoient moult asprement ; toutesfois perderent ilz en ceste envahye Elisatinus[2] le roy dEspaigne, Manussa roy de Babillonie, Quintius Millius et Marius Lepidus, senateurs rommains, et pluiseurs aultres chevaliers de moindre nom ; et de la partie des Bretons nala pas gramment mieulx, car la morut le roy Holdinius des Ruthenes, Leodegarus comte de Boullongne, et sy y churent trois nobles consulz de Bretaigne, cest a scavoir Vorgeminus de Bandonne, Cursolus Calterensis et Gallant de Salcelbricth, pourquoy les eschelles qui estoient soubz leur gouvernement furent descipees et recullerent tant quilz vindrent[3] a la bataille des Bretons-Armoricques, desquelz estoient ducz[4] Hoelus leur roy et Gavain, lesquelz, tantost comme ilz percheurent le recuellement de ces eschielles, enflambez dire et de maultalent soubdainement par impetueulx assault coururent sus aux Rommains et sy constraingnirent les fuians de retourner vers leurs ennemys. Sy commencerent eulx et leurs gens a tant faire darmes que ilz firent tourner en fuite ceulx qui paravant chassoient les routes des Bretons, lesquelz estoient tous desbaretez par les mors de leurs ducz ; sy les poursievirent a glaves trenchans par tel

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[1] *vengiez maintenant.* C.2.
[2] *Elifatimus.* B. *Elefatumus.* C.2.
[3] *vindrent jusques.* B.
[4] *ducz.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.

vigeur quilz les detrenchoient comme moutons. Mais messire Gavain ne saresta mye gramment a ceste poursieute, ains se frapa avec pluiseurs chevaliers dedens la bataille de lempereur rommain[1] laquelle il trespercha par forche ; lequel empereur comme il veyst la calamite de ses citoiens avoit avancye sa bataille pour eulx donner ayde et secours, laquelle fist en sa venue grant occision des Bretons et tant que a peu que leur bataille ne se branloit, car ilz perdirent a ceste contention deux consulz de Bretaigne et deux mille hommes avec eulx, qui tous finerent par glave dolloureusement ; et sy y perdirent trois nobles barons et preux aux armes, cest a scavoir Richomacus[2] Bolconius et Jannus de Bodlaano, lesquelz, silz eussent este roiz, avec la grant fame et loenge quilz avoient de proesse darmes feussent certes ancores aujourdhuy celebres en memoire de grans merites. Comme doncques cest bataille feust dure et aspre, plaine doccysion, Hoelus et Gavain qui ja avoient arreste la fureur de la bataille de lempereur Lucius pour loccysion quilz faisoient, car tous ceulx quilz ataingnoient a cop estoient venus a leur derrain jour. Sy firent tant quilz entrerent dedens la bataille de lempereur ou avoient este occys les devantdys consulz, et les Rommains les cuidierent enclore en les avironnant de toutes pars ; mais le roy Hoelus et Gavain, qui estoient telz chevaliers que la terre nen avoit oncques nul gueres engendres meilleurs, lesquelz ne povoient estre entrelassez de occyre hommes et chevaulx, commencerent tant a faire darmes que tous[3] leur faisoient voye, car ilz se combatoient comme lions foursenez et mettoient tout a lespee en courant dun coste et daultre, tellement que les batailles qui discipees estoient

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[1] *de lempereur rommain.* B. C.2. *des Rommains.* A.

[2] *Richonacus.* C.2.

[3] *les Rommains.* B.

de leur partie ilz ramenerent a leur droit ordre. Et oultre ce, Gavain, qui par la fleur de jeunesse estoit en sa vigour, ardant par vertu sefforchoit[1] de tout son povoir adfin que il peust rompre la bataille et soy faire ouverture, sicque il parvenist a lempereur Lucius pour soy combatre a lui, car il lui sambloit que en lui estoit toute la vertu des Rommains, et a la verite dire aussy il estoit sil[2] soliciteux de reformer les batailles desconfites et leur tramettre ayde que non obstant quelzconcques desconfitures elles sambloient tousjours entieres. Mais doncques Gavain, qui par les rens les plus espes sestoit embatus, abatoit chevaliers[3] et chevaulx a sy grant ceur et hardiesse que a paines ses ennemys cuidoient quil ne feust pas homme, tant estoient merveilleuzes les proesses de lui et les grans mortalitez qui le sievoient, car la pressure des corps[4] qui apres lui sans ames versoient empeschoient tellement ses gens quilz ne le povoient sievir. Lors le bon roy Hoelus nestoit mie oyseux ne en lieu plus bas ne plus ayse que Gavain, car il estoit en laultre part de la bataille ou a maniere de fourdre[5] et de chevalier foursene assailloit et decoppoit les Rommains en faisant continuelles exortations a ses compaignons et chevaliers, sicque eulx prenant exemple a sa proesse le faisoient moult vaillamment, car qui le vey adont le ceur eust eu dur qui ne sen feust atendry, car lui qui estoit roy et puissant prince avoit la tunicle dermines toute sanglente et couverte de sang qui lui decouroit par toutes les parties de son corps des plaies que il en lestour perilleux continuellement recepvoit; et ancores estoit ce plus du sang des Rommains quil avoit occys. Mais certes, nulle labour de bataille ne le povoit mater, ains sambloit tousjours quil feust tous frecz et nou-

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[1] *flourissoit.* C.2.
[2] *si soliciteux.* B. *tant fort soliciteux.* C.2.
[3] *hommes.* C.2.
[4] *corps.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.
[5] *fouldre.* B. C.2.

veaulx aux grans cops [1] quil bailloit [2] et recepvoit ; et ses gens encoragies par sa grant chevalerie sambloient sanglers entre chiens a veoir a leur contenance, sicque a pou que tout le faix de la bataille estoit sur lui et messire Gavain avec leurs gens ; et nestoit pas trop legier a juger lequel des deux estoit le plus preux, ou diffinir en quoy lun sourmontoit lautre.

Finablement Gavain, qui entre les turmes de la bataille imperial sestoit embatu, fist tant par vigour de courage quil parvint jusques a la personne de lempereur [3] a qui il desiroit tant a assambler, lequel il assailli tout incontinent, non obstant la presse des Rommains qui estoit moult grande entour lui. Mais Lucius, qui ancores reluisoit par le benefice de la premiere jouvence, homme plain de moult gran preudhommie [4] darmes de force et de grant courage ne refuse [5] mie Gavain, car certes cestoit la chose de ce monde que plus desiroit de assembler avecques chevalier que par force darmes lui constraignist a enforcier ses vertus contre lui et esprouvier combien magnanime estoit son courage et sa chevalerie grande. Sy commenca a soy combatre et resister par souveraine vertu a Gavain, car ceste partiale bataille lesjoyssoit merveilleusement, pourquoy il avoit le ceur moult solagie combien que paravant il se feust [6] moult tourble pour ladventure de fortune, mais cestui assamblement lui fist laissier sa cure principale, tant se tenoit en soy beneure de ce que par droit de bataille il se melloit [7] au chevalier duquel la renommee estoit tant grande parmy le monde. Ceste bataille de ces deux princes dura assez longuement, pour ce que tous deux estoient preux et hardis et moult scavoint dart de bataille ; grans cops sentre-

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[1] *horions.* C.2.
[2] *donnoit.* C.2.
[3] *rommain.* C.2.
[4] *plain de moult grant preudhommie.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.
[5] *refusa.* B. C.2.
[6] *il fut.* C.2.
[7] *mesloit.* B. C.2.

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donnoient de toute leur force, mais chascun mettoit toudis son escu audevant, pourquoy la bataille demouroit ainssy comme egalle, quant les Rommains de la bataille imperial qui estoient ainssy comme innumerables firent soudainement une tres forte et cruelle envahye, au grant prejudice des Bretons, car ilz depopulerent et destruirent toute la bataille du roy Hoelus et de Gavain, sicque il convint ledit Gavain rentrer entre ses gens; sy ne porent soustenir cestui effort pour la grant multitude, car tous les Rommains avoient le dent a leur bataille, pour ce que le plus aigrement se combatoient et le grigneur dhommage lui[1] avoient fait. Sy fut leur bataille destruite et la pluspart de leurs gens acraventez et leur bataille tresperchie, parquoy ils parvindrent tumultueuzement sur la bataille du roy Artus ou maintz Bretons perdirent les vyes pour ce que garde ne sen donnoient, car soubdainement ils avoient perforee et desbaretee la bataille du roy Hoelus. Sy advint que Artus quil senty la freour, et que on lui rapporta la grant occysion quon faisoit de ses hommes et la grant douleur que avoient souffert ceulx de la legion de Hoelus et de Gavain, se frapa parmy la bataille, Caliburne la bonne espee en sa main, et commenca tres hault a parler a ses chevaliers, dysant en ceste maniere: "Hee!" dist-il, "que fettes-vous, hommes, qui laissies aler les "Rommains par nostre bataille non blechies? avez-"vous doncques paour de les courouchier? O vous, mes "chevaliers, je vous prye, aiiez en memoire les forces "de vos dextres et lardeur de vos grans courages, les-"quelz exercitez en tant de batailles ont mis treize roy-"aulmes en ma juridiction; aiiez devant vos yeulx les "vertus de vos peres lesqueles[2] la ou les Rommains

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[1] *leur.* B. C.2.

[2] *lesquelz.* B. C.2.

" estoient a plus[1] grants efforts que maintenant les " firent par bataille leurs tributaires. Regardez aussy " en vous-meysmes comment ces hommes[2] Rommains " sefforcent de ravir vostre noble joiau de liberte, " qui trop plus foibles sont que vous. Doncques que " faittes-vous? que ne gardes-vous[3] que de nulz deux " ne puist vostre droit estre calengie?" En dysant ces choses et pluiseurs aultres il envahy, en criant son enseigne, ses ennemis par sy grant vertu quil dyscipoit les ordres des batailles rommaines et versoit a terre chevaliers[4] et chevaulx, sicque merveilles estoit a le regarder, car il nencontroit Rommain quil ne pourfendist et meyst a mort dun seul cop; sy le fuioyent Rommains de toutes pars, ainssy comme la belue fait le lyon quant il est bien eschauffe par felonnye ou quant cruele faim le constraint devourer ce quon lui amaine[5] fortune devant ses yeulx, car certes heaulme, escu ne aultres armes ne povoient nulz garantir ausquelz Caliburne branlee par la dextre dArtus, magnanime roy, feust antoizee[6] quil ne sangloutist lame avec le sang decourant du corps. Sy encontra le noble roy enmy lestour penible et plain damertume deux roys indois, cest a scavoir Exertorius[7] de Libie et Pollicetes de Bithinie, ausquelz il coppa a deux cops les testes, et les ames tramist au goufre denfer. Le roy doncques ainssy occyant ses ennemis voians les Bretons, et iceulx encoragies par sa vertu, enflambez par hardiesse, admonestant les ungz les aultres, tous dun acord et par vigour samblable, ainssy comme se tous maintenant venissent a la bataille, envahyrent les ennemys trop plus aigrement que ilz navoient

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[1] *trop plus.* B. C.2.
[2] *demis.* B. *demy.* C.2.
[3] *regardez vous de nul deulx puist votre droit calengier.* B. C.2.
[4] *hommes.* C.2.
[5] *ce que ladmaine.* B. C 2.
[6] *acoisee.* C.2.
[7] *Xertorius.* B. C.2.

ancores fait, et vindrent leurs batailles pedextres faisant merveilleuze occysion. Sy eust on a ceste heure oy maintes lamentables clamours et ullemens de ceulx qui versoient. Les gens de cheval se misrent tous ensamble, sy constituerent une bataille equestre moult grande, car toutes les copies de leurs chevaliers [1] sy adjousterent, eulx efforchans de rompre et disciper les ordres rommaines, adfin de donner voye au peons. Mais en tant de perilleux debas resistoient moult vigoureuzement les Rommains qui se tenoient joingz et serrez a lexortation de leur noble empereur qui sagement les admonestoit en visitant ses batailles de toutes pars, aidant ceulx quil veoit en peril et eulx permetant [2] nouvelles aydes, adfin que nulle chose qui appartenist a bon duc et a industrie darmes ny feust par paresse et negligence delaissie, oubliee ne defaillant. Et [3] adont estoit la bataille aucques egalle ne ne pooit nul diffinir ne jugier qui [4] avoit le meilleur, car on se combatoit de toutes pars par egalle esperance aussy asprement comme on avoit fait au commencement de la bataille, car dune part estoit le roy Artus qui de son corps faisoit sy merveilleuze desconfiture des Rommains que la ou Caliburne sembatoit ils senfuyoient par grant espoventement, sicque la vigeur de lui seul estoit assez grande et efficace exortation a ses hommes, qui "Bre-" taigne!" haultement lui ooyent crier et les batailles rommaines parmy les plus grans tourbes penetrer, adfin que ceulx, que paour de mort avoient,[5] cohercoit retraire, et [6] sen retournaissent a leur ordre, et ainssy advint, car tous reintegrees leurs batailles a corages, yreux de ce que les Rommains tant duroient contre eulx et que sy fort les molestoient, aussy fierement comme se ilz

[1] *chevauchers.* C.2.
[2] *prometant.* C.2.
[3] *Et adont estoit la bataille.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.
[4] *quy en avoit du meilleur.* B.
[5] Omitted in B. C.2.
[6] *se sen.* B. C.2.

neussent este de tout le jour en bataille ; et certainement les Rommains ne reculloient point nonobstant quilz percheussent bien leurs ennemys estre plus aspres et fervens[1] quilz navoient acoustume, ains sentreadmonestoient par fiers courages a soustenir cest assault, sicque il sambloit que chascune partie eust la jure morir, tant estoit lestour plain de mortalite de toutes pars, car nul ny veyst qui plus deust estre dyt deffendant que assaillant. Et souverainement garantissoit les Rommains la extreme dilligence de sollicitude et industrie de leur duc[2] voire certes a la haulte proesse darmes qui en lui reluisoit meslee de une piteuse compassion et regart, car continuellement sans nul repos decouroit par les batailles lespee[3] ou poing dont a pluiseurs[4] sevra ce jour les ames des corps, et sans faulte cellui estoit venus sa fin a qui lespee estoit brandye. Sy secouroit ses chevaliers luymeysmes en propre personne, et a ceulx qui de leurs armes estoient despouillies aidoit de nouvelles ; a tous[5] navrez donnoit confort et admonestoit les haities en leur mettant au-devant de leurs yeulx les fais chevalereuz de tres clers hommes leur predicesseurs Rommains. Et endementiers[6] estoit la bataille ainssy comme pareille et une fois canceloit[7] vers les Rommains et aultresfois vers les Bretons, et loccysion des chevaliers des deux parties estoit abhominable.

Et finablement comme la perniacite[8] des courages chevalereuz ne demoustrast aultre victoire fors finale extermination et occysion des deux ostz oussy[9] grant multitude de hommes estoient assambles, vecy que Morville, le consul de Claudiocestre, auquel la legion

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[1] *furieux.* C.2.
[2] *duc.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.
[3] *tenant lespee.* C.2.
[4] *hommes.* C.2.
[5] *hommes.* C.2.
[6] *tandis.* C.2.
[7] *chancelloit.* C.2.
[8] *pertinacite.* B. C.2.
[9] *ou sy.* B. C.2.

des chevaliers esleus au commencement avoit este commise par le roy Artus, comme cy-dessus avons touchye, lequel avoit avironne les montaignes sicque par la circuite dicelles il estoit parvenus au dos des Rommains lors atoute sas legion,[1] dont ilz ne se donnoient garde, car chascun estoit assez empeschye pour sa vye saulver, envahys moult impitueuzement et par grant force, comme ses chevaliers feussent la droite fleur de la jouvente britonicque, par derriere au dos, sy versoient hommes et chevaulx en eulx detrenchant. Sy furent a ce cop les batailles rommaines toutes [2] discipees a sy grant doulleur que plus de la moyttie dicelles furent detrenchies et leur empereur meysmes qui estoit ou milieu dycelles quil veoit desconfites pour les ralier[3] et rejoindre sil peust fut perchies dune lance tout oultre le corps dont il ceupt[4] mort a terre.

Lors les Rommains desnuez[5] et privez de toute mortelle ayde se laissoient agraventer comme bestes mues ; mais puis sadviserent ilz de fuir, sy guerpirent le champ, et orent les Bretons victoire, non mye sans grant perte ou desconfiture de leur ost et perdition de leurs hommes a leur tres grant labour, car a paines y avoit il homme de qui le sang neuyst este espandu de son corps.

Comment le noble roy Artus apres ce quil ot eue victoire des Rommains fist ensepvelir les corps de ses barons et de ses hommes. LE CHAPITRE XXXV^e^.

DISCIPES les Rommains et desconfis, ceulx qui eschapperent[6] du caple[7] dolloureux senfuirent, les ungz

[1] *au dos les atoutes ses legions.* A. *au dos des Rommains les atoute sa legion.* B. *au dos des Rommains lors atoute sa legion.* C.2.

[2] *toutes rompues et.* C.2.

[3] *ralier ainsi comme bon cappitaine doit faire et aucunement les rejoindre.* C.2.

[4] *chut.* B. C.2.

[5] *denuez de leur empereur et de toute.* C.2.

[6] *eschapper peurent.* C.2.

[7] *chaple.* B. *chapple.* C.2.

auz boiz et les aultres es cytes et forteresses pour leurs vyes saulver ; mais les Bretons qui certes saoules ne povoient estre du sang rommain les poursievyrent en les detrenchant a grant martire. Lesquelz finablement voyans que nulle chose ne les pooit garantir, pluiseurs se getterent a genoulx, tendans les maintz[1] et criant misericorde adfin que en leur servitude donnassent[2] aulcun petit espace de vivre ; laquelle chose toutesfois nappartenoit point estre faitte a nul homme mortel, car cest le deu honneur que on doit faire a un seul Dieu. Et comme en especial les anchiens peres diceulx Rommains eussent inferees armes aux Bretons et les eussent mys en leur juridiction par puissance darmes[3] ilz ne les avoient pas ainssy detrenchies, car non obstant quilz requississent injustement le treu des Bretons et eussent me[4] guerre follement a cause du tribu impose par les anchiens Rommains jadis victeurs, toutesfois sambleroit-il que les Rommains feissent leur debvoir de repeter les choses concquises par leurs predicesseurs, sy ne debvoient pas estre traities par telle tirannye inhumaine la ou ilz se congnoissoient estre vaincus. Apres ce que Artus eut eue victoire et la proie fut ravie par ses chevaliers, il commanda que len cerchast les corps de ses nobles barons qui occys avoyent este en la bataille et que len divisast les corps des Rommains de ceulx des Bretons pour les mettre en sepulture. Puis, appareillies les obseques funeraulx, il fist porter[5] les corps de ses chevaliers es eglises et abbayes prochaines ou ilz furent ensepvelis moult honnourablement, pour ce que en chascune dicelles eglises le roy Artus tramist de tres beaulx dons. Et le corps du duc Beduerus fut porte par ses gens en grant honneur en la cyte de Baiolgas,[6] cest Baieulx,

[1] *mains.* B. C.2.
[2] *leur donnassent.* B. C.2.
[3] *darmes.* B. C.2. *dames.* A.
[4] *mene.* B. C.2.
[5] *commanda quon portast.* C.2.
[6] *Baiogas.* B. C.2.

laquelle son aiol[1] avoit fondee ; sy feut illec ensepveli a moult grant pleur et gemissemens de tous ses citoiens et barons en une cimentiere[2] daustre la partie demprez la cyte, a moult grant manificence. Pareillement navre a mort fut portez a Caen en Northmandye, ou il trespassa tantost apres, Kayus le Seneschal, duc dAngiers, sy fut enterre en un boiz pres de la en alant vers la Montaigne-au-Geant, en un couvent dhermites. Et le roy Holdinus fut porte par ses gens en Flandres, sy fut enterre en la ville de Bruges qui adont estoit nomme Theruant ;[3] et tous les aultres furent portez es abbayes prochaines, sy comme le roy Artus lavoit ordonne. Et finablement en son ceur ot grant pitie de la misere des corps de ses ennemis, sy commanda que tous feussent mys en sepulture, et le corps de lempereur Lucius meysmes fist il solempellement mettre a point, sy le tramyst au senat de Romme en leur mandant quil leur envoyoit son treu tel que paiier leur vouloit et que aultre nauroient ilz de Bretaigne. Puis, ce fait, demoura tout cest yver en Bourgoigne ou il destruisy tout le pays et prinst Langres et toutes leurs citez, et Ostum meysmes, qui passa[4] sy long temps avoient desservi lamour et faveur des Rommains se rendy au roy Artus ; finablement il myst tous les pays de Gaulle en sa subgection, et en ce se termina cellui yver. Quant leste fut venu, lequel il desiroit moult pour passer les monts et entrer en Ytallie et il eust ja transportees ses copies jusques aux Alpes et pres sourmonteez, nouvelles luy vindrent de Bretaigne que son nepveu Mordreth, lequel il avoyt commys a gouverner son royaulme et sa femme, avoyt usurpe le dyadesme royal de Bretaigne par tyrannye et prodiction[5] detestable,

[1] *ayeul.* C.2.
[2] *cimetiere.* B.
[3] *Dheruant.* C.2.
[4] *passe.* B. C.2.
[5] *prodition.* B. C.2.

et oultre, embrase du feu luxurieux qui les yeulx de rayson lui avoit soubstrais, vyole le droit du lit de son mariage et avoit conjoinct par force la royne Geneviere, femme du dit roy Artus, a soy par couple matrimonial. O tres detestable homme, plain de mauvaistie et prodication[1] tyrannicque, as-tu lentendement de raison en toy mortiffie qui oses usurper les aournemens royaulx et en[2] la teste poser couronne, vivant ton droit seigneur naturel et oncle qui tant ta ame et honnoure, voire certes trop ta il eu chier, tres inhumain traytre, en ce quil ta commis tuteur de la chose quen ce mortel monde plus amoit. O malheureulx, et se ces choses ne tesmeuvent, au moins te doit mouvoir la loy divine qui fait deffence daultrui mariage rompre ou il y a unite de char, et la meysmes que le roy et toy estes tous issus dun sang; mais certes, consanguinite, loy, ne crainte de Dieu ne tont peu mouvoir, car lart du deable ta enchaine de perfidie tirannicque. Lors ou cestes choses sy horribles et abhominables a oyr reciter furent nunchies au roy Artus, il fist arrester son ost, moult courouchye de ceste tres dolloureuze adventure, dont il demanda conseil a ses barons quel chose il en avoit a faire.

Comment le noble roy Artus se combati la premiere fois au desloyal tyrant Mordreth et le desconfist a grant perte des siens. Le Chapitre XXXVI^e^.

De ceste trayson et de la bataille qui sensieult dyst lacteur de ce livre que le consul Gauffroy Monemutensis escripsy en Breston presques toutes les histoires dessus recitees, mais ceste-cy laissa il en silence

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[1] *prodition.* B. C.2. | [2] *en.* B. Omitted in A.

pour deux causes : lune pour ce quil estoit du lingnage au pere du traitre Mordreth, adfin que par longeur de temps lui cuidant nul aultre celle traison la tace du diffame feust amortie ; et laultre cause fut que, considerez les grans benefices que avoit fais le roy Artus a Loth, pere de Mordreth le traytre et a ses oncles, lesquelz enchainez es prisons saxonnicques il avoit delivrez par bataille et remys en leur liberte ; et oultre, par sa grant prodigalite les avoit eslevez es magestes royaulx, car a Loth avoit il concquis le royaulme de Norguegie, comme cy-dessus a este recite, et ancores plus avoit il eue tant particuliere faveur et amour a cestui seditieux traitre quil lavoit constitue son lieutenant et regent de son royaulme, et sy lui avoit baillies tous ses tresors dont il fist moult grant follie, car les voluptieux desirs furent en lui aulcunement enrachinez et procreez pour loccasion diceulx, pour ce que lui qui en avoit plaine domination les despendy prodigalement en atrayant a lui par iceulx les corages des princes du royaulme de Artus, qui par telz lyens se seulent enlachier. Voire mais que dirai je de son tres especial tresor lequel a son partement il recommanda le plus estroitement, cest son espeuse,[1] laquelle il a par si vilipendeuse et voluptueuse reproche violee et corrompue ? voire, mais dira aulcun, certes le roy Artus en fut cause, car, consideree la inextimable beaulte dicelle, ce nest pas merveilles sil fut exercitez[2] et provocquies a cellui fait tant detestable. Hee ! et que diras-tu ? nestoit-ce assez grant ostacle la loy divine et le droit matrimonial ad ce quil ne la couplast a lui ? et la consanguinite et prochainete de lingnage qui estoit entre lui et Artus, son oncle, nestoit elle assez grande

[1] *espeuse laquelle il a par si villipendeuse et voluptueuze reproce vyolee.* B. C.2. *espeuse et voluptueuse reproche violee.* A.

[2] *excitez.* B. C.2.

et poissant fraing pour reprimer celle dolloureuze concupiscence avec lamour et obedyence que un vassal doit a son subgectial seigneur? Certes sy estoit; et pourtant considerees les agravations de ceste tres parnicieuze trayson je extime que ce fut la cause pour quoy cest acteur[1] Gauffroy le trespassa sans en parler, car veritablement labhomination delle le rent intraictable et la coaadition[2] du traytre indycible; mais lacteur de ce present livre traitte ceste bataille de Artus et Mordreth qui sensieult de Gaultier de Oxenee,[3] qui lavoit pourtraitee en langue brete, lequel fut homme scientifficque et tres expert en histoires, mais toutesfois sen passa il, moult briefment recitant en somme et grossement les batailles que ot[4] cellui noble roy Artus, depuis quil fut retournez en Bretaigne, contre Mordreth son nepveu, apres la victoire eue des Rommains. Et comment[5] scentence extraite de Breton en latin continuant son propos, lacteur dist en telle maniere: Denoncee doncques et diwlguee linfamente[6] de ce crisme tres parnicieux, le roy Artus, laissie lemprinse quil avoit tant desiree, cest a scavoir de passer les mons et veoir et vysiter le pays dYtallie, et subjuguier Romme, et de lui repeter les choses meysmes quelle avoit requises de Bretaigne, transporta son ost en Gaulle, et le laissa au gouvernement et tuition du roy Hoelus adfin quil appaisast aulcunes seditions qui estoient en Gaulle, et il prinst avec soy[7] seullement les legions insullaires que avoient amenees les roys des isles maritaines collaterales a celles de Bretaigne; puis atoutes ces copies passa la mer et vint en Bretaigne.[8] Sy estoit adoncques cellui tres

[1] *adventure.* C.2.
[2] *condition.* B. C.2.
[3] *Oxences.* C.2.
[4] *ot.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.
[5] *commencie.* B. C.2.
[6] *linfamete.* B. C.2.
[7] *soy.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.
[8] *puis . . . Bretaigne.* Omitted in C.2.

infame traytre aliie par confederation de certaines conditions a Cerirain, roy des Saxons, en lui prometant grans auxmentations de provinces dont il lui avoit ja seelees lettres, nonobstant que pas nen eust la possession ; et lui promist donner toute celle partie de lisle de Grant Bretaigne qui sestent des le fleuve du Hombre jusques en Escoce, et avec ce, tout le pays de Canchie [1] que Englist [2] et Orsus avoient possesse du temps du roy Vortigier. Pour laquelle promesse passee par chartres avoit promis le paien Saxonnois de amener le plus grant ost que il porroit a Mordreth pour soy deffendre, sy sestoit parti ce Saxon pour adcomplir sa promesse de Bretaigne, ou il estoit venus au mandement de ce maleureux traytre, pour aler assambler son ost en Germanie, quant ilz oyrent dire que le roy Artus venoit contre eulx a grant puissance, sy assambla en peu despace un grant ost de innumerable multitude de paiens lesquelz il amena en Bretaigne, et en avoit viii^{cz} nefz toutes plaines, prestz de tous maulx faire en crestiennete ; sy envoya nunchier au traitre sa venue, auquel a cause de la confederation faitte entre eulx deux il obeissoit ainssy comme on sceult faire a son roy souverain. Lequel traitre en fut moult lies et entretant pourchassa parmy la faveur de ses complices aydes de toutes pars ou il les povoit avoir ; et pourtant que il scavoit bien que les Pictz et les Escotz avoient en [3] haine son oncle, tempta il par dons et par promesses de les traire a lui, lesquelz esjouis de nouvelle seignourie et que sous aultrui conduit se porroient vengier des maulx que leur avoit fais le roy Artus, pour leur mauvaistie meysmes sarmerent et mysrent en lost proditieulx soubz le conduit de Mordreth le tirant criminel qui queroit partout acointance aux hayneux de son oncle, et pour tant vindrent a lui les Hiber-

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[1] *Cauchie.* B. *Cancie.* C.2.
[2] *Henglist.* B.
[3] *eue haine contre son oncle.* B. C.2.

niens, les Escotz et les Picz a moult grant effort,[1] et tant assambla de gens quil ot en sa compaignie tant paiens que crestiens quattre vingz mille hommes armes. Par lequel effort esleve plus que devant, en sa pertinacite tant detestable et adcompaignie de ost qui bien sievoit les meurs de son duc,[2] il vint au-devant du noble roy Artus jusques au port appelle Nirutupith,[3] et la, ordonnees les batailles dun coste et daultre, ilz commencerent lestour et meslee certes la plus dollereuze qui oncques mais eust este, car la mortalite y fut sy grande que en la fin de la bataille il ny demoura pas la moittie des deux ostz. Le roy dAlbanie, Gavain, et Agneleseth,[4] qui conduissoient la premiere bataille du roy Artus, assamblerent premierement aux felons traitres paiens remez par tel vigeur que plus de dix mille en cheuprent mors en la place ;[5] et puis y firent tant darmes que cest chose ainssy comme increable, mais sur eulx vint tant dennemis que en fin de toute leur bataille nen demoura a paines un seul. Mais ce neantmoins combien quilz feussent enclos ou milieu de maintz milliers dennemis, sy resistoient ilz par souveraine vertu en eulx combatant comme lions et abatant hommes et chevaulx, sicque cestoit merveilles a veoir. Finablement leurs chevaulx furent agraventes desoubz eulx puis ilz furent occys, dont certainement ce fut grant dhommage a[6] crestiennete de perdre deux telz chevaliers. Sy ordonna le roy Artus en la bataille meysmes que Enenus, filz du roy Urian, frere du devant dit roy dAlbanie succedast ou royaulme, lequel apres ceste dollereuze bataille reluisy par moult de grant proesses et vertus. Quant le roy Artus vey quil lui convenoit plus uzer dengin que de forche, il ordonna discretement ses eschielles de pie

[1] *pouvoir.* C 2.
[2] *sievoient les meurs de leur duc.* C.2.
[3] *Nuritupich.* C.2.
[4] *Aguleseth.* C.2.
[5] *champaigne.* C.2.
[6] *a toute.* C 2.

en fermant ycelles dequestres subsides, cest a dire daydes a cheval que nous appelons aydes ou hesles de bataille dextres et senestres. Sy commenca lors la bataille plus forte que devant, mais en fin le roy Artus et ses gens constraingnirent Mordreth et les siens deulx tourner en fuite apres ce que leurs batailles furent desjointes et perchees. Mais quant cellui parjure traitre ot advize lordre des batailles du roy Artus, il commenca a rassambler entour soy ses hommes et les enhorter ; sy les ordonna selon lindustrie quil veoit es eschelles de son oncle, pour quoy lestour se continuoit de plus fort en plus fort, car caultement il commenca a faire ses gens une foie assailir et laultre fois ainssy que bon lui sambloit et expedient estre le veoit. Mais une eschelle de gens de cheval qui vint de coste lui rompy son ordre, sicque il convint que il senfuist, laquelle chose il fist en tousjours recullant et malicieuzement soy deffendant,[1] et tant fist quil se retrahy en la ville de Guintonie. Celle bataille fut nuncie a la roine Geneviere, non mye en la maniere quelle avoit este faitte, et[2] lui fut dit que le roy Artus estoit mort et son ost perdu et desconfy ; pourquoy elle senfuy de nuit, soubstraite selon son advis de toute ayde foraine hors de la cyte de Ebroith, ou elle estoit en labbaye des vierges de Saint Julii, martir, en la cite de Legionne, en laquelle elle se vesti de labit de nonnain avec ces bonnes dames, et la fina[3] ses jours en usant le demourant de sa vye chastement en grant[4] patience.

[1] *deffendant, contre les poursievans jusques a la nuit quil se retray.* B. C.2.

[2] *ains.* B. C.2.

[3] *fina elle.* B. C.2.

[4] *moult grant.* C.2.

Cy parle des deux batailles que ot le roy Artus alencontre de Mordreth et la maniere de la fin deulx deux. LE CHAPITRE XXXVII[e].

QUANT ce traitre desloyal Mordreth fut enclos dedens les murs de Guintonie apres la piteuze bataille, il la fist garnir de toutes choses a guerres necessaires moult cauteleuzement. Et le roy Artus le lendemain se parti de ses nefz sy senvint sur le champ de la bataille pour adviser le grant dhommage que la journee devant les traitres paiens lui avoient fait, sy compta ses chevaliers mors, entre lesquelz il trouva Gavain, son leal nepveu, la mort duquel lui avoit este celee; et daultre part veoit la gisans la moittie de tous ses hommes, dont il fut a peu derue[1] de dueil et de couroux. Sy fist ensepvelir ses chevaliers, puis chevauca vers la cite ou le traitre estoit enclos, laquelle il assist[2] incontinent et y mist bonnes gardes, adfin que nul ny peust entrer ne issir sy non par son sceu. Mais cellui felon traitre qui point ne voloit desister de sa trayson perpetree ains en icelle morir pertinacement, commenca de enhorter ses complices qui lui adheroient et exanimer en leur prometant grans dons, sy les ordonna par batailles, puis atout celle compaignie vicieuse issy hors de Gunctonie en intention de assambler a son oncle. Et daultre part le roy Artus aiant ses batailles ordonnees[3] et ses gens admonestez lui vint alencontre et se ferirent entre leurs ennemis a moult grant clamour; sy fut la bataille moult dure et grant a soustenir, car maintz chevaliers[4] y perdirent la vye; mais toutesfois fut la desconfiture plus grant du coste du traitre parjure, sicque finablement il lui convint de guerpir

[1] *a peu comme foursene.* C.2.
[2] *assiega.* C.2.
[3] *bien ordonnees.* C.2.
[4] *hommes.* C.2.

le champ et soy enfuir, car il ne lui challoit mie gramment que ses gens eussent sepulture, sy prinst la voye pour aler au pays de Cornubie nom mie [1] que le roy Cador le voulsist favorisier,[2] mais il sen aloit ou fortune le testinoit [3] et ou il se cuidoit mieulx saulver.

Adoncques le roy Artus voyant que le traitre Mordreth se saulvoit ainssy tousjours fut couroucies en son ceur plus que devant, sy fist recueillir hastivement seus [4] tentes et tous aultres habillemens de guerre pour sievir son felon ennemy, lequel il trouva au pays de Cambula, qui latendoit avec tout ce quil avoit peu rassambler de gens ; mais sy tost [5] quil percheut lost de son oncle, lui qui estoit un des hardis hommes du monde et tousjours le plus isnel a lassault, ordonna tantost ses batailles desirant plus morir ou vaincre que ainssy villainement [6] fuir, dont il fist trois eschielles,[7] en chascune desquelles il mist vi. mille vi. cens et lxvi., sont en somme xx. mille hommes [8] qui lui estoient demourez. Puis donna a chascune un duc propice, et avoit cent chevaliers mys pardessus toutes ses eschelles lesquelz il joingny a lui pour soy garder et aydier se mestier en avoit ; et quant il les ot tous ordonnez au mieulx quil polt, il les admonesta moult doulcement en leur prometant derechief terres, possessions et grans seignouries comme paravant il avoit fait, moiennant que ilz voulsissent un pou [9] lui aydier a soustenir cest effort adfin quil peust triumpher de celle bataille. Daultre part a lopposite, le roy Artus ordonna ses gens et fist de tout son ost dix eschelles pedestres, quil ferma de ses hommes a cheval a dextre et a

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[1] *non mie.* B. C.2.
[2] *aucunement favoriser.* C.2.
[3] *destinoit.* B. C.2.
[4] *ses.* B. C.2.
[5] *incontinent.* C.2.
[6] *plus villainement.* C.2.
[7] *eschielles.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.
[8] *hommes.* Omitted in B. C.2.
[9] *aucunement lui.* C.2.

senestre, et commist sur chascune un duc propice, bien instruit en lart bellicque, et une aultre eschelle qui surhabondoit de dix[1] mille hommes vi. cenz et soixante six chevaliers adopta il a soy, sy se mist au milieu de toutes icelles, et sillence faitte par tout lost, les enhorta par cestes parolles, disant ainssy : " O " vous," dist-il, " mes chevaliers, la parniceuse et de- " testable prodition de ces crimineulz parjurez larrons " me intiment a vous dire leur vye honteuze et " opprobrieuze lesquelz par manitions[2] desloyaulx et " decepvables cestui inhumain traitre desirant de joir " et user de lonneur de nostre royaulme, a appellez " et esmeuz de pluiseurs pais estranges en leur pro- " metant honneurs,[3] villes, cytes, chasteaulx et seig- " nouries adfin davoir leur ayde et secours contre nous, " lesquels sont induits bestiaulz[4] en fais darmes, " pourquoy certainement a vous, mes compaignons, " hommes habilles et usitez en fais darmes et instruis " es industries bellicques ilz nauront ja[5] puissance de " resister se vous tous es corages acoustumez en vous " estre maintenant, veue et consideree nostre juste et " leale querelle les voulez vigoureusement combatre."

Ces parolles et maintes aultres exortatives leur dist le roy Artus, et aussy faisoit le traitre daultre part non a moins de sollicitude; et lorsque chascune partie fut bien encoragie les batailles coururent a moult grans effors les unes contre les aultres, car moult sentrecheoient et de tant que a cuers plus yreux et ennemies sentrecouroient sus, de tant en fut loccysion plus grande. Sy estoient les corages de tous partinax ad ce que plus vouloient morir que estre vaincus, et especialement les complices du traytre, qui nesperoient nulle sceurete ne

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[1] *dix.* A. B. C.2. perhaps for *six.*
[2] *monitions.* B. C.2.
[3] *honneurs, fiefs, villes.* B. C.2.
[4] *induits et bestiaulz.* B. *induits mauvaisement en.* C.2.
[5] *jamais.* C.2.

confort fors en leurs vertus, laquelle obstination faisoit loccysion et le caple[1] sy grant et le son des armes sy hault que merveilles estoit a oir ; et les royaulx, cest a dire ceulx de la partie dArtus, qui estoient chevaliers tous esprouvez, fort enflambez de grant racune[2] et hayne contre ces desloyaulx traitres qui tenoient sy longuement le champ alencontre deulx, desirant les priver de leurs honneurs et possessions et leur noble roy destruire, se combatoient comme lions. Sy estoit le cry[3] des gysans a terre et des morans dollereux, car de toutes pars estoient les batailles sanglentes et plaines de mortelle occysion, tant estoit la fureur des combatans horribles et obstinee a vouloir morir plus que estre vaincu. De toutes pars se bailloient plaies et rendoient, et hommes se detrenchoient et occyoient, en tant que oncques bataille ne fut pareille doccysion et douleur, car en la fin dicelle a paines en demourerent de tous les deux ostz dix en vye[4] pour dire la verite de la besongne comment elle estoit alee. Artus voyant ses hommes par sy grant cruaulte detrenchier, et occyre, lui enflambe dire innumerable sadvancha en costoiant les batailles atout son eschelle de vi. mille hommes tous esleus, tellement quil parvint a la bataille ou estoit le felon traitre Mordreth, sy assamblerent lun contre laultre par sy grant fureur et isnelete de chevaulx quil sambloit proprement que la terre deust fondre.[5] Et advint sy bien au roy Artus quil assena tellement Mordreth de sa lance quil le perca oultre le corps, sicque au retirer sa lance un ray de soleil feut veu tout clerement passer par my le corps du desloyal Mordreth ; mais quant cellui faulx traitre Mordreth se senti navre a mort, il referi son oncle Artus de son espee par sy grant felonye sur la teste quil labati jus de son cheval,

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[1] *chaple.* B. C.2.
[2] *rancune.* B. C.2.
[3] *estoient les cris.* C.2.
[4] *dix en vye.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.
[5] *la foudre.* B.

duquel cop il ne loccyst mye, et sy tost quil ot donne ce horion au noble roy Artus, son oncle, il ceupt[1] tout royde mort a terre.

La perdy le roy Artus tous ses ducz, comtes et barons qui en tant de pesans et perilleux estours lavoient sy loyaulment[2] servi ; et aussy y morurent tous les ducz crestiens et paiens de cellui parniciex traitre, car Celericus, Clasius,[3] Egbricus, et Bugnigus,[4] ducz puissans de Saxonnie, y perdirent les vyes ; aussy firent Gillopatricq, Gillamo, Gillafer[5] et Gillarum, comtes en Albanie, et aultres ducz des Picz sans nombre, et generalment tous ceulx qui au felon traytre sestoient adjoins, aliez ou conjurez contre le roy leur naturel seigneur y furent mis a la fin de leurs jours.

De lost Artus y morut Octherilz[6] et Assillik roy de Dace, Loth, pere au traytre Mordreth, roy de Norguegie, et Cador-Limenilz le noble roy de Cornubye, et generalment touts les aultres roys et ducs quil avoit amenez avecques lui.

Apres ce que le traitre Mordreth fut mort et le noble Artus a mort navre, les batailles assamblerent par sy grant impetuosite et racune[7] que la pluspart des traytres crimineulz cheurent mors ; mais ceulx qui veirent Mordreth mort, ayans perdue esperance de refuge ne mercy vers le roy Artus et ses barons sesvertuerent par sy grant fureur contre la bataille du roy Artus que tous dune part et de laultre furent mors en la place, excepte dix hommes de la partie du roy Artus, cest a scavoir ix. chevaliers, et il estoit le x^e^. Quant la bataille fut finee, les ix. chevaliers vindrent en la place ou gisoit[8] le roy Artus comme demi

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[1] *chut.* B. C.2.
[2] *vaillamment.* C.2.
[3] *Elasius.* C.2.
[4] *Bugnicus.* C.2.
[5] *Gilazer.* B. *Gillazer.* C.2.
[6] *Octerich, et Assillik roy de Dace, et de Noruuegue, et Cador Limenik le noble roy de Cornubie, et generalement.* C.2.
[7] *rancune.* C.2.
[8] *ou gisoient les mors et le roy Artus au milieu.* C.2.

mort ; mais quant il vey Gifflet et son nepveu Constantin, il se leva soubdainement sur piedz ainssy comme sil ne scentist mal ne douleur ; et finablement, pour ce quil estoit ja nuit, le roy et ses neuf compaignons sen alerent en un hermitage au plus pres dillec, ou quel lieu ilz ne furent mye de gramment venus quant des neuf chevaliers, qui durement estoient navrez trestous, morurent les six. Adont Artus voyant cest inconvenient il se confessa a lhermite et fist son testament, sy laissa son royaulme a Constantin, filz Cador roy de Cornubye ; puis incontinent, ses ordonnances faittes, il embraca lun de ses troix chevaliers sy doulcement quil le fist morir entre ses bras. Les deux aultres qui lassez, plaiies et traveilliez estoient sendormirent, et le noble roy Artus sesvanuy, sicque on ne sceut oncques quil devint ; mais les aulcuns dient quil fut transportez en lisle de Avalon pour garir ses plaies, sy comme Merlin lavoit prophetisie, ou il est en joye et en repos, et sera jusques au jour du jugement.

Lhistoire du Saint Graal[1] en parle aultrement, dont je me passe den parler, mais bien vous dy que ce fut grant doulleur de perdre un sy noble, sy grant, sy puissant, sy large, sy honnourable, sy vertueux, et sy renomme, comme fut et est ancores le roy Artus-le-Preu, par la dampnee trayson du desloyal Mordreth.

Aulcuns veullent dire que quant le roy Artus apercheut que tous ses compaignons estoient mors exepte Gifflet, quil lappella, et sen alerent tous deux sur le rivage de la mer, puis baisa Artus Gifflet et lui bailla Caliburne sa bonne espee, sy sen entra en une nef quil trouva illec toute preste, laquelle sy tost comme le roy Artus fut dedens entres[2] sy se esquippa parmy la mer sy impetueusement que Gifflet ne sceut

[1] *Greal.* C.2. | [2] *entres.* B.

quelle devint en petit espace. Hellas! par la maul-ditte[1] trayson de ce desloyal Mordreth failli la Table Ronde des chevaliers errans; la faillerent les questes, les emprinses des nobles chevaliers, et les honneurs et proesses darmes qui tant avoient este honnoures et exauchees par cestui noble roy Artus. Moult est a blasmer et mauldire un traitre! Hee Dieux! Guennelon[2] par sa trayson fist morir les douze pers de Franche et bien vingt mille chevaliers tout en un jour, de quoy crestiennete fut sy abaissie que oncques puis ne se polt resourdre ne revenir en lestat ouquel adont elle estoit! Pourquoy tout con-sidere, il nest nul si maulvais vice que trayson;[3] et est un traitre plus a debvoir estre blasme et pugny que nul aultre criminel cas,[4] car trop de grans maulx et inconveniens en viennent comme ou list en pluiseurs exemples. Ainssy doncques comme dessus est dit se parti le noble et preu roy Artus de ce monde en lan de lincarnation Nostre Seigneur cincq cens et dix sept, et pourtant, sy tost que ceste miserable fortune et maulvais cas fut notiffie aux barons de la Grant Bretaigne qui demourez estoient en Gaulle par le commandement du roy Artus, ilz, toutes aultres choses laissies, passerent isnellement et sans delay la mer, cuidans ancores subvenir, aidier et secourir au noble roy leur seigneur; mais eulx arrivez et toutes choses qui advenues estoient sceues, ilz tout dune voulente couronnerent Constantin a tel honneur comme il appartenoit, ainssy comme le roy Artus, son oncle, lavoit ordonne en son testament; et puis pugnirent tous ceulx quilz povoient scentir avoir favorisie au traytre Mordreth.

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[1] *desloyaute et inhumaine.* C.2.

[2] *Gannelon.* C.2.

[3] *a monde na nul plus mauvais vice que trahison.* C.2.

[4] Omitted in C.2.

Apres le couronnement Constantin il ne fut gueres a repos en son estat, car comme au commencement il reformast par bonne discretion son royaulme, les enfans Mordreth qui apres la destruction de leur pere sen estoient fuis en Saxonne, prestz a tout mal perpetrer, provocquierent les payens Saxons a guerre; sy assamblerent moult grant navire laquelle[1] ilz emplirent de chevaliers Saxons, puis passerent en Bretaigne. Mais Constantin qui revocqui avoit lost de Gaulle que tenoit le roy Hoelus, leur vint alencontre, sy curent ensamble moult cruelles batailles a innumerable occysion dhommes, et plus de la partie aux traitres que du roy Constantin. Et[2] finablement ilz furent vaincus et tout leur ost desconfy a moult grant labour, sicque ilz furent constrains de fuir, mais Constantin les poursievy partout avec son ost. En ce temps trespassa le glorieux arcevesque de Londres Daniel Bagornesis, et fut esleus en son lieu Theomis evesque de Clocestre. Et aussy trespassa David, larcevesque de Legionne, lequel fut enterres en une abbaye qui estoit en la cyte de Menewye, car tousjours y avoit eu singuliere dilection et devotion pour lamour et honneur du saint confesseur Patrice[3] qui lavoit fondee, et aussy pour ce que le dit beneoit Patrice[3] avoit prophetisie sa nativite a ses parens et narre son estat et ses meurs par linstruction du Saint Esperit. Sy fut promeu en son lieu pour tenir son siege levesque Quinotus Lempritenensis[4] par le commandement et voulente de Malgon, pour ce temps roy des Venedaces.

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[1] *laquelle . . . . moult.* Omitted. *ou firent de cruelles.* C.2.

[2] *Car.* B. C.2.

[3] *Patriarche.* C.2.

[4] *Lempaternensis.* B. *Lempateniensis.* C.2.

Comment le roy Constantin occyst les deux enfans Mordreth, et comment son nepveu le tua, qui fut couronnez apres lui. LE CHAPITRE XXXVIII[e].

LE roy Constantin qui moult courouchies estoit de ce que les traitres qui fuis sen estoient il navoit peu prendre, les poursievy a grant effort et myst le siege devant la cyte ou ilz estoient enclos, laquele il fist assaillir vigoureusement, cest a scavoir Londres premierement, qui fut prinse et tous les traitres qui dedens estoient mys a destruction, meismement laisne filz Mordreth, qui muchiez sestoit en un couvent de religieux, fut trouvez derriere lautel de leglise, ou le roy Constantin lui coppa la teste : puis de la sen ala a Witonie,[1] laquelle il prinst sans trop grant debat, sy occyst en icelle laultre filz Mordreth dedens leglise Saint Amphibal ou il se cuidoit saulver, car tant estoit grant la haine du roy envers iceulx traytres que riens ne les pooit contre icelle tenser ne deffendre. Ce fait, le roy Constantin mist bonne ordonance en son royaulme, sy fut bon justicier tant quil vesqui et moult se gouvernoit sagement ; mais Aurelius, son nepveu, le voyant en sy grant prosperite, il, plain denvye, en soy delibera de loccyre par aulcune couverte maniere, adfin quil obtenist le royaulme de la Grant Bretaigne ; et tout ainssy le fist comme il lavoit propose.

Apres ce que Constant[2] ot rengne troix ans a grant crainte de ses ennemys, il conferma son royaulme en bonne transquilite, puis fut traytreuzement occys et enterrez moult solempnellement ou sepulcre Uther Pendragon, fait de pierre par merveilleux artiffice, qui estoit emprez la cyte de Salsebricth,[3] lequel en langue

[1] *Vitonie.* C.2.
[2] *Constantin.* B. C.2.
[3] *Salseberic.* B. C.2.

Englesse est appelle Serahent. Et les obseques de lui celebrees, Aurelius Canault son nepveu qui occys lavoit pour convoitise du rengne feut couronnez, lequel estoit jenne chevalier raempli de merveilleuze proesse, qui tint bien en paix la monarchie de lisle de Bretaigne [1] et maintint bien droiturierement justice, et estoit assez digne dhonneur royal, se neust este la cruaulte de lui envers ses parens et lamour quil avoit a guerre civile, car depuis quil fut roy il fist occire tous ses parens quil sceult avoir plus grant droit que lui a la couronne, et meismes son aultre oncle qui estoit frere du roy Constantin, lequel riens ne demandoit au royaulme combien quil lui appartenist, fist-il occire cruellement; et aussy fist morir les deux enfans Constantin qui estoient moindres deage et impotens a lui substraire le royaulme. Mais Dieu qui est droiturier ne lui [2] souffri pas longuement user de tirannie, car le second an de son royaulme [3] lui prinst une griefve maladie qui le mist a mort.

Des fais du roy [4] *Vortiporius* [5] *et Malgo-le-Bel qui succederent lun apres laultre ou royaulme de la Grant Bretaigne.* LE CHAPITRE XXXIX^e^.

APRES ce que le roy Aurelius Canault fut finez miserablement en la fleur de sa jennesse lui succeda au royaulme Vortiporius [5] qui estoit de la lignie royal, homme chevalereux, plain de preudhommie, contre lequel sarmerent les Saxons. Sy entrerent en Bretaigne et firent tant de maulx que merveilles, car moult avoient grant ost; mais le roy Vortiporius [5] leur

[1] *la Grant Bretaigne.* B. C.2.
[2] *le.* B. C.2.
[3] *regne.* C.2.
[4] *des roys.* B.
[5] *Vortiportus.* C.2.

ala alencontre et les envahy hardiement, sy furent leurs batailles destruites et grant partie deulz prinst il, pour avoir raenchon en deduction de ses dhommages. Apres ce que ceste victoire fut diwlguee parmy la Grant Bretaigne tous les royaulmes rebelles a lui se tindrent en paix, sy obtint lors paisiblement toute la monarchie de lisle, et adont prinst[1] il a gouverner son royaulme par souveraine dilligence en grant paix et transquilite par bonne justice. Puis trespassa a Nostre Seigneur lan quatriesme de son rengne a moult grant pleur du peuple, car bons preudhoms estoit. Au roy Vortiporius succeda Malgo, le plus bel chevalier de toute Bretaigne, reluisant par moult de nobles vertus, car plus large de lui ne se trouva nul en son temps ou monde,[2] ne plus preu aux armes. Il fut deffendeur de justice et de preudhommie, destruiseur de tous tirans, trescler en misericorde et benignite envers son peuple ; il ramena par puissance darmes toutes les isles maritaines doccident a sa seignourie qui parties sen estoient par Mordreth le traitre, cest a scavoir Hybernie,[3] Islandye, Norguegie et Dace, nonobstant que a ce parfaire il soustint moult de dures et perilleuses batailles. Puis apres ces conquestes il seignoury sur son peuple moult debonnairement, mais finablement lennemy denfer, qui tousjours chasse a persecuter les bons, lentacha a layde du repos de delices qui par nature atrait a soy tous vices de linfamete et vilte bestialite[4] de Sodomie, parquoy il fina miserablement sa vye.

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[1] *ccmmenca.* C.2.
[2] *ou monde.* Omitted in C.2
[3] *Ibernie.* B.
[4] *bestiale.* B. C.2.

Des gestes au roy Cathericus, et des guerres civilles qui par sa cruaulte vindrent en son temps en Bretaigne, et des grans maulx que les Saxons y firent. LE CHAPTRE XLe.

APRES la cruelle mort du roy Malgo fut couronne Cathericus, homme cruel, plain de perfidie et seditieux, lequel, tantost comme il fut couronnez, commenca a esmouvoir guerres civiles contre ses voisins prochains et barons et soy habandonner a toute tirannye. Pour laquele cause Gormond, roy dAuffrique, par le pourchas daulcuns barons de Bretaigne mesmes avoit transportes ses ostz en Hybernie, ou il perpetra maintes dures batailles et finablement les subjugua, car le roy Catherick ne les povoit secourir pour ce quil avoit assez a faire contre ses barons lesquelz ne povoient soustenir sa tirannie, sy lui avoient meu[1] guerre, car il les despouilloit de gens et de finances. Les nouvelles de ces meutations vindrent aux Saxons, gens muables et non acoustumez de tenir quelconcque foy ne traittie, sy assemblerent moult grans navires et passerent en Bretaigne ou ilz se joingnirent au roy Gormond qui avoit en sa compaignie bien cent et soixante mille Affricquans; pourquoy le pays de Bretaigne estoit lors en grant perplexite et douleur, car dune part lost saxonnicque, qui mentie et faussee avoit sa foy, mettoit a laide des Affricquans hommes femmes et enfans tous a lespee, et daultre part les barons, enflambez de la parverse mauvaistie de leur roy, faisoient ensamble moult dure guerre et continuelle; sicque toute la terre estoit en grant lamentation et calamite, toute couverte de[2] sang de ses citoiens et des ruines de ses forteresses, villes et cites. Et lors

[1] *meue.* C.2. | [2] *du.* B. C.2.

voyant le roy[1] Catherick sa destruction, fist alliance avec les Saxons par tel convenant que ilz prenderoient[2] la guerre pour lui contre ses barons et en especial contre Carent[3] et ses alyes ausquelz il eut pluiseurs batailles, mais finablement la desconfiture se tourna sur lui et les siens, sy le convint fuir, mais il fut chassie de cite en cite a son tres grant dhommage, et lors quant il se vey sy raddement chassier, il se retray[4] en la cite de Clocestre, ou il fut assegie par moult de temps en grant misere de lui et de ses citoiens, car ilz estoient mal pourveus de vivres, sicque adfin de secourir a lui et a son peuple il envoya devers Isbert, neveu au roy de France, un chevalier en qui grandement se fioit, en lui priant que pour lonneur de Dieu il le secourust contre les paiens Saxons adfin de recouvrer le royaulme son oncle de Gaulles,[5] duquel il se disoit estre deboute injustement, et lui paieroit tous ses frais. Quant Isbert entendy la qualite de la douleur de son amy Carenth, il lui manda par son messagier meismes que pour lonneur de lui et de crestiennete il lui ayderoit; ce quil fist, car il assambla[6] son ost le plus tost quil polt, puis passa en Bretaigne, sy vint au siege devant Clocestre et desconfist les assegans,[7] car ilz nestoient point gramment pour ce que la plus grant partie de la multitude de lost estoit parmy le pays ou ilz destruisoient tout par feu et par glave. Quant Carent fut delivre du siege, il sen ala assailler une ville ou estoit le roy Catherick, sy la prinst a pou deffort, et puis Isbert sen retourna en Franche; mais apres son partement Carenth desconfist[8] Catherick en bataille,

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[1] *roy.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.
[2] *que ilz prendroient.* B. C.2.
[3] *Carenth.* B. C.2.
[4] *rentra.* C.2.
[5] *Galles.* B. C.2.
[6] *accumula son ost le plus hastivement comme il polt.* C.2.
[7] *assiegeurs.* C.2.
[8] *desconfist. . . . . Carenth.* Omitted in C.2.

car il senfuy et Carenth le chassa moult hastivement, sicques pour paour de mort il passa le fleuve de Sabrine pour aler en Galles a saulvete. Mais quant Carenth vey quil avoit perdu le roy il destruisy en Bretaigne par feu[1] et par glave ce quil de sa[2] partie se tenoit. Se ny demoura riens ou les traces de sa maulvaistie ne feussent magnifestees, car la ne veoit on que hommes mors qui la[3] terre couvroient, et fleuves vermeilles de sang et plains de corps humains tous puans, car maintz prestres qui atout[4] les choses saintes sestoient muchies es cavernes qui par rage de faim par grans tropeaux sestoient noiēz, et aulcuns evesques, moisnes, religieux et aultres gens atout les relicques des sains[5] sen estoient fuis es bois, car mieulx amoient la vivre[6] en misere tant quilz porroient et finer dollereusement que de veoir la grant calamite de leurs pays, de leurs parens[7] et amis, et leurs cytes abatre ou[8] confondre, car Carenth dune part et les Saxons daultre, qui desja avoient menti leur foy envers le roy Catherick sy sestoient joingz[9] avec son ennemy par aliance, mettoient[10] tout le pays en ruine.

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[1] *feu.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.
[2] *tout ce quy de sa.* B. *tout ce que de sa.* C.2.
[3] *la.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.
[4] *a toutes.* C.2.
[5] *saincts.* C.2.
[6] *vivre a grant misere tant quilz porroient leur vie finer par douleur que de voir ne regarder la grant calamite.* C.2.
[7] *citoiens.* C.2.
[8] *et.* C.2.
[9] *et soy joinctz.* C.2.
[10] *mettroient.* C.2.

La complainte de lacteur sur la destruction du royaulme[1] *de Bretaigne, par quoy*[2] *les Saxons en furent premierement seigneurs, dont les Anglois sont issus.*[3] LE CHAPITRE XLI[e].

GENT[4] paresceuse et endormie,[5] quelle chose est ce qui ainssy tenlace ?[6] O gent plaine[7] de vices, pesante et endormie,[8] oppressee par pechie, helas ! pourquoi affectes-tu tant et as sy grant soif[9] de boire et toy saouler du sang de tes citoiens par batailles civilles ? Pourquoy as-tu tant debilite et affoibly par mouvemens[10] cauteleus lestat de ceulx de ta famille qui jadis sy loingz de toy soubsmirent a ta puissance tant de nobles royaulmes ? O terre degenerant de ta bonte, toute ainssy comme la maulvaise vingne mortiffiant en amertume est ta bonte tourne a calamite execrable, qui vois tes cultiveurs, tes femmes et tes enfans qui par long temps te ont sy exellentement habitee, et toutesfois tu ne te eslieves pas pour leur estre en tuition contre leurs cruels ennemys. O tu doncques peuple miserable esmeus et perpetres batailles civilles a ta perdition ! Hellas ! comme tu as peu pense et mal entendu le dit de levangille de ton Saulveur qui dist ainssy ! Certes ton royaulme qui en soy sortira division en la fin sera[11] par lamentable destruction desole et ses pallaix et maisons par ruine plourable seront demolies[12] et fondues sans nulle pitie. Mais sans doubte tu ny vois goutte car la thenebre et fumee maulvaise et discorde civile obscurcissent sa pensee en toy et la rendent[13] hebetee et lyee.

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[1] *regne.* C.2.
[2] *comment.* C.2.
[3] *dont sont venus les Anglois.* C.2.
[4] *Gens.* B.
[5] *endormis.* C.2.
[6] *tenlache,* B. C.2.
[7] *gens plains.* C.2.
[8] *pesante et endormie.* Omitted in C.2.
[9] *soif de boire et te saouler du sang de tes citoiens par.* C.2. *soif et toy saouler par.* A. B.
[10] *mouvemens intestines de ceulx.* C.2.
[11] *finablement sera.* C.2.
[12] *moillies.* C.2.
[13] *en la rendant.* C.2.

Hee et ne feust il mye plus honneste et chose[1] trop mieulx salvable davoir obey paciamment a un roy plain de moleste que toy voir en ceste desolation ? Certes oil ; mais ton orgueil plain de felonnye ne le peult souffrir, par quoy tu vois le spectacle dolloureux devant toy.[2] Regarde ton pays de cruelz paiens desole sans misericorde, et voy tes maisons en ruine lun sur lautre. Hellas ! et ou seront tes successeurs herbregies[3] fors que en doulleur, et ne verront ilz mye les leesses et joies barbariennes en leurs cites, villes et chasteaulx demener, ou ilz nauront sceurete aulcune,[4] et meismes leurs possessions[5] ne poront tenir et seront en tous pays et par tous lieux ainssy comme transfuges et exillies sicque jamais ou aumains a tard recouveront lestat et dignite que a grant force ta iniquite leur a soubstraite.

Apres ce, comme dessus est touchie, que les Saxons parjures et cruelz tirans avec innumerables milliers dAffricquans eurent destruit et deserte ainssy comme toute lisle fructueuse, sicque nulle chose ny apparoit que desolation, le roy Gormont bailla et delivra en seignourie aux Saxons la plus grant partie de lisle, car ilz eurent toute celle region que len appelloit Leonye, de laquelle adont Londres estoit le chief ; ce que fist[6] par leur trayson, car a leur excitation il avoit emprins la ditte guerre.

Et Carenth avec les relicques des Bretons qui demourez estoient, apres ce quilz orent asses fait de maulx, congnoissans la perfidie et mutabilite des Saxons, se commencerent a dolloir de ce quilz avoient fait, et repentir de la guerre mener, sicque fuians la crudelite[7]

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[1] *chose salvable trop plus davoir por te patiemment dobeir.* C.2.

[2] *parmette doncques et regarde le spectacle tant dolloureux devant toy.* C.2.

[3] *recheus ne herbergies.* C.2.

[4] *nulle, certainement oyl.* C.2.

[5] *possessions detenir ou ilz.* B. *possessions a grant joye detenir ou ilz.* C.2.

[6] *ce quil fist.* B. *ce fist il.* C.2.

[7] *tirannye.* C.2.

saxonnicque qui a nul nestoit pitoiable se recueillerent es fins de Bretaigne devers occydent, cest a scavoir en Galles et en Cornubie, ou[1] les parvers paiens faisoient grans courses et envahyes de batailles toutesfois que opportunite leur donnoit lieu. En cestui temps sy dolloureux sestoient recueillies dedens les bois de Galles troix arcevesques qui estoient les chiefs dEngleterre avec eulx tous leurs subgetz, cest a scavoir cellui de Legionne, Theomis de Londres et Theodoceus de Hebroith, lesquelz comme ilz veyssent leurs eglises desertes jusques aux fondemens avoient ravies les relicques des corps sains adfin que les barbarins ne les ardissent ou enordissent par leur vilte. Mais quant ilz sceurent que Galles et Cornubie estoient ancores des crestiens, pluiseurs[2] deulz sen alerent celle part et les aultres sy se misrent en mer, sy se transporterent en Armoricque-Bretaigne, ou ilz furent benignement receus. De lors en avant[3] perdirent les Bretons lonneur et possession du dyadesme de Bretaigne et fut transporte es Saxons, desquelz descendirent[4] les Anglois qui ancores aujourdhuy y dominent. Et meismes ces petites provinces qui leur estoient demourees ne commyrent ilz mye a un roy adfin[5] que par unite et concorde ilz peussent recouvrer le royaulme lequel ilz avoient perdu, mais a trois tirans qui chascun jour se combatoient lun contre laultre a leur grant destruction.[6] Les Saxons meismes, nonobstant quilz occupaissent presques toute lisle, sy nen avoient ilz mie pourtant du tout la seignourie plenier,[7] car ancores estoient

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[1] *dont sans cesser faisoient feux les maudis paiens.* C.2.

[2] *pluiseurs . . . . transporterent.* A. B. *plusieurs sen allerent en leur compaignie et les autres assamblerent grant copie de nefs et se transporterent parmi la mer.* C.2.

[3] *Et lors depuis.* C.2.

[4] *sont descendus.* C.2.

[5] *adfin que . . . recouvrer.* A. B. *adfin quilz temptassent par une unite et en concorde de recouvrer.* C.2.

[6] *lun contre . . . . destruction.* Omitted in C.2.

[7] *pleniere.* B. C.2.

demourez cincq princes bretons moult puissans qui pluiseurs maulx leur faisoient.

Entretant [1] que ces choses se faisoient en Bretaigne, Saint Augustin y fut tramis de par le benoit Gregore,[2] qui pour le temps dadont estoit pape du saint siege apostolique de Romme, adfin quil preschast la parolle de Dieu aux Saxons qui maintenant sont ditz Anglois ; car ilz estoient tous[3] infectz des erreurs paiennes [4] et ydollatres et [5] avoient toute destruite entierement la crestiennete en la partie de lisle ou ilz habitoient ; mais nonobstant ce estoit ancores la crestiennete vigoureuze en la partie ou maintenant habitent les Bretons, car illec avoit este tousjours crestiennete en vigour depuis le temps du pape Eleuthere qui les avoit convertis, ne oncques navoient este hereges. Et sy tost que Augustin fut arrivez en ce pays de Bretaigne, il sen ala tout droit ou estoient les Bretons, ou sestoient [6] recueillis moult devesques et de religieux comme cy-dessus est declarie,[7] lesquelz estoient hommes qui continuellement celebroient et administroient au peuple les misteres de nostre foy. Sy y avoit entre [8] les aultres religieux un couvent de moisnes en la cite de Bangor en une eglise jadis moult noble ou il y avoit ainssy comme innumerable nombre de moisnes qui tous vivoient de leur labour, et estoit leur abbe appelle Clincorth,[9] homme plain de tres grant prudence, car il avoit en son temps este endoctrine [10] es ars liberaulx et es saintes escriptures. Mais comme le beneoit legat Saint Augustin eust fait assambler un concile qui estoit [11] darcevesques

[1] *Endementiers que ceste chose se faisoit.* C.2.
[2] *Saint Gregoire.* C.2.
[3] *tous ancoires.* C.2.
[4] *gentilles.* C.2.
[5] *et cestoit pour ce quilz avoient toute entierement destruite toute la crestiennete.* C.2.
[6] *si estoient la.* C.2.
[7] *comme jay cy dessus declairie, lesquelz.* B. *comme jay ja devant dit et declairie, qui.* C.2.
[8] *enmy.* C.2.
[9] *Clinchoich.* C.2.
[10] *enseignies.* C.2.
[11] *qui estoit.* Omitted in B. C.2.

devesques dabbez et de tous les catholicques qui clers estoient demouranz[1] avec les Bretons en leur persuadant quilz prensissent avec lui la charge de prescher aux Anglois gens, nouvelle foy[2] et la parolle de Dieu.[3]

Cestui abbe Clincorth[4] commenca a moustrer au saint preudhomme Augustin par moult dargumens et raysons que en ce temps ilz ne lui feroient nulle subgection ne obeyroient a lui,[5] combien quil les eust requis en vertu de sainte obedience de lauctorite apostolicque du pappe, ne que jamais ne leur prescheroient ne[6] en nul bien ne volroient communicquier avec leurs mortelz ennemys, comme ilz eussent arcevesque propre, car disoit cestui abbe Clincorth, ils nous ont prive et chassie de nostre naturel pays[7] et nos freres et amis agraventez, pourquoy nous les en hayons[8] mortellement, ne nous volrions[9] neant plus communicquier avec eulx Anglois et Saxons en foy ou en religion que nous ferions avecques chiens. Quant Eldebert qui estoit roy des Cantocoriens[10] sceut que les Bretons dedignoient obeir ou subvenir en aulcune ayde a monseigneur Saint Augustin et que ilz desprisoient sa predication et la mageste papal il en fut en son ceur moult courouchiez, car il avoit ja aulcunement scenti les merites de la foy catholicque, nonobstant que pas ne feust[11] crestien. Sy manda lettres au roy de Northumberlande et a tous les aultres petits roys des Saxons generalment en les exstimant et esmouvant que tous[12] sen alaissent en la cite de Bangor sy destruisissent labbe Clinchot[13] et tous les clers dicelle qui les avoient ainssy mesprisiez. [14]A laquelle exortation

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[1] *et demouroient.* C.2.
[2] *la foy.* B. C.2.
[3] *Dieu nostre seigneur.* C.2.
[4] *Clinchoich.* C.2.
[5] *lui aucunement, nonobstant.* C.2.
[6] *aussi en aucun.* C.2.
[7] *et ont laissie le leur propre.* C.2.
[8] *Et pour tant nous les hayons.* C.2.
[9] *vouldrions.* B. C.2.
[10] *Canticoriens.* B. C.2.
[11] *quil ne feust point.* C.2.
[12] *quilz allassent tous.* C.2.
[13] *Clinchot.* B. *Clinchoch.* C.2.
[14] *A laquelle . . . . assamblerent.* A. B. *Si assentirent tous les roys des Saxons a ceste oppinion, et assamblerent.* C.2.

ou oppinion se consentirent tous les roys des Saxons, sy assamblerent un merveilleux ost et vindrent en la province qui demouree estoit aux Bretons, laquelle ilz misrent[1] en feu et en flambe, et ainssy en destruisant[2] tout devant eulx parvindrent jusques a la cite de Legecestre la ou Procimial, consul de la cite, a moult grant ost les atendoit, car les Bretons y estoient venus de toutes pars, et meismes moult grant nombre de moisnes et dhermites, especialement en[3] la cite de Bangor, adfin quilz feussent la en oroyson, priant[4] Dieu pour le salut du peuple.

Quant les ostz de toutes pars furent assamblez, le roy Edelfridus de Northumberlande assambla premierement[5] alencontre du consul Procimail qui avoit petit nombre de chevaliers au regard de ses ennemis, mais toutesfois maintint il lestour moult durement en occyant grant nombre de ses adversaires,[6] combien que en fin lui voyant que la force des Saxons croissoit tousjours et que il ne les pooit soustenir laissie la bataille[7] senfui, sy entra le roy Edelfridus en la cyte de Legecestre, et quant il vey la grant multitude de moisnes qui dedens estoient il encquist la cause de leur venue en icelle, ce quon lui dist ;[8] mais quant il en sceut[9] la verite il commanda quilz feussent les premiers occys, sy en furent tout prestement[10] detrenchies xii. cens, lesquelz furent couronnez en la glore eternelle. Et quant le tirant ot mis a destruction par glave tous ceulx quil trouva dedens la ditte cyte, il prinst son chemin vers Bangornansith ;[11]

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[1] *misrent tout.* C.2.

[2] *detruisant le pais parvindrent.* C.2.

[3] *de.* B. C.2.

[4] *depriant.* B. *en priant.* C.2.

[5] *premier avecq le.* C.2.

[6] *adversaires . . . . force.* A. B. *ennemis, mais finablement comme il veist que la force.* C.2.

[7] *habandonne la ville.* C.2.

[8] *ce . . . dist.* Omitted. C.2.

[9] *et quant il eut entendue.* C.2.

[10] *sans demeure detrenchies mille et deux cens et couronnes en gloire par martire.* C.2.

[11] *vers la cite de Bangourens.* C 2.

mais partout ou sa cruaulte fut diwlgue les barons assamblerent leurs effors et lui vindrent alencontre ; a laquelle bataille fut Bledent[1] le duc de Cornubie, Nargadul le roy des Mothores[2] et Cauanth le roy des Venedaces. Sui[3] assamblerent a lui[4] et y eult moult grant occysion de toutes pars, mais enfin les Bretons victorierent,[5] sicque ilz constraingnirent le tirant moult fort navre soy[6] enfuir a grant vitupere pour lui, et firent grant occysion[7] de son ost, car il y morut[8] dix mille et soixante hommes[9] de son coste, et de la partie des Bretons y furent[10] aussy mors grant quantite de chevaliers, car Blederith duc de Cornubye,[11] ou pais duquel se fist celle bataille, en avoit en sa compaignie grant nombre qui y morurent avec lui emy[12] le champ.

Comment les Bretons esleurent a roy Caduanth, et de la paix que il ferma avec le roy Eldefride. Le Chapitre XLIIe.

Les Bretons doncques[13] aulcunement resvigourez[14] pour ceste victoire, et reprins en eulx les corages par lesquelz en tant de dures batailles ilz avoient este victeurs, sassamblerent en la cite de Legestrie pour remedier[15] a leur pays non obstant que ce feust sur le tard, ouquel lieu par le consentement de tous ilz esleurent a roy

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[1] *Bledenth.* B. *Bledech.* C.2.
[2] *des Demothores.* B. C.2.
[3] *sy.* B. *et.* C.2.
[4] *a bataille.* C.2.
[5] *prevalerent.* C.2.
[6] *soy enfuir . . . pour lui.* A. B. *de fair.* C.2.
[7] *destruction.* C.2.
[8] *perdit.* C.2.
[9] *hommes ou environ.* C.2.
[10] *y churent aussy grant quantite.* C.2.
[11] *Cornubye, en quel pais fut faitte la bataille, y morut enmy le champ.* C.2.
[12] *emmy.* B.
[13] *doncques.* Omitted in C.2.
[14] *resvigourez et renforcies.* C.2.
[15] *remedier non obstant que ce fut trop tard a leur pais et par lassentement et concorde de tous ilz.* C.2.

Caduant[1] et le couronnerent adfin que sous son conduit[2] ilz se transportassent a grant ost oultre le fleuve du Hombre et poursievissent le roy Eldefride. Pour laquelle chose adcomplir a son advenement[3] il assambla et evocqua les Bretons partout ou[4] il les scavoit, puis passa atout son ost oultre le fleuve du Hombre. Comme ces choses furent denunchies au roy Eldefride, il[5] envoya devers les aultres roys saxonniens pour avoir secours et aler alencontre de Caduanth, roy des Bretons. Sy[6] advint que quant les ostz dune partie et daultre furent assamblez lun devant laultre, ilz ordonnerent leurs batailles, mais endementiers quilz sonnjoient a ce faire[7] aulcuns barons des deux ostz amys des deux parties traitierent de la paix pour obvier a leffusion de sang, laquelle fut en la fin accordee des deux parties par tel condition que Eldefridus tendroit paisiblement la terre au decha du Hombre et Caduanth la terre de dela,[8] du fleuve ; sans jamais esmouvoir guerre lun a laultre. Et advint apres ce que la paix des deux roys fut fermee par hostages donnez des deux pars que leurs gens eurent ensamble sy grant unite et concorde que ilz communicquoient leurs choses et tous leurs biens les ungz as aultres et aussy[9] comme

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[1] *Caduanth.* C.2.

[2] *par son industrie.* C.2.

[3] *a son advenement.* Omitted in C.2.

[4] *ou il . . . . Hombre.* A. B. *atoutes leurs battailles, et lors que toutes ses furgens ent venus il ala atout son ost* [*oultre*] *le Hombre.* C.2.

[5] *il envoya . . . . et aler.* A. B. *il manda querir aide aux aultres et secours, cest assavoir aux roys Saxons pour aler.* C.2.

[6] *Sy advint . . . . mais endementiers.* A. B. *si advint que ou les osts sentreveirent les ducs dune chascune partie firent arrester leurs gens pour ordonner leurs batailles, et entretant.* C.2.

[7] *sonnjoient a ce faire . . . . traitierent.* A.B. *consommoient le temps a ceste ordonnance, aulcuns barons, qui estoient des deux osts amis, traitierent.* C.2.

[8] *de dela . . . . . grant unite.* A.B. *au dela du fleuve, et les Bretons aussi possiderent a tout jamais, sans mouvoir de nul couste guerre naucune moleste, puisque la convention et paix deulx fut juree et confermee par hostages donnez des deux pars. Il advint que apres les deux roys et leurs gens eussent assemble sy grant unite.* C.2.

[9] *ainsi.* B.

se toutes choses eussent este entreulx communes. En ce temps advint que le roy Eldefride mist arriere[1] de avecques lui sa premiere femme et en prinst une aultre, tant lavoit en hayne, et de fait la fist bouter hors de son royaulme. Or[2] estoit elle grosse denfant, sy ne scavoit bonnement ou aler, mais[3] en fin elle sadvisa quelle sen yroit devers le Roy Cauanth, qui la receupt moult honnourablement et fist son povoir de interceder pour elle adfin quil la reconciliast[4] au roy Eldefridus, son mari, mais il ne le polt faire, pourquoy ainssy comme elle estoit il la fist demourer avec la royne sa femme en ses chambres, qui pareillement estoit grosse. Sy getterent[5] enfans a lumiere quant leurs termes furent venus,[6] ainssy comme tout en un temps, lesquelz furent nourris ensamble moult noblement sy comme a estat royal appartenoit dont ilz estoient issus. Sy fut nomme le fils du roy Caduanth Cadualus, et le filz du roy Elfridus fut nomme Eduinus, lesquelz devindrent grans,[7] sy furent par le consentement de leurs peres envoyes ou roy Salemon de la Basse Bretaigne[8] adfin[9] que en son hostel ilz aprensissent les seignouries[10] et industries darmes et de chevalerie dont sa court estoit souverainement[11] renommee, et les aultres ordonnances et enseignemens appartenans a leurs magestes.[12]

Le[13] roy Sallemon receupt voullentiers les deux enffans

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[1] *hors.* C.2.

[2] *Or estoit il ainsi quelle estoit.* C.2.

[3] *mais au darrein vint elle au devers.* C.2.

[4] *reconciliast avecques son mari.* C.2.

[5] *mirent les enfans.* C.2.

[6] *inspirez.* B.

[7] *grans . . . . sy furent.* A. B. *grans en pou de tamps; et tant quils sambloient asses fors a chevaulchier furent.* C.2.

[8] *petite Bretaigne.* C.2.

[9] *adfin quilz aprissent en son hostel.* C.2.

[10] *les seignouries et.* Omitted in B. C.2.

[11] *lors souverainement.* B.

[12] *magestes royaulx.* C.2.

[13] *Le roy Sallemon . . . . deux compaignons royaulx.* A. B. *Quant ilz furent venus au roy Solomon il les rechut moult voulentiers, et ilz le servirent aussi tant bien quil les amoit merveilleusement et tant quilz furent tous les plus privez de lui et ny avoit nulz a la court a qui il se fiast tant comme il faisoit en eulz deux.* C.2.

royaulx, et aussy ilz le servirent sy bien que il les ama grandement tant quils furent moult privez de lui et ne se fioit en nul tant que es deux compaignons royaulx. Sy se exercitoient es usages[1] darmes, ou ilz se porterent tant bien quilz furent tresclers par renommee de proesse entre tous les jovenceaulx du monde.[2]

Du parlement que firent faire les deux compaignons royaulx sur le fleuve du Glas, et du conseil que donna Brianus a Cadualus, son oncle. Le Chapitre XLIII[e].

Finablement par succession de grant temps que les deux compaignons eurent demoure avecques le roy Sallemon, leurs peres terminerent leurs vyes,[3] pourquoy les enffans prindrent congie du roy pour aler en leurs pays, sy prindrent ensamble le gouvernement des deux royaulmes, continuant celle meismes amistie et frareusete en laquelle ilz avoient este nourris et que leurs peres avoient longuement maintenue. Puis[4] quant ilz orent rengne ensamble environ demi an par ceste maniere Eduinus prya a Caduale son compaignon quil lui pleust que il prensist la couronne adfin quil peust celebrer en son pays[5] de Northumberlande les solempnites acoustumees de faire, sy comme lui meismes faisoit en sa terre dela le Hombre selon la maniere de la paix fermee entre leurs deux peres. Sy fut ordonne pour traittier ceste matere que les sages barons des deux royaulmes sassambleroient a une certaine journee sur le fleuve du Glas, ouquel lieu vindrent les deux parties. Mais entretant que les barons parlementoient[6] sur

[1] *fais.* C. 2.
[2] *jovenceaulx du monde.* A.B. *jovenceaulx enfans de sang royal.* C.2.
[3] *vyes en ce siecle.* C.2.
[4] *Puis . . . . maniere.* A.B. *Et puis ce quilz eurent este en ceste maniere environ par lespace de demy an.* C.2.
[5] *royaulme.* C. 2.
[6] *se conseilloient.* C.2.

ceste matere, Cadualus se gisoit de laultre part du fleuve ou geron[1] dun sien nepveu appelle Brianus, lequel comme il veist que les barons qui a ceste matere terminer[2] assamblez avoient entre eulx maintes altercations, commenca tendrement a plourer en sy grant habondance de larmes[3] quelles cheurent sur la face du roy et lui mouillierent sa barbe ; lequel[4] sentant la frescheur des larmes se leva en piedz et veit que Brianus plouroit moult fort, sy encquist tantost au jouvencel la cause de sa sy soubdaine tritresse, lequel respondy : "Comment," dist il, "monseigneur, nai-je mie bien cause de plourer "comme je voye la gent des Bretons estre exillies per- "petuellement de leur terre, car depuis le temps du "roy Malgo nous sommes soubstrais pas tirannye bar- "barienne de nostre terre, et maintenant je cuidoye "puisque Dieu nous avoit permis davoir un prince "qui la deust ramener a sa premiere liberte, mais je "voy bien que meismement ce petit dhonneur quil[5] "lui estoit demoure[6] est diminuee devant tes yeulx, "toy le souffrant comme ces traitres Saxons qui "tousjours ont acoustume de estre traitres et muables "en leur foy tu veulx souffrir eslever et ennoblir du "diadesme royal."

"Hee, sire, ne[7] seront ilz mye plus[8] renommez par "ce non royal et meismes par leur pays en tant que "len dira tout le non Breton estre peri avec Malgo ? "Et tant que legierement ilz porront inviter leurs "parens de Saxonnie et faire passer la mer et exter- "miner toute nostre lingnie, car tu sces bien quilz sont "coustumiers de faire tousjours traysons et que onc- "ques ne tindrent foy ferme de chose quilz promesis-

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[1] *giron.* B. C.2.
[2] *terminer.* Omitted in C.2.
[3] *de larmes.* C.2. Omitted in A.B.
[4] *lequel . . . . veit.* A. B. *lequel comme il senty les larmes se redressa tantost et vit.* C.2.
[5] *qui.* B. C.2.
[6] *remes.* C.2.
[7] *et ne.* B.
[8] *bien plus.* B.

" sent. Dont certes je extime et arbitre que trop plus
" les deussions confondre que eslever, car premierement,
" comme le roy Vortigerius les eust retenus soubz umbre
" de paix, ne demourerent ilz mie par paix, en com-
" batant et destruisant nostre pays, car quant ilz veul-
" lent leurs mauvaisties magnifester ilz ne quirent que
" superstitions malvaises en rendant a ceulx qui leur
" auront bien fait mal de tout leur povoir comme ilz
" firent au dit Vortigier, lequel ilz trayrent, et le povre
" peuple tirannicquement agraventerent.[1] Apres ne
" trayrent ilz pas Aurelien Ambroise, a qui ilz baille-
" rent hostages et firent sermens tant sollempnelz, et
" lors comme il cuida estre asseur avecques eulx lui
" donnerent a boire venin? nont ilz mye trahy aussy
" le roy Artus, auquel ils estoient obligies par sermens
" et par hostages, quant ilz se combatirent contre lui
" de la par[2] dun traitre, cest a scavoir Mordreth? Et
" puis finablement nont ilz mie trahy Caterick, avec
" lequel ilz avoient fait tant grandes aliances, mais
" neantmoins firent ilz passer dAuffricque le roy Gor-
" mond, par qui malefice Bretaigne a este a ses citoiens
" ravie? Certes sy ont, et aultres pluiseurs grans tray-
" sons ont ilz faittes et perpetrees qui innumerables
" seroient a reciter."

Comment le roy Cadualus fut desconfi de Eduinus, a qui il avoit faulse compaignie, et comment il senfui au roy Sallemon.[3] Le Chapitre XLIIIIe.

Ainssy comme Brianus ot sa parolle finee, le roy Caduale se commenca a repentir de ce quil avoit sur ceste besongne prins consultation, sy delibera en soy de

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[1] *Car lors inhumainement trahirent le roy et le povre peuple par mort cruelle et agraventerent.* C.2.

[2] *part . . . . Mordreth.* B. *part du trahitre tel comme fut Mordreth.* C.2.

[3] *Salomon.* C.2.

rompre leffect dicelle,[1] comme il fist, car il manda a son compaignon Eduinus que nullement il ne povoit impetrer de ses conseilliers[2] ce quil demandoit, ne ne vouloient passer[3] sa requeste, car ilz disoient que cestoit contre rayson et le droit de ses predicesseurs, lesquelz navoient pas acoustume de diviser le royaulme de Bretaigne a deux couronnes ne obeir a deux seigneurs. Adont Eduinus oyant ces nouvelles[4] fut moult couroucie,[5] sy sen ala tout a yre en son pays de Northumberlande, ou il se fist couronner roy par le consentement de tous ses barons, lesquelz lui misrent le diadesme royal sur la teste sans[6] la licence du roy Cadualus, de quoy il fut moult courouchie quant il le sceut, sy lui manda par ses legatz que sil presumoit tant de soy quil voulsist porter la couronne dedens le royaulme de Bretaigne, il lui feroit copper la teste atout la couronne.

Pour ce mandement[7] sesmeult grant discorde entre les deux compaignons et leurs hommes, qui longuement avoient este sy bons amis ensamble; sy eurent depuis maintes rumeurs particulieres, et[8] avoient les deux princes tournee la grant amistie de devant en plus grant rancune et hayne; sy assambla chascun ses effors, et vindrent a la bataille lun contre laultre au dela du Hombre, ou estoit Edwinus passez; sy fut la bataille moult grande, mais en fin la perte[9] tourna sur les Bretons et en y eut maintz milliers occys,[10] sicque le roy Cadualus a petite compaignie senfuit en Escoche et de la passa en Hibernye; mais Eduinus ne fut mye pour tant oyseux, ains apres la victoire mena

[1] *dicelle . . . . Eduinus.* A. B. *dicelle. Si manda a Eduinus.* C.2.

[2] *cheualiers.* C.2.

[3] *pas nullement du monde passer sa requeste.* C.2.

[4] *oyant ces nouvelles.* Omitted in C.2.

[5] *couroucie et de ce parlement assamble, sy sen ala en son pays.* C.2.

[6] *sans ce que nulle licence fut demandee au roy Caduallus.* C.2.

[7] *Pour ceste cause.* C.2.

[8] *mais sur toutes choses.* C.2.

[9] *loccision.* C.2.

[10] *detrenchies.* C.2.

son ost en faisant grant destruction par les provinces des Bretons, sy brusla leurs citez et les citoiens par griefz tourmens[1] fist-il finer leurs vyes. Endementiers que Eduinus faisoit ces males fachons Cadualus cueilla gens et navires, soy efforchant de tout son povoir de arriver en son pays adfin de obvier a la cruaulte de Eduinus, mais certes Eduinus lui estoit toudis au-devant,[2] sicque il nosoit descendre a terre quant il veoit la multitude de ses ennemis contre lui opposee, car cestuy Eduinus avoit en sa compaignie un homme tres sage en divinations, qui venus lui estoit de Espaigne, lequel lui exposoit tout le fait de son ennemy, laquelle chose il congnoissoit au vollement des oiseaulx et au cours des estoilles. Cadualus, qui estoit plain de sollicitude pour ce quil veoit que toute possibilite de retourner[3] en son pays lui estoit fourclose, comme tousjours ses ennemys lui opposaissent armes au-devant de lui, pourquoy il ne scavoit que faire et estoit ainssy comme en desesperation, quant en soy meismes il se remenbra du roy Salemon de la Petite Bretaigne, en quel service il avoit este, comme[4] dit a este cy-devant, sy sapensa quil sen yroit devers lui a refuge[5] et lui conteroit sa misere en lui requerant son ayde adfin quil[6] peust conforter et[7] recouvrer son royaulme. Sy fist tendre ses voilles pour y aler, mais tantost que[8] les voilles furent dreschies et que les nefz orent un pou single en la mer se leverent soubdainement sy fortes tempestes que tous les vaisseaulx[9] furent en pou de temps divisez lun de laultre, et lors le recteur de la nef royal voyant que leur vye gisoit tout en Dieu et en son ayde, comme nulle pericie naval peust resister aux soufflemens

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[1] *par moult grans et inhumains tourmens.* C.2.
[2] *tousjours alencontre.* C.2.
[3] *raller.* C.2.
[4] *comme . . . devant.* Omitted in C.2.
[5] *a refuge.* Omitted in C.2.
[6] *quil lui pleust donner aucun confort pour recouvrer.* C.2.
[7] *pour.* B.
[8] *que . . . . et.* Omitted in C.2.
[9] *nefs.* C.2.

des horribles venz denuee, et que plus ne se pooit aidier, commist icelle a fortune, laquelle chose ne fut pas sans grant espoventement du roy et de ses compaignons, car toute la nuit sievant furent tousjours en peril de mort entre les haultes undes de la mer, qui leurs nefz poulsoient une fois sy hault quelles sambloient estre jusques aux nues, et aultres fois les deprimoient ou abaissoient ainssy comme en un abysme. Mais a grant tourment passee ceste nuit tempestueuze, sy comme fortune lavoit destine ilz arriverent en une isle au point du jour, qui est nommee Gaureth, en laquelle a[1] moult grant labour ilz prindrent terre. Et lors le roy Cadualus voyant quil avoit perdu toutes ses gens fors que son nepveu Brianth et aulcuns aultres qui estoient dedens sa nef, prinst sy grant doulleur en soy quil fut trois jours et trois nuis sans boire et sans mengier, sy se coucha au lit malade. Quant ce vint ainssy, comme envers le jour de la troisieme nuit il prinst au roy une tres grant faim de mengier aulcune sauvegine, pourquoy il appella Brianth et lui dist sa voulente, lequel quant il oy le desir de son seigneur fut moult joyeulx, car il sestoit grandement doubte que il ne se laissast morir. Sy prinst sans delay son arcq et ses saiettes, puis sen ala parmy lisle adfin que sil trouvoit aulcune sauvegine que il la peust tuer; mais comme il eust toute cerchee lisle il ny vey ne trouva nulle beste du monde, dont il fut en ceur[2] tourmente par grans angoisses, car il doubtoit que se yl dissoit au roy la verite quil ne povoit point de venoison trouver il ne sen prensist merencolie[3] avec ce que assez en avoit, par quoy il morust. Sy pensa en son ceur moult angoisseusement comment il lui porroit aidier, et comme il ne trouvast aultre maniere que ceste qui sensieult, laquelle est bien digne de memoire,

[1] *a.* B. C.2. *avoit.* A.
[2] *son ceur.* B. C.2.
[3] *merancollie.* B. C.2.

car pour saouler son seigneur il trencha de sa cuisse une grant piece de char, laquelle il rosti sur les charbons, sy la bailla au roy et lui dist que cestoit de la venoyson que il avoit prins. Laquelle le roy menga sans demeure, car il cuidoit que ce feust venoison ; mais il sesmerveilloit moult en le mengant de la doulceur dicelle, et disoit que oncques[1] navoit mengie si bonne. Sy en devint[2] un pou plus joyeux que devant, et commenca a aler et venir, sicque il fut en moins de trois jours apres guery. Et entretant[3] le maistre de la nef et ses menistres firent refaire leur vaissel, car il avoit este tout rompu des tempestes de la mer, et tantost quelle fut preste et le temps convenable ilz se misrent au nagier, sy arriverent en pou despace en Armoricque-Bretaigne a la cite de Kidalente, ou ilz trouverent le roy Salemon qui les receupt moult benignement, et apres la reverence faitte telle comme il lui appartenoit, le roy Cadualus lui explicque[4] sa calamite et la cause de sa venue. Et quant le noble roy Salemon ot entendue sa requeste, il le festoya grandement en lui prometant son ayde par ceste maniere qui sensieult.

La responce que fist le roy Salemon de Armoricque-Bretaigne au roy Cadualus qui son ayde lui requeroit. LE CHAPITRE XLV^e^.

O VOUS, nobles jovenenceaulx,[5] certes moult est[6] a plaindre et gemir ce que le pays de vos peres[7] est ainssy opprime depar ceste gent barbaricque et vous veoir estre exillies de vostre noureture sy ygnominieusement, comme tous hommes sefforcent de garder et

[1] *jamais.* C.2.
[2] *en commenca a devenir.* C.2.
[3] *Et entretant.* B. C.2. *et entra.* A.
[4] *explicqua.* C.2.
[5] *noble jovenenceau.* C.2.
[6] *estes.* C.2.
[7] *votre pere.* C.2.

deffendre leur pays et royaulmes, et a moy sans doubte[1] est grant merveilles de vostre peuple avoir ainssy perdu ceste isle tant noble et faconde, et que navez peu celle gent ville[2] saxonnicque vaincre, ne leur effort soustenir,[3] car jadis comme ma gent qui habitent[4] en ceste mienne Bretaigne cohabitassent[5] en vostre Bretaigne, ceste vostre terre estoit dame de tous les royaulmes et[6] provinces collateraulx dicelle, ne jusques cy na este nul peuple, exepte les Rommains, qui loenge de vray triumphe emportast dicelle. Et neantmoins que les Rommains en aulcuns temps en eussent la subgection; toutesfois neantmoins finablement leurs proies ravies et leurs ducz detrenchiez a grant opprobre et reproche en furent tres villainement deboutez. Mais depuis que Maximien et Cauanth nos ducz parvindrent en ceste province, ceulx qui dela resterent neurent oncques depuis la grace ne la glore qui tant les avoit rendus preux envers tout le monde. Neantmoins que le diadesme royal y ait este tousjours depuis continue, car es tresclers princes vous ont succede heritiers de moindre puissance, et nont mie observee celle noble dignite anchienne qui tousjours avoit flory en vos predicesseurs, cest a dire lindustrie et proesse bellicque; pourquoy a pou doccasion des ennemys envahissans ont este victoriez. Dont en mon ceur je plaingz amerement la debilitation de vostre peuple, car dune meismes lingnie avons sorty commencement, et sommes nommez Bretons comme la gent de vostre pais; sy garderons et deffenderons vostre terre de tous ceulx qui lui adversent ou contrarient, et ennemys lui sont, comme la nostre propre contree.

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[1] *doubte.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.
[2] *inhumaine.* C.2.
[3] *aucunement soustenir.* C.2.
[4] *habittent.* B. C.2. *habitoient.* A.
[5] *cohabitassent en vostre Bretaigne.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.
[6] *et.* C.2. *des.* A.B.

Sensieult loroison regratiatoire que fist le roy Cadualus au roy Salemon, et comment Brianth passa en la Grant Bretaigne, ou il occyst Pellicus lingromantien de Eduinus. LE CHAPITRE XLVI^e.

CADUALUS, qui de ceste responce avoit este aulcunement honteux, quant le roy Salemon ot mis fin a ses parolles, il commenca a respondre par la maniere qui sensieult: "O tres noble roy, je non mie tant comme " je doy et tenus y suis te regratie, mais comme la " fragilite de mon entendement se souffist estendre[1] et " amplier de tes dis et de ce que ta mageste se promet " favorisier a moy, adfin que je puisse recouvrer mon " royaulme; mais quant a ce que tu te donnes mer- " veilles de ma gent avoir perdu leur terre et pays " tant noble et tant fertille, et quilz nont point gardee " la dignite de leurs predicesseurs,[2] je arbitre et juge " ceste chose non estre digne de merveille comme tu " meismes dies, et la verite aussy est telle, les vrays " Bretons avoir guerpi nostre terre et estre venus en " ceste tienne contree, car tous les plus nobles de " nostre rengne si sievirent les ducz que tu as devant " nommez, et les rusticques et non-nobles qui lors de- " mourerent possiderent et obtindrent les honneurs, car " leur gloire excedoit et sourmontoit leur dignite et " valleur, par quoy ilz ont eslevez leurs ceurs en arro- " gance trop plus que leur faculte ne souffist soy esten- " dre; et en la grant affluence des delis[3] et honneurs " mondains tous aveugles. Telle et tant grande forni- " cation et voluptuosite ont a eulx ajointe et complee[4] " que oncques entre gens de nul royaulme ne feust " pareille oye ne veue."—Et aussy (comme desmongne[5] Gildas historiagraphe) ilz ne furent mie seulement en-

[1] *estendre.* B. *entendre.* A.
[2] *ancesseurs.* C. 2.
[3] *delices.* C.2.
[4] *couplee.* B. C.2.
[5] *tesmoigne.* B. C.2.

techiez[1] de cestui vice, mais tous aultres a qui nature humaine peult estre soubmise, et meismes de ce[2] tres abhominable vice destruiseur de toute pollice, cest a dire de sedition civille, remunération de mal pour bien, veneration a iniquite, abollition de[3] benignite ou pitie envers son pays et ses parens, hostelage de Sathan, et expultion de toute bonte. Hellas! en cellui temps ilz estoient prestz[4] des cuers tres poignans non mie en la faveur de Dieu, mais que lun se magnifeste plus cruel que laultre envers ses citoiens, et pou apres les victeurs civiles sans nulle examination martirisoient leurs citoiens et leurs terres, et les aultres plus eslevez a toute tirannye encherchoient se nul en y avoit qui eust quelque regard en ceur piteux ne entendement propice a verite, adfin que en lui tous exercitaissent leur miserable et ygnominieuse perfidie ainssy comme en cellui qui estoit seducteur et subvertant lordre du pays de Bretaigne. En apres toutes choses qui au Createur[5] du monde estoient plaisantes,[6] par egalle superstition et sacrilege estoient polies de pensee et de fait se choses plus griefves magnifestement ne leur en pooit venir, ainsy comme se leur maleurete dampnable les menast a faire toutes choses contralles[7] a leur salut, et aussy comme se nulle medechine espirituelle ne corporelle ilz ne congnoissent leur estre eslargie de cellui tres souverain mire. Et cestes choses nestoient mie seullement perpetrees et adcomplies par les hommes seculliers, mais avec ce les prestres, religieux et les pastours de leglise les commettoient et perpectoient[8] leurs brebisettes[9] devant leurs yeulx devourer par les sainglers et les loups.[10] — "Et ainssy," dist le roy

[1] *entachiez.* B. C.2.
[2] *de ce.* B. C.2. *ce* omitted in A.
[3] *de.* B. C.2. *a.* A.
[4] *pres.* B. C.2.
[5] *Souverain Createur.* C.2.
[6] *plaisance et le.* C.2.
[7] *contraires.* C.2.
[8] *perpetroient.* C.2.
[9] *brebis.* C.2.
[10] *loups ravissans.* C.2.

Cadualus, " pour ceste cause je concludz non estre " chose dadmiration digne telz hommes degenerans de " leur premiere beneurete paternal, par quoy ilz ont leur " pays tant macule de crismes sy horribles, se dicelluy " sont dejectez; mais en ce me samble que la miseri- " corde divine leur a fait moult grant grace quant elle " na pas concheu executer sa sentence sur eulx selon " leurs demerites, ains tant seullement a permis aultre " peuple leur terre possider, et eulx dicelle exilier. " Pourquoy il me samble que puisque[1] ta mageste me " promet ayde que nous foibles et imbecilles celle meismes " deite eslevera a la victoire triumphal de ces barbariens " de nous victeurs, et seront par nous vaincus moiennant " ton suffrage et celle haulte puissance premierement " appelle au gouvernement de nostre isle, auquel sans " doubte nous navions pas tendu, mais seulement ad ce " que la mageste de mon pere avoit en son temps " obtenu. Et sans doubte ce que tu dis que nous " sommes tout dun sang me rent hardy et corageux a " postuler ou demander de toy faveur et ayde, comme " il soit ainssy que Malgo, cellui souverain roy qui " le quatriesme apres Artus rengna en nostre pais de " Bretaigne, engendrast deux filz, dont lun fut appelle " Emuanus et laultre Ruith. Apres[2] que son frere " cellui Emuanus engendra Bethli; Bethly engendra " Raugeuth[3] et Rageuth engendra Caduanth mon pere. " Mais Ruith, apres ce que son frere Emuanus fut occys " en la guerre des Saxons, vint en cestui pays, et avoit " une fille laquelle il donna en mariage a Hoelus, le duc " de cestui pais, filz de cellui noble roy Hoelus, qui " avecques Artus avoit este[4] a subjuguier les royaulmes " et pais quilz misrent desoubz leur seignourie par puis- " sance darmes. De laquelle fille fut nez le roy Allain,

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[1] *puisque.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.

[2] *Apres que son frere.* Omitted in C.2.

[3] *Racheuth.* C.2.

[4] *avoit este.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.

" duquel Allain fut nez le roy Hoel, ton pere, et par ce " appert combien grant soit le lingnage entre toy et " moy; et pour ce que tu par descrete solertie las " congneu, humblement, non pas asses souffissamment, " je ten regratie." Ces choses dittes par la maniere que oy avez, le roy Salemon dist au roy Cadualus que cest yver il demouroit avecques lui en son pallaix, endementiers que les navires se preparroient, et aussy il manderoit a ses gens quilz fussent prestz pour partir au temps nouvel. Adonth Brianth qui le ceur avoit en Bretaigne-la-Grant, oyant ces pourpos dist au roy quil voulloit cest iver passer en son pais secretement pour veoir se par aulcun art il pourroit occyre cestui magicien Pellicus, par qui industrie le roy Eduinus estoit tant eslevez, et aussy adfin que quant le roy Cadualus, son seigneur, passeroit par la cellui ingromantien ne le peust nunchier. Sy prinst congie Brianth des deux roys et entra en une nef en laquelle il erra tellement quen peu de temps il arriva en son pays et applicqua sa nef au port de Hamon; mais avant quil descendist a terre il se vesti de robes chetives et desrompues en guise de kaimant, sy prinst en sa main un grant bourdon quil avoit apporte avec lui moult bien ferre au bout dune ague pointe, acheree de fin achier, adfin que se fortune le menoit en quelque lieu ou il peust trouver le traitre il le tuast de cellui bourdon. Brianth doncques, habitte moult povrement en guize dun mendiant, sen ala soubz celle dissimulation en la cite de Hebroith, ou hestoit [1] le roy Eduinus, car la il tenoit son siege. Tantost quil fut entres dedens la cite il sacompaigna aux povres gens qui attendoient laumosne a la porte de lostel royal, et aloit dun coste et daultre en atendant tousjours aulcune occasion par laquelle il peust demander la maniere de congnoistre cestui ingromantien.[2] Et en ce pensant il avoit tous-

[1] *estoit.* B. C.2.

[2] *nygromantien.* C.2.

jours lueil ou pallaix, duquel il vey issir une pucelle moult belle, laquelle il commenca forment a regarder, sy congneut bien que cestoit sa seur, laquelle le roy Eduinus avoit ravie apres la desconfiture du roy Cadualus en la cite Guingoneuse quil avoit prinse par armes, mais il lavoit espargnie pour sa noblesse, et commise au service de la roine sa femme, et a celle meismes heure quelle yssoit de la salle roial que Brianth la congneut, pourtoit [1] elle un bachin dor pour donner de leaue a la roine qui estoit en une aultre salle pres de celle du roy. Sy passa la demoiselle devant son frere sans le congnoistre, pour aler faire son office; mais quant son frere Briant vey quelle passoit [2] sans lui faire quelque samblant de congnoissance, il sadvancha un pou en grant effusion de larmes de ce quil veoit sa seur ainssy estre achetivee.[3] Sy la hucha par son non a triste voix. Quant la pucelle entendy la voix de son frere, au commencement elle fut doubteuse, et retourna sa face pour veoir cellui qui sy bien par son droit non le scavoit nommer, et saprocha un petit de Brianth en le ravisant moult ententivement; mais quant elle le congneut tantost devint palle et esbahye, ramenbrant en son ceur leur miserable fortune, dont elle fut en son ceur sy serree quelle ne polt parler de tritresse [4] en pensant au peril ou son frere estoit se par aulcune adventure on le recongnoissoit. Pourquoy elle reprinst en soy son entendement et vigour en delaissant les baisiers et embrachemens quelle en son ceur desiroit grandement a faire, sy prinst les parolles a son frere, et lui recita tout son estat et la ordonnance du roy et de sa court, et lui moustra Pellicus le devin, qui lors estoit issus hors de lostel pour faire distribuer laumosne aux povres. Sy fut Brianth moult lies quant il congneu le traitre

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[1] *portoit.* B.
[2] *tout oultre.* B. C.2.
[3] *en chetivete.* B. C.2.
[4] *tristresse.* B.

enchanteur, et dist a sa seur que se elle povoit nullement quelle semblast au soir des chambres de la roine et venist a lui parmy lobscurte de la nuit dehors la cite de coste[1] un viel temple qui illec estoit, ou il latendroyt emmy arbrisseaulx moult espes qui y estoient, et lors sans plus parler entra au milieu de la tourbe des pouvres ou Pellicus estoit quy[2] les collocquoit et metoit en ordre. Pourquoy a celle cause il avoit entour lui moult grant peresse[3] des povres, car chascun deulx sefforcoit de soy mettre adfin de estre le premier party. Sy veyt adoncques Brianth que fortune lui donnoit a ceste fois bien lieu dacomplir sa voulente; et lors il empoigna son bourdon, sy en feri lenchanteur en la poitrine par tel fachon quil chey mort en ceste place. Pour laquelle cause il sesleva grant noise entre les mendians qui entour de lui estoient en grant tumulte. Mais Brianth sestoit ja sis[4] a terre, qui moult scavoit bien dissimuler et soy rengier avec les aultres, sicques, pour ce que la presse des povres qui drois estoient estoit sy grande, et aussi quil se seoit moult simplement en atendant la pitance, il ne fut a nul suspect, et en la fin par lieux umbrages et deseus[5] il vint sceurement jusques au lieu ou il debvoit atendre sa seur par la voulente de Dieu. Laquelle, non obstant que quant la nuit fut venue elle essaiast en toutes manieres possibles deschapper, sy ne polt elle, car le roy Eduinus durement esbahy a cause de la mort de Pellicus lenchanteur, soy doubtant de trayson avoit establi gaittes[7] et gens darmes en grant quantite pour veillier toute la nuit entour le pallaix. Mais quant Brianus vey que sa seur ne venoit point, il en fut moult doulent, sy se

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[1] *dencoste un.* B. *auprez dun.* C.2.
[2] *quy.* B. C.2. *quil.* A.
[3] *presse.* B. C.2.
[4] *assis.* C.2.
[5] *umbrageux et deserts.* B. C.2.
[6] *esprouvast.* C.2.
[7] *guettes.* C.2.

parti du lieu ou il lavoit atendue et sen ala a la cite de Exonie, ou il manda tous les barons de Bretaigne, ausquelz quant ilz furent la venus il racompta ce que fait avoit en ce voyage ; puis garny moult bien celle cyte de vivres et darmeures, apres quil ot tramis messages au roy Cadualus son seigneur en Armoricque-Bretaigne en la court du roy Salemon, ou il atendoit la nouvelle saison, pour lui denunchier la mort de Pellicus lenchanteur, qui grandement les avoit grevez en denunchant a Eduinus, son seigneur, par ses auguremens[1] les choses a advenir, de laquelle chose oyer le roy Cadualus fut moult joieulx.

Ces choses ainssy faittes que oy avez, Briant, qui sages et advises estoit, envoia aussy messagiers a tous les chevaliers et barons[2] qui dedens la puissance du roy Cadualus tenoient villes, cytes et chasteaulx, disant quilz se tenissent sceurement dedens leurs forteresses sans riens doubter ne eulx habandonner a quelque fortune ou[3] peril, car le roy Cadualus venroit briefment de Armoricque-Bretaigne, avecques lui tout leffort du roy Salemon, pour les secourir, aydier et conforter a toutes leurs necessitez.

Or doncques comme ces choses se diwlgassent par toute lisle de la Grant-Bretaigne, Peandath, le roy des Merancoriens, assambla un merveilleuzement grant ost, atout lequel il entra es provinces des Bretons en y faisant tous les inhumains maulx que faire povoit, sy vint assegier Exonie, ou estoit Briant, atout dix mille chevaliers, en esperance de la concquester et opprimer Briant, laquelle chose moult il desiroit.

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[1] *par ses auguremens.* Omitted in C.2.

[2] *les chievetaines, barons et chevaliers qui.* B. C.2.

[3] *ou mauvais peril.* C.2.

Comment le roy Caduale leva le siege de devant Exonie, ou il desconfist lost du roy Peandath, et comment il occist Eduinus, Offride son filz, et Godboth, avec tout leur grant ost. LE CHAPITRE XLVII^e^.

ENTRETANT que le siege se continuoit devant Exonie asses paresceusement, et que toutes choses y estoient negligentes, sicque a pou que les Saxons sambloient mieulx estre assegiez que assegans, le roy Caduale applicqua en Bretaigne a moult grant navire, avec lui toute layde des gens darmes que le roy Salemon lui avoit baillie ; et tantost quil ot prinse terre il sen ala atoutes ses coppies droit a Exonie ou estoit le siege, pour secourir Briant son nepveu et ses aultres cytoyens, ou il arriva en pou de terme. Mais quant les ennemis ladviserent venir ilz ordonnerent leurs batailles a grans noises et sons de trompettes, buisines et gros tambours. Et daultre part le roy Caduale, qui avoit fait quatre batailles de tout son ost, envahy au commencement ses ennemys par sy grant force que de premiere venue aux fers des lances trenchans a laide des siens en verserent a terre plus de mille tous sanglentz, et les Saxons se deffendoient moult asprement, sy estoit loccysion moult grande de toutes pars, mais trop plus y moroit des Saxons que des Bretons, car les Bretons les detrenchoient miserablement aux epees dachier, tellement quilz furent tous desconfis et le roy Peandath prins, lequel se voyant en ce dangier se voua et mist en la subgection du roy Caduale, en prometant de luy aidier atous ses gens contre tous les aultres roys Saxons, pour la confirmation de laquelle chose il bailla solempnelz hostages. Apres ce que Caduale ot eue celle victoire, il assambla tous ses barons, qui ja par long temps estoient

ainssy comme tous privez dart de bataille, ou[1] en mandant aydes partout[2] ou il en peult finer. Puis passa le Hombre et entra en Northumberlande, ou il se prinst a gaster tout le pais par feu et par effusion de sang sans nulle pitie. Laquelle chose Eduinus portoit moult impaciamment, pourquoy il assambla un moult grant ost, car tous les petis roys des Saxons estans en la Grant Bretaigne estoient en son ayde, sy vint alencontre des Bretons en un champ nomme Hedfeld, auquel, ordonnees les batailles des deux ostz, ilz assamblerent lun contre laultre moult ataigneusement, sy y fut loccision tres horrible de tous costes car les Saxons, qui ancores navoit que un an quilz avoient chassie le roy Caduale hors de Bretaigne, se combatoient moult asprement, indignez de ce que eulx victeurs estoient ainssy dhommagies par les Bretons vaincus. Mais daultre part les Bretons, quy pour acquerir gloire darmes avoient passe la mer, ne se faingnoient pas ains detrenchoient leurs ennemis comme bestes mues. Sy estoit loccysion merveilleuze,[3] car le roy Eduinus y fut occys, aussy fut son filz Offrid, et Godboth le roy des Arcades,[4] qui leur estoit venus en ayde, et meysmement y fut tout leur ost agravente. Pourquoy les Bretons y recheurent moult grant gloire et gaignerent moult grans proies ; mais ce fut a leur grant dhommage, car moult en y morut.

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[1] *ou.* Omitted in B. C.2.
[2] *par tous les lieux.* B.
[3] *moult grande et.* C.2.
[4] *Orcades.* B. C.2.

CROI CENTRAL LIBRARIES

Comment le roy Caduale occist le roy Offrid en bataille avec tout son ost, et de la victoire Ozuuath[1] *contre le roy Peandath, qui apres aussi desconfist le roy Caduale depuis.* LE CHAPITRE XLVIIIe.

TRIUMPHANT doncques le roy Caduale pour ceste victoire ne esleva pas petit son ceur, ains se pensa que ceste fortune de bataille lui avoit recouvre le royaulme de ses predicesseurs, mais quil la poursievist endementiers que la victoire estoit fresche, adfin quil feust plus espoventable a ses ennemis. Sy sachemina tantost par[2] ceste cause avec toutes ses batailles parmy les terres que occupoient adont les Saxons en la Grant Bretaigne, par sy grant hayne que tout estoit demoli par feu et par glave, car certes toutes manieres de gens y estoient detrenchies sans regarder[3] ne sexe ne eage, comme femmes, enfans et vielles gens, ausquelz len sceut[4] pardonner, y furent agraventes, pour ce que lintention du roy Caduale estoit de exillier et desrachiner par ceste maniere la generation saxonnicque par tout le royaulme de Bretaigne, sicque sans doubte tous ceulx quil trouvoit il faisoit morir par intollerables[5] tourmens.

En ces choses faisant le roy Caduale eut bataille contre le roy Offrid, frere du roy Eduinus, mais la desconfiture entourna sur les Saxons tellement que Offrid y fut occys et ses deux nepveulx qui apres lui debvoient rengner, et avecques eulx[6] y morut le roy Caduant[7] dEscoche, qui leur estoit venus en ayde. Ceste bataille desconfite, et les ducx dicelle mors, le roy Ozuuath, qui avoit succede ou royaulme de Northambrie, lequel Caduale avoit chassie jusques a une ville

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[1] *Ozuuath.* All the MSS. appear to read *Ozimath.*
[2] *pour.* C.2.
[3] *regarder.* B. C.2. *regard.* A.
[4] *seult.* B. *souloit.* C.2.
[5] *et inhumains.* C.2.
[6] *eulx.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.
[7] *Caduant le roy.* B.

quon appelloit Murith, hors de tout son pais, laquelle fonda Julle Cesar quant il passa en Bretaigne, et estoit celle ville scituee entre Escoce et Bretaigne, sy tramist le roy Caduale le roy Peandath atout la plus-part de son ost pour opprimer le roy Ozuuath et lui faire bataille, lequel il cuidoit estre en la ville de Murith; mais il ny estoit mie, ains sestoit logies[1] en un lieu fort de sa nature et difficile a envahir, qui avoit non Helddefelde, qui vault autant a dire en nostre langage comme pays[2] deivin ou celeste. Sy advint que quant le roy Peandath leut assegie que tantost vivres lui faillerent, pourquoy une nuit ainssy comme il estoit plain dangoisses et labours,[3] que ou milieu de toutes ses gens il drescha une croix ou non de Jhesu Crist nostre Seigneur, car lui et presques tous les roys saxons avoient receu le saint scacrement[4] de baptesme par la predication du glorieux Saint Augustin. Puis quant le roy ot ceste croix dreschie, il commanda a ses chevaliers que tous sagenoullassent et criaissent apres lui toutes les parolles quil diroit, ad fin que nostre Seigneur leur feust misericordieux a ce grant besoing, puis lui et toutes ses gens fleschirent les genoulx et dirent en ceste maniere. " O vray Dieu omnipotent, " un seul Dieu en troix personnes, une vraye deite, " deffens-nous et soies protecteur encontre lost briton- " nique orgueilleux et de son tres cruel roy, voire, et de " cestui roy Peandath qui son ost nuit et jour contre " nous oppose. O vray Dieu, tu sces bien que nous " navons mie injustement prins armes, mais a bonne " cause pour le salut de nostre peuple." Et apres quils orent tout ce fait ilz coururent sus a leurs ennemys, qui parescheusement comme acoustume est en choses prosperes se maintenoient, sy en occirent moult a leur venue. Mais le roy Peandath ralia ses batailles et

[1] *muchie.* C.2.
[2] *pays.* C. 2. *pain.* A. B.
[3] *diagres labours.* C.2.
[4] *sacrement.* B.

maintint lassault moult longuement, laquelle chose lui fut de petite valeur, car en la fin selon les merites de leur roy ilz furent vaincus par le roy Ozuuath et ses Saxons, plus par foy que par force darmes ou de multitude, et furent desconfis a grant effusion de leur sang. Mais celle glore ne dura pas longuement aux Saxons, car la ou rumour dicelle parvint aux oreilles du roy Caduale il devint plus furieux que devant envers les Saxons, sy poursievy tantost a moult grant haste le bon roy Ozuuath, qui avoit petit nombre de gens, car toute sa fiance avoit mis en nostre Seigneur; et convindrent ensamble les deux roys a bataille en un lieu appelle Burne, ou loccision fut moult grande de toutes pars, et plus devers Ozuuath, qui navoit mye sy grant ost que Caduale, mais il se maintenoit comme chevalier garny de haulte hardiesse tout ou premier front de sa bataille, pourquoy ses gens en estoient[1] plus vigoureulx. Lors le roy Peandath, vaincu, qui estoit en lost du roy Caduale, voyant le dhommage que faisoit le bon roy Ozuuath a ses hommes, et quil estoit seul[2] deffenseur de ses chevaliers, ala jouster a lui dune forte lance, dont il le percha tout oultre le corps, sy labati mort par terre, dont ce fut grant dhommage, car moult avoit este preudhomme toute sa vie. Mais sy tost que ses gens le veyrent mort ilz perdirent toute esperance et hardement, sy furent en peu dheure apres tournes a desconfiture et detrenchies par les Bretons sans quelconques mercy.

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[1] *estoient.* B. C.2. *estoitoient.* A. | [2] *seul.* B. C.2. *seur.* A.

Comment par ladmonestement de Alflird,[1] *filz du noble roy Ozuuath, le roy Peandath pria au roy Caduale par fraude quil esmeust guerre contre le roy Ozuuath, son oncle.* Le Chapitre XLIXe.

Puisque le bon roy Ozuuath fut occys et maintz milliers de ses hommes a grant martire finez, Ozuuath son frere lui succeda a son royaulme, lequel se soubmist au roy Caduale qui ja aussy[2] seignourissoit sur toute la monarchie de lisle de la Grant Bretaigne, et lui tramist maintz rices dons et grans finances dor et dargent, par quoy il impetra sa begnivolence, et demoura en paix, et obtint tout le royaulme de Northambrie, mais ceste felicite ou repos ne lui dura pas longuement, car Alfrid et Iouad ses nepveux lui meurent guerre et moult le greverent, mais quant il ot assamble[3] son ost ilz ne lui peurent contrester, ains pour saulver leurs vyes sen fuyrent au roy Peandath des Mericoriens qui leur pere avoit occys, auquel ilz supplierent[4] quil lui pleust assambler ses ostz et passer en Northambrie pour guerroyer le roy Ozuuath adfin quils peussent obtenir le royaulme. Quant le roy Peandath sceut la verite de ceste besongne, nonobstant quil leust bien a ceur, toutesfois dissimula il la chose, doubtant de courouchier le roy Caduale sil enfraingnoit[5] les ordonnances quil avoit ordonnees et establies ou royaulme de Bretaigne, sapensa[6] quil nesmouveroit point de guerre sans la licence du dit roy Caduale contre le roy Ozuuath. Mais sy tost comme opportunite lui donroit lieu de parler au roy Caduale, il esmouveroit haine entre lui et le roy Ozuuath ou aumoins obtendroit sil povoit de lui licence pour le dit roy Ozuuath guerroier. Or advint que le roy Caduale voult en ce

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[1] *Alflid.* C.2.
[2] *qui par ainsi.* C.2.
[3] *eut accumule.* C.2.
[4] *humblement supplierent.* C.2.
[5] *saucunement enfrandoit.* C.2.
[6] *mais sapensa.* C.2.

temps tenir une feste solempnelle en la cite de Londres, a laquelle il manda tous les roys, princes et barons a lui subjetz, entre lesquelz y ala le roy Peandath, et aussy firent tous les aultres roys Saxons exepte seulement le roy Ozuuath de Northambrie, lequel se fist excuser par maladye.

Lors le roy Peandath, qui ne contendoit que a une fin, voyant que le roy Ozuuath nestoit point venu au mandement du roy Caduale, il lui sambla quil avoit[1] bien occasion de parler au roy sur la matere pourquoy il estoit le plus voulentiers venu a ceste feste. Sy dist au roy Caduale : " Sire, pourquoy nest venu a " court pour veoir vostre noble feste le roy Ozuuath, " comme tous les nobles de Bretaigne et les roys saxo- " niens fors lui seul y soient venus ? " A quoy le roy Caduale lui respondy quil estoit malade, et quil sestoit fait excuser. Mais le roy Peandath, qui le ceur avoit enordy de trayson, respondy tantost quil nestoit pas ainssy ains dist, le felon traitre a tramis legatz en Germanie querre gens pour toy destruire et nous tous qui te favorisons et tavons preste ayde a occire son frere et son royaulme subjuguier, la mort duquel il veult vengier en nostre sang, et ce appert asses, car il a este le premier qui a tes lois enfraintes, comme il ayt par puissance darmes chassiez Eldefrid et Ioüath[2] ses nepveux hors de Northambrie leur propre[3] heritage et pais. Sy te prie, adfin de obvier aux grans inconveniens[4] qui de ce pourroient ensievir, que tu me donnes licence de lui courre sus et le ramener a ta juridiction avant que les Saxons, qui lui doibvent venir aidier de Germanie, soient arrivez. Le roy Caduale oyant la maulvaise persuasion du traitre roy Peandath chey[5] en

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[1] *avoit maintenant.* C.2.
[2] *Ioduath.* B. *Iouad.* C.2.
[3] *propre pays et droit heritage.* B. C.2.
[4] *aux grans inconveniens.* C.2. *a inconveniens.* A.
[5] *tumba.* C.2.

moult de diverses pensees, sy demanda a ses barons conseil sur ceste besongne, lesquelz eurent entre eulx maintes altergations, tant que le roy des Demetres, qui estoit Breton, se leva en piedz et dist au roy Caduale: " Sire, la generation saxonnicque vous eust chassie hors " de vostre pais se faire leust peu, pourquoy vous " proposastes de mettre a neant tous les Saxons, et " maintenant vous desistez de ceste sentence qui tant " juste me samble, et les souffrez en grant transquilite " vivre entre nous. Je dis moult affectueuzement que " au moins la ou tu ne les veus [1] pas molester par ba- " tailles que tu les laisses les ungs aux aultres agraventer. " Puisque Dieu leur a tramise la pestilence [2] civile, car " eulx meismes par ce moien se extermineront, vous ne " debvez pas regarder ad ce que promise leur avez foy " de les garder, car loyaulte ne doibt point estre afer- " mee [3] a cellui qui machine traysons vers cellui a qui " il se demoustre favorable. Or doncques puisque les " Saxons vindrent par force darmes et prodition detes- " table occuper ceste nostre terre, et machinent tousjours " contre nous et nos citoiens batailles ou traysons, je " arbitre et juge foy ne aliance devoir estre a eulx [4] gar- " dee. Sire, ne soiies doncques plus loncg [5] ne tardif " ains donnez licence pleniere au roy Peandath de courir " sus au roy Ozuuath et le destruire, adfin que tant " moins en y ayt en nostre naturel pais."

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[1] *voelz.* B. *vuelz.* C.2.
[2] *guerre.* C.2.
[3] *observee.* B. C.2.
[4] *nulz.* C.2.
[5] *lent.* B. C.2.

Comment le roy Peandath fut desconfit par le roy Ozuuath apres ce quil ot fait foizon de maulx[1] *en Northambrie, et de la fin du roy Caduale de Bretaigne.*[2] LE CHAPITRE L[e].

CESTE et pluiseurs aultres persuasions esmeurent le roy Caduale, pourquoy il donna licence[3] et auctorite pleniere au roy Peandath de assambler gens darmes et courir sus au roy Ozuuath, lequel fut de cest ottroy moult joyeulx. Sy se parti de la court et sen ala en son pais, ou[4] il assambla un grant ost, puis passa le Hombre et entra ou pais du roy Ozuuath, ou il commenca a faire maulx innumerables, sicque il constraingny le dit roy Ozuuath soy enfermer en une sienne cite, lequel voyant que il ne porroit lors resister a la tirannye[5] de ses ennemis envoya legatz au roy Peandath, cuidant trouver aulcun acord vers lui par rices dons et promesses. Mais le felon roy Peandath enflambe de tirannye[6] en devint plus cruel que devant; sy sen retournerent les messages a leur seigneur, lequel relencqui de toute ayde foraine se retourna envers cellui tout puissant Seigneur par qui vigour son frere Ozuuath avoit en son vivant cestui felon roy Peandath vaincqui, puis, ses oroisons faittes, ordonne ce petit de gens quil avoit, et ala contre son ennemy et se combati a lui sur le fleuve de Winnerd,[7] ou il fut occys et avec lui trente ducz Saxons. Sy lui succeda son filz Ulfrid a son royaulme par lauctorite du roy Caduale; lequel tantost que il fut confermez en sa seignourie quil quist[8] aliances en especial se confedera avec Abaed et Edbred,[9] ducz des Merencoriens, puis renouvella la guerre

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[1] *inhumaines et intollerables ou royaume de.* C.2.
[2] *roy de la Grant Bretaigne.* C.2.
[3] *licence et.* Omitted in B. C.2.
[4] *la ou.* C.2.
[5] *mauvaise tirannye.* C.2.
[6] *dinhumaine tirannye.* C.2.
[7] *Winneod.* B. *Wyneod.* C.2.
[8] *quist.* C.2. Omitted in A.B.
[9] *Edbreb.* B. C.2.

contre le roy Ozuuath pour vengier la mort de son pere ; mais le roy Caduale en fist[1] la paix en lan xlviiie. de son rengne. Lors cellui noble roy Caduale consumme de viellesse et agreve de maladye trespassa de ce siecle, la xiie. kalende de Decembre, au grant pleur et gemissemens de son peuple. Sy fut son corps embasme et mis en une statue[2] de cuivre dore moult vivement taillie selon sa propre fourme, et puis assis sur une porte de Londres vers occident, en remembrance quil avoit reconcquis le diadesme de Bretaigne sur les Saxons. Laquelle statue estoit sur un cheval ouvre par artiffice sumptueux, arme de toutes armes bellicques ; dessoubz lequel ymage fut ediffiee en lonneur[3] du benoit confez[4] monseigneur Saint Martin une moult notable eglise, pour pryer a Dieu pour le roy et tous aultres loyaulx trespassez en celebrant les divins misteres[5] ecclesiasticques.

Comment Caduualladreth, filz du roy Caduale, fut couronnez, et de la guerre civile des barons de Bretaigne, par laquelle il sourdy grant famine et mortalite tres horribile. Le Chapitre LIe.

Apres ce que les funeraulx obseques du roy Caduale furent moult solempnellement celebrez, les prelatz et barons du royaulme sassamblerent, et, comme il est de coustume raisonnable, couronnerent son filz Caduualladreth, lequel Bede en sa cronicque[6] appelle Egoual le jovenenceau. Sy prinst Caduualladreth le gouvernement de son royaulme, et se maintint au commencement de son rengne moult vaillamment en traitant debonnairement son peuple, non mie par trop grant fami-

[1] *en fist . . . . noble roy Caduale.* Omitted in C.2.
[2] *sercus.* C.2.
[3] *lonneur et reverence.* C.2.
[4] *confez monseigneur.* Omitted in C.2.
[5] *offices.* C.2.
[6] *en Saxon appelle Egoual.* C.2.

liarite, mais par atemprance raisonnable. Par laquelle vertueuze pollitie il rengna xii. ans, puis sacoucha dune griefve maladie qui le tint longuement. Sy fut durement plains et condolus de ses hommes pour ce que toute sa vye avoit este droiturier et bon justicier. Et adont comme le rengne feust ainssy comme orphenin de gouvernement pour cause de la langeur du bon roy, qui nulz hoirs navoit qui en sen nom gouvernaissent, car sa mere, jadis femme du roy Caduale son pere vouloit prendre la saisine du royaulme et transporter a ses parens pour gouverner. Daultre part ceulx du linage du roy de par son pere ne vouloient point ce consentir, ains se disoient estre plus prochain du sang royal, et par consequent plus digne davoir le gouvernement. Pourquoy la guerre civille commenca entre eulx, sy gasterent leur pays, leur peuple et eulx meismes, pour laquelle cause le peuple estoit tout en tribulation, et ancores avec celle civille division leur advint un plus grant inconvenient, car tres aigre famine sensievy de ceste guerre, pour ce que les laboureurs de la terre navoient riens seme, sicque en toute lisle de Bretaigne ne se povoient nulz vivres trouver pour le peuple soustenir, et sen fussent tous fuis ou mors de faim se neust este la chasse[1] des bestes saulvages dont ilz prenoient pour soustenir leurs vyes; ja soit ce que ce feust bien pou, car presques toutes les bestes de Bretaigne privees et saulvages estoient par rage de faim peries, par ce que les pasturages avoient este destruis. Et a ceste dollereuse cause apres ceste cruelle pestillence en sourdy une aultre plus grande, car communement un mal ne vient mye en une seulle infortunite, ce fut la horrible infection de lempedimie[2] ou mortalite tant pestillant que en pou de temps grant multitude de peuple fut perie, tellement que les

[1] *la sauvagine quilz trouvaient ou mors de famine dont.* C.2.

[2] *dimpedimie.* C.2.

vifz ne souffisoient mye aux mors enterrer, car aussy les corps des vivanz estoient sy infectez de la malice[1] du temps quilz ne se povoient aidier ne soustenir, et pour tant ce pou des Bretons qui demourez estoient voyant leurs amis et compaignons par grans monceaulx gesir es villes et sur les champs, et continuellement ceste pestilence voyant enforcier, a grans angoisses miseres excreables plaines de gemissemens et ullemens dollereux se alerent adviser quil estoit sur ce de faire, car il leur sambloit, et vray estoit, que Dieu estoit courouchie a eulx. Or est il a scavoir que nostre Seigneur envoya au peuple des Bretons ou temps que le roy Caduualladreth rengnoit sur eulx pluiseurs playes ainssy comme intollerables, pour la grant habondance des pechies qui entre eulx rengnoient, ja soit ce que le dit roy lour sire feust bon Crestien et saint homme. Mais les Bretons considerans lyre de nostre Seigneur courre sur eulx et sur leur terre, advisans leurs propheties se delibererent entre eulx quilz laisseroient lisle de Bretaigne-la-Grant sy sen yroient demourer et habiter en Armoricque-Bretaigne, car il leur estoit advis que ce nestoit pas le plaisir de nostre Seigneur quilz demouraissent plus en ceste isle, veu les signes qui evidentement[2] leur apparoient. Sy firent scavoir a leur roy ceste emprinse, lequel se y consenty en soupirant de ceur parfondement ; puis assamblerent une grant navire, et fut publie par toute lisle que ceulx qui voldroient laissier la contree feussent prestz a un jour nomme, sicque quant le jour fut venu ilz se misrent en mer pour passer en Armoricque-Bretaigne, implorans et requerans a grans effusions de larmes par merveilleuze effusion laide et suffrage de nostre benoit Createur, en disant a voix plaine de lamentations : " O tres glorieux Dieu, tu nous as ainssy comme les " povres brebis donnez a devourer par nos iniquitez a

[1] *maladie ou malice.* C 2.

[2] *evidamment.* C.2.

" ceste mortalite pestilencieuze, et nous as segreguiez [1]
" et separez entre gens estranges !" Et le roy Caduualla-
dreth meysmes, qui estoit ainssy comme guery de la
maladye qui longuement lavoit tenu, vint au port, sy
entra dedens son vaissel, plain de dolleur innumerable,
disant a ses gens en augmentant leurs gemissemens :
" Ve a nous mauldis pecheurs ! ve voyrement, non
" mye de malediction !"—cest a entendre que le roy ne
vouloit mie dire " Mauldis soions nous," mais disoit
ainssy,—" aions honte de nous miserables pecheurs qui
" pour nos crismes ygnominieulx et pechies enormes
" sommes mauldis de nos iniquitez, car en nulle maniere
" nous ne deffuions ne avons deffui a nostre Seigneur [2]
" offenser ne courouchier, qui sy benignement receupt
" les tourmens de la croix pour nous. Hellas ! ou
" temps que sa misericorde nous a donne espace de
" avoir en nous contrition [3] et faire penitance salvable
" nous avons este obstinez en nos iniquitez ! Hellas la
" vengance de la puissance divine, apres ce que asses
' longuement a atendu, est sur nous versee, qui de
" nostre siege natif [4] et pays naturel nous a extirpez et
" met a fin, ce que jadis le peuple rommain qui tant
" est puissant, ne la tumulte des Escotz et la tyrannye
" des Picz ne les diverses traysons et batailles saxon-
" nicques ne peurent oncques faire ; mais certes aussy
" il nest puissance que celle qui reluist en ceste glo-
" rieuze Trinite. Hellas ! que ayl pourfite a nous
" et a nos predicesseurs de par tant de fois a sy grant
" effusion de sang tant de pesans batailles avoir vic-
" torie, par tant de fois nostre pays avoir a sy grans
" labours et suours [5] darmes recouvrer ? Certes toutes
" ces choses sont et ont este quant a nous vaines
" et superflues, comme la ulsion et vengance divine

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[1] *subjuges.* C.2.
[2] *Seigneur Createur.* B.
[3] *contrition.* B. C.2. *contation.* A.
[4] *natil.* B.
[5] *sueurs.* C.2.

" nous en exille et aussy nous predestine non reng-
" nier et en icellui non habiter a perpetuite." Il est a scavoir que les Bretons avoient rengnie en la Grant Bretaigne onze cens ans et lxxix. devant lincarnation nostre Saulveur Jhesu Crist, et depuis la dite incarnation jusques ou temps de ce roy Caduualladreth furent cincq cens quattre vingz et huit ans. "Et pour ce," disoit il, " certes cest [1] le vray juge, car comme il ait vue que
" tant de exemples nous avoient este demoustres, adfin
" de nous amender et neantmoins avons tousjours par-
" tinacement continue en vices et en pechies ; et con-
" sidere aussy que nul peuple ne polt oncques exter-
" miner nostre lignage de cestui nostre pays, il a tramis
" sur nous ces playes, pourquoy il nous fault nostre
" peuple et nostre pais relenquir et nos dignitez lais-
" sier. O vous, Rommains, puisque ainssy plaist a la
" Mageste divine, retournez ! O vous, Escotz et Pictz,
" retournez ! O vous, desloyaulx Saxons, venez avant,
" veci que lire du souverain Createur vous magnifeste
" et euvre la voye de venir en Bretaigne que tant
" aves desiree, venez doncques, sy la voyes deserte et
" maculee des corps qui abhominablement y pourissent,
" laquelle jadis tant temptee et envahye, vos batailles,
" vous glaves ne vos traysons nont peu destruire. Dont
" au moins ce nous est un grant confort que nulle force [1]
" bellicque de nul peuple ne nous cohorte ne constraint
" toy, Bretaigne, deserte et desolee relenquir, mais que
" seullement celle infinie et extimable puissance de cellui
" treshault [2] roy, nostre Createur, lequel nostre miserable
" affection [3] ne cessa oncques nul jour de offenser."

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[1] *force.* B. C.2. Omitted in A.
[2] *treshault et souverain.* C.2.
[3] *affliction.* B. C.2.

Comment Alain, roy de Armoricque-Bretaigne, receupt benignement le roy Caduualladreth, et comment les Saxons obtindrent paisiblement le royaulme de la Grant Bretaigne.[1] LE CHAPITRE LII[e].

ENTRETANT que le roy et ses gens consummoient le temps en telz regretz et gemissemens moult piteux a oyr et a reciter, leur navire approca le pays de Armoricque-Bretaigne, sy leur doubla leur doleur quant ilz apperceurent la terre, et tant estoit leur compaignie lamentable et plaine de larmes que quant ilz furent arrivez, ilz ne se povoient lever ne issir hors des nefz, ains tournoient tousjours les yeulx enrougis et engrossies par pleurs devers leur paternal pais, en criant par desconfort inextimable : "O pais noble et fertille, " doulx et humain a creature, ou habitoient les cultiveurs et cytoiens qui de toy par leur iniquite sont " exillies ; hellas net[2] il mie meilleur nous estre tous " mors en ta terre que vivre transfuges et faculte- " ment soubz aultre empire."

Finablement vecy leur roy qui leur fist laissier leurs pleurs en les resconfortant moult doulcement et descendirent a terre ; puis atoute sa compaignie prinst son chemin vers la cite ou estoit le roy Alain, qui estoit nepveu du bon roy Salemon qui trespassez estoit ja avoit bonne espace. Lequel leur ala alencontre et les receupt moult honnourablement en leur demoustrant grant signe damistie, et leur departi son pais et sa terre[3] moult largement en leur administrant toutes choses necessaires ; et ad ce polt bien congnoistre le roy Caduualladreth combien grant estoit la foy et

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[1] *Bretaigne, qui maintenant est nommee Angleterre, ou a ce temps advinrent de grans mervilles.* C.2.

[2] *nieit il.* B. *nestoit il.* C.2.

[3] *son royaume.* C.2.

loyaulte du bon roy Alain, car len ne congnoistra ja[1] sy bien son amy que en temps daversite et de fortunes contrarieuses.

Lors estoit toute lisle de Bretaigne deguerpie et deserte de cytoiens,[2] exeptez tant seullement de aulcunes petites relicques de Bretons qui assamblez sestoient es parties de Galles. Sy demoura toute laultre terre wide, en grant desolation, qui estoit horrible chose a veoir, en especial aux Bretons, par lespace de onze ans, fors seullement en aulcunes provinces, ou aulcuns Saxons estoient de celle pestillence tant horrible eschappez, car elle navoit point este moins cruelle es Saxons que es Bretons; ains y avoient este agravantez sans nulle remission, et indifferamment gens de tous eages. Mais puisque la pestillence fut appaisee et que lair devint net et sain, les Saxons qui la demourez estoient, et qui continuellement[3] residence y avoient fait, voyant le pais desert de habitans, manderent par messages a leurs freres et compaignons de Germanie la desollation de lisle et comment il ny avoit nul, se venir y vouloient, qui leur en deffendist la possession plainere que ilz tant desire avoient, car les Bretons infortunez lavoient du tout relencquie et laissie deserte. Laquelle piteuze nouvelle fut aux tirans Saxons grandement agreable pour ce que ilz se veoient audessus du desir que par tant de dures batailles et innumerables occysions ilz navoient[4] peu oncques vaincre es Bretons leurs anchiens ennemys. Or doncques les Germains moult joyeulx des nouvelles devant dittes assemblerent en pou despace un ost comme innumerable, puis entrerent en mer en grant multitude de nefz qui appareillies estoient ad ce faire, sy desancrerent et applicquerent en pou de terme en

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[1] *jamais.* C.2.
[2] *tous ses cytoiens.* B. C.2.
[3] *continuelle.* B.
[4] *navoient.* B. C.2. *nauovoient.* A.

la terre de Northambrie, laquelle ilz trouverent brehaigne et deserte, sy descendirent illec et la peuplerent avec toutes les provinces denviron, pour ce que bonnes et fertilles les scavoient, cest a scavoir celles qui sestendent de Albanie jusques en Cornubie, et ce leur fut chose assez legiere comme ilz feussent ainssy comme infinie multitude et ny avoit nul qui contraliast leurs voulentez, car toutes ces petites relicques des Bretons qui demourez estoient demouroient dedens les boiz et lieux rocheux et montueux de Galles, enfuiant les fureurs acoustumees des tyrans[1] Saxons.

Des cellui temps cessa la puissance britonicque en lisle de la Grant Bretaigne totalement, car oncques puis ne fut recouvree, ains la tiennent ancores aujourdhuy les Anglois, qui sortirent leur naissance des Saxons traytres et parvers par nature, inconstans et muables en voulente, qui oncques foy ne aliance par eulx promise ou vouee ne garderent sans vyolence.

Comment langele saparut au roy Caduualladreth pour le faire desister de la guerre quil vouloit commencier, et des propheties quil lui denuncha. LE DERRENIER CHAPITRE, LIIIe.

NE demoura mie long temps apres ce que les Saxons eurent paisiblement obtenu le pays de la grant Bretaigne, que le roy Caduualladreth et ses aultres barons se commencierent a recorder et ramembrer de la doleur de leur pais, lequel ilz scavoient ja piecha monde et puriffie de celle contagieuse pestillence,[2] sy sen vindrent au roy Alain auquel ilz explicquerent[3] leur voulente, et lui dist le roy Cadu-

[1] *inhumains tyrans.* C.2.
[2] *de celle inhumaine et contagieuse maladie pestillencieuse.* C.2.
[3] *explicquerent.* B. C.2. *applicquerent.* A.

ualladreth que il lui avoit este denuncie que les Saxons estoient passes de Germanie en sa terre de la Grant Bretaigne, laquelle ilz avoient trouvee deserte, sy locccupoient paisiblement, sicque, "noble roy, " nous vous prions et supplions que, adfin que nous " puissons nos dignitez anchiennes recouvrer, il vous " plaise nous estre en ayde." Et pourtant manda tous ses barons en leur commandant que ilz venissent tous appareilliez a lui a certaine journee adfin de passer en lisle de Bretaigne et de en bouter hors les Saxons qui occupe lavoient.

Fait cestui mandement, comme le roy Caduualladreth, qui moult estoit religieux et bon catholicque, se gisoit en son lit une nuitie, un angele saparut a lui, qui lui dist que Dieu lui commandait que de lassamblee quil preparoit pour aler en la Grant Bretaigne il desistast, " car Dieu ne veult pas," dist langele, " que les Bretons " rengnent plus en la Grant Bretaigne jusques au temps " que Merlin le prophetiza au roy Artus; et sy te mande " Dieu derechief que tu te partes tantost de cy et va " a Romme au pape Sergius, et la maisque tu y soies " ta penitance corporelle sera adcomplie et tu seras ap- " pelle de nostre Seigneur en sa gloire avec les beneurez " de son royaulme. Et saches que le peuple britonicque " desservira ancores tant devers nostre Seigneur que il " sera restitue ou royaulme de la monarchie del lisle de " la Grant Bretaigne, apres ce que le temps fatal et des- " tine par la providence du proviseur divin sera venus. " Et saches en oultre que ces choses ne seront pas ad- " complies jusques ad ce que les Bretons auront recouvre " de Romme les relicques de aulcuns sains martirs qui " lont ainssy requis, lesquelles ont este muchees par la " cruaulte des paiens. Et lors quant ceste chose venra " a lumiere recouvreront ilz leur royaulme perdu par " leurs iniquitez et vices detestables." Et en ce disant langele sesvanouy; sy demoura le benoit roy tout esbahy, et commenca a regratier son Createur de ce que lui

pecheur il navoit pas relenqui. Pourquoy il se leva incontinent[1] quant il sceut la nouvelle du divin admonestement, mais ce nonobstant lui[2] qui estoit homme sage doubta les illusions du deable soubtil, pourquoy il sen ala en son estude ou il avoit moult de nobles livres, sy visita les propheties des sains prophetes et aussy les litures du glorieux evangeliste monseigneur Saint Jehan, qui a la maniere de laigle volla plus hault que nul aultre entendement humain et qui plus fermement sans flexir vit les secrez du solleil de la glorieuze Trinite; et aussy les vers de Sebille et les livres du prophete Merlin par moult grant entente et affection il estudia dilligamment pour veoir, regarder et scavoir[3] se la chose intimee au bon roy Caduualladreth estoit consonant aux sains escripz des devant nommez, sy ny trouva quelque doubtance ne discorde. Pourquoy adoncques il congneut et creut certainement la voix dessus ditte avoir este angelicque envoyee de Dieu, le tout-puissant Createur de toutes choses. Sy persuada tantost au catholicque roy Caduualladreth quil obeist au commandement de Dieu et que il laissast Bretaigne; mais lui dist que bon estoit quil envoiast en Bretaigne son filz Iuorth[4] et son nepveu Inith,[4] non mie pour mener guerre, mais pour gouverner les Bretons qui en Galles ou temps de la pestillence estoient fuis et eulz retrais, adfin quilz les entretenissent selon leurs libertez anchiennes, et aussy que sil advenoit en quelque fachon que les barbariens les voulsissent molester quilz les deffendissent en gardant leur terre par puissanee darmes. Et lors apres que ceste chose fut acordee, le benoit roy Caduualladreth,

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[1] *incontinent moult joyeux, puis sen alla denunchier la divine vision et ordonnance au bon roy Allain, qui ancores nestoit pas leue de la nuit, lequel se leva incontinent quant.* B. C.2

[2] *lui qui estoit homme sage doubta.* B. *que lui estoit . . . doubtant.* A.

[3] *plainement scavoir.* C.2.

[4] *Iuorth, Inith,* for *Morth, Mith,* inaccurately in the MSS.

demises de lui toutes mondaintez, se aourna de habit religieux et simple, sy sen ala a Romme, ou le saint pere Sergius lui fist grant feste, puis se confessa a lui a moult grant contrition de ceur, effondant larmes a grant foison. Et tantost apres ces choses ainssy faittes il trespassa de ce siecle transitoire, sy fut son ame transportee et colloquie [1] en la gloire de paradis en la xiie. kalende de May apres lincarnation du Saulveur du monde chincq cens quattre vingz et huit.

Or [2] lairons le parler de lui et dirons des deux jovenenceaulx dessus dis, cest a scavoir Iuorth et Inith,[3] lesquelz endementiers que le bon roy adcomply son voyage a Romme ainssy que commande lui estoit de langele ou non de Dieu, comme oy avez, assamblerent toutes les nefz quilz peurent finer, lesquelz ilz chargerent de gens darmes autant que le roy Alain dArmoricque leur en peult bonnement baillier sans trop grandement son pays desnuer. Sy passerent sans longue demeure en leur naturel pays de la Grant Bretaigne et arriverent vers les parties de Gaulles, ou estoient leurs compaignons en grant calamite a cause des oppressions que leur faisoient les horribles fureurs des tirans Saxons, qui jamais de mal perpetrer ne furent las ; sy se resconforterent grandement quant ilz veyrent leurs seigneurs et leurs compaignons. Et depuis par lespace de xlviii.[4] ans en pluiseurs batailles iceulx Bretons par puissance darmes molesterent moult les Saxons, mais certainement toudis en avoient ilz du pieur, car la pestillence et mortalite de la famine et la dampnable sedition civille qui en eulx persevera tousjours avoient le dit peuple britonicque tellement amine et fait degenerer que il ne leur estoit pas possible, veu leur dollereuze iniquite, de inferer armes a leur ennemis, que loccision ne redondast sur eulx a leur tres grant

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[1] *colloquie es cieulx en.* C. 2.
[2] *Orez.* C. 2.
[3] *Morth et Mith.* A.B.C. 2.
[4] *dixhuit.* C. 2.

prejudice et sans conmie point de dhommage a leurs adversaires. Pour laquelle cause se paraugmentoit merveilleuzement la puissance barbaricque en lisle de la Grant Bretaigne, en grant unite, paix et concorde entreux tous ensemble, qui est la seulle tuition, garde ou deffence de toute pollicie ou[1] gouvernement; ilz cultivoient moult prudentement leurs terres, se reedifioient et refermoient leurs chasteaulx, et esleverent un duc nomme Alestang, qui fut le premier duc des Saxons qui seul obtenist le royal diadesme de lisle de la Grant Bretagne. Mais les Bretons, qui par leurs iniquitez estoient encheuz[2] en misere et debillite[3] en proesse et enrudis es perices et industries bellicques, perdirent lorguilleux nom britonicque qui longuement leur avoit glorieusement dure, sy furent appelles Gallois, lequel nom leur vint pour lune des quattre causes qui sensievent, cest a scavoir ou pour leur roine qui eut nom Agalaes, ou par adventure les Saxons ainssy les nommerent, et ces deux causes touche lacteur; mais je cuide plus estre la cause pour ce que leur region estoit ainssy appellee, cest a dire que de la provence quilz habitoient, laquelle estoit nommee Galles, ilz contrairent cellui nom; lesquelz Gallois, privez des vertus par quoy jadis les dis Bretons concquirent toutes terres et sourmonterent par puissance darmes les peuples plus renommez du monde par glorieulx triumphe, ont plus traveillie et eulx pene[4] en batailles domestiques et intestines que a opprimer leurs mortelz ennemis. Par ainssy appert asses[5] comment le diadesme de Bretaigne[6] fut devolu a la gent saxonnique par ultion et vengance divine au peuple britonicque, a qui il ne sera[7] restore jusques ad ce que les destinees fatalles

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[1] *et.* B. C.2.
[2] *tombes.* C.2.
[3] *moult debellitez.* C.2.
[4] *peries.* C.2.
[5] *appert plainement comment.* C.2.
[6] *du royaume de la Grant Bretaigne.* C.2.
[7] *jamais ne sera.* C.2.

auront sorti et parfait[1] leurs cours par et selon lordre de celle tres haulte et glorieuze deite celeste, un Dieu seul en troix personnes en une meisme substance, auquel tres devotement nous debvons retourner mains jointes lui suppliier sa misericorde[2] a nous estre ottroie aussy veritablement quelle nous est bien necessaire, laquelle je lui supplie[3] quil nous veulle conceder par sa benigne largesse[4] inextimable. Amen.

Cy[5] prent fin le tierch livre de ce premier volume des croniques dEngleterre, et sensieult le IIIIe.[5]

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[1] *amplement parfait.* C.2.

[2] *amoureusement supplier sa bonne misericorde.* C.2.

[3] *le humblement supplie.* C.2.

[4] *grace.* C.2.

[5] *Cy fine le tierch livre des croniques de la Grant Bretaigne, ouquel sont contenus plusieurs merveilleuses adventures, lequel est maintenant nommee Angleterre.* C.2.

NOTES AND EMENDATIONS.

NOTES AND EMENDATIONS.

p. 3. (Prologue) *du roy Edouard V^e. de ce nom.*

This name, which so occurs in all the known MSS. of Wavrin, was probably not the name originally written in his prologue. He there tells us that he proposed to complete his work in four volumes, and to bring it down to the coronation of King Edward (Henry) the fifth of that name. Now as this preface—which from the context can only be taken as the preface to the work originally designed, and not, as it has been suggested, a prologue to a second portion of his work, published in some year between the accession of Edward IV. in 1461, and the year in which the entire work terminates, 1471—was avowedly written in or about 1455, at which time no Edward had reigned since Edward III., we must assume the name as it is written to be a blunder of the transcriber. The fourth volume does, in fact, as the text now stands, conclude with the death of Henry IV., and at the beginning of the fifth volume the coronation of Henry V. is mentioned. When the work was subsequently completed, as it is now left us, in six volumes, and carried down to the *restoration* of Edward IV. in 1471, the same prologue was adopted and made to appear as a preface to the entire work, and the transcriber then doubtless altered the name of Henry to that of Edward; but having left the numeral unchanged and omitted to alter the words "*coro-* "*nation* of the king," it stands in the text "*jusques au* "*couronnement du roy Edouard V^e. de ce nom.*" Now if the conjecture here offered be well founded, it will be necessary further to presume that a yet greater innovation was effected when the work assumed the form and arrangement which it now presents. I believe that originally the fourth volume must have ended with the words, which con-

clude what is now the first paragraph of the fifth volume, "aprez le couronnement du roy Henry chincquiesme de "ce nom entendy on auz negoces du royaulme entretenir "en bon pollice," there being added after this the usual announcement as at the end of every volume: "Et atant "fine le quart volume de ces cronicques Dangleterre." When the entire work was transcribed in six volumes, the whole paragraph referred to was transferred from the end of the fourth to the beginning of the fifth volume, and the colophon altered by adding the words, as they now stand, "Si commencerons le chincquiesme au couronnement du roy Henry, son filz, V^e^. de ce nom, en poursievant jusques a lan soixante et douze, que regne triumphamment Edouard le Debonnaire." Moreover, the present introduction to the first chapter of the fifth volume must have been altered to suit the new condition, the words prefixed, "comme cy dessus a este dit en la fin du quatriesme "volume," being added. M. Paulin Paris (Les Manuscrits François de la Bibliothèque du Roy, i. 91), apparently desiring to rectify the inconsistency of the reading in the MS. with the known termination of Vol. VI., has retained the name *Edouard*, but changed the numeral from V^e^. to IV^e^., without adverting, however, to the fact that, if any alteration of the text were justifiable, in order to be quite consistent, he ought also to have substituted *au recouvrement de la couronne* for *au couronnement*. The description of Edward's coronation occurs at the beginning of the first chapter of Book 4, of the sixth volume, and there is nothing in the transition from Book 3 to Book 4 to indicate more than the ordinary resumption of the narrative. It might perhaps have been unnecessary to do more here than refer to the error and correct it, had not M^lle^ Dupont, in her excellent edition of Wavrin's Chronicle, "Choix de Chapitres inédits," Paris, 1863, insisted on the reading of the MS., and founded upon it what seems to be an insufficient argument.

p. 5. (Rubric) *Edouard de Windsore.*

The first volume, after a brief retrospective allusion to the death of the first Edward, concludes with the battle of Halidon Hill (19th July), and the surrender of Berwick, in 1333, to King Edward III., and the second volume commences with Edward's claim to the throne of France. This short prologue is Wavrin's own; it does not elsewhere occur.

p. 5. *filles du roy Diodicias.*

In all the MSS. of the French Brut of the class represented by the Royal MS. 20 A. iii. and Additional MS. 18,462, art. 1, and which is followed for the text of the English Brut, this king's name occurs as Dioclicias and Dioclisian. In Harl. 200, Domitian A. x., Addit. MS. 18,462, art. 2, the king's name is not mentioned.

p. 6. *la sœur du dit Englist.*

This is evidently an error in all the copies. Ronixa, or Rowena, the name by which she is generally known, was the daughter, and not the sister, of Englist. See pp. 198 et seq.

a maniere de theume.

A theme or argument—Theuma or teuma *pro Thema*—(Willielmus Brito in Prologo ad Philippid.); and also Gest. Reg. Brit. lib. i. l. 19, edit. Fr. Michel, 8vo. 1862.)

—" et si
" Theumaque propositum consertaque verba poetæ
" Auctorisque stilum laudaverit."—

Jean d'Outre-Meuse, in his chronicle which contains the text of Jehan le Bel, uses the same expression in referring to Le Bel's prologue: "Premirement ilh fait *ung teismes* al dit libre" (Les vrayes chroniques de Messire Jehan le Bel, edit. M. L. Polain, Bruxelles, 1863, vol. i. p. 1, *note*).

Deuxieme Chapitre.

The story of Albina is very much fuller in this Chronicle than in the ordinary French and English versions. The original source has not occurred. In the Cottonian MS. Cleopatra D. ix., written in the thirteenth century, there is a metrical version of the story; whether this be the original form in which the story was presented, or whether some other version in prose existed at one time, common alike to the poem and the later versions, has yet to be ascertained. The author of the poem writes,—

" Come jeo loy de un sage home
" Qi bien saveit les escriptures
" Des auncienes aventures."

The period of the story is there given as A.M. 3970. The date in the prose Chronicle, which makes the King Diodicias cotemporary with Jahir, B.C. 1210, does not corre-

spond with that year according to any of the received computations. The tale is manifestly founded on that of the fifty daughters of Danaus, king of Argos, and there is a resemblance in the conduct of the youngest daughter, which cannot fail to recall to the reader's mind Hypermnestra and the beautiful ode of Horace (Carm. iii. 11).

p. 17. *Les dames de Scicie.*

This is probably Scythia. The Amazons dwelt near the Thermodon in Cappadocia.

p. 36. *Cy commence le deuxieme livre.*

The two MSS. in the Imperial Library, 5621 (olim anc. f. fr. 10,210–3. 3,) and 2806 (olim anc. f. fr. 8387), both anterior to the second quarter of the fifteenth century, contain the text of the third and fourth books of the 1st volume of Wavrin's Chronicle. These MSS. supply some valuable readings and emendations of the text. The rubric of the first chapter is: "Cy apres commence les croni-
"ques contenant les gestes des roys et princes qui reg-
"nerent en la Grant Bretaigne, que on dit ores Angle-
"terre, depuis le temps du duc Brutus, le nepveu Ascanius
"filz de Eneas, jusqes apres lincarnation nostre Seigneur
"Jesus Crist. v^{c}. iiij^{xx}. et viij. Et parle le premier chap-
"pitre des proprietes de lisle de la Grant Bretaigne."

The error in the chronology is repeated at the conclusion of the volume, and is reproduced in all the MSS. of Wavrin. The date should be 688.

filz de Silinus procree de Ascanius.

The MS. in the Imperial Library, 2806, reads Silvius; see also pp. 55 and 56, where the name Sylenus (Silenus, 2806) is repeated for Silvius. Compare Nennius, cap. iii. (edit. Petrie, p. 55 A.)

p. 40. *viij^{c}. iiij^{xx}. et viij. ans.*

So in all the MSS. The date should be 688, according to Geoffrey. See, however, *postea* p. 499, where the date 588 is substituted.

du roy Pelus.

Pelias, king of Thessaly.

p. 41. *et ses bastars.*

"Nam erant et alii filii ex concubinis nati." (Daretis
"Phrygii de Excid. Tro. Hist. 4to. Amst. 1702, p. 150).

p. 41. *son filz Paris.*

Called Paris Alexander in La3amon and in Perceforest (MS. Reg. 15 E. v.) Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian.

p. 42. *Et espousa Paris Helaine.*

"Helenam mœstam consolatus est, et eam Alexandro con-
"jugem dedit; quam ut aspexit Cassandra vaticinari cœpit,
"memorans ea quæ ante prædixerat." (Dares Phryg. p. 155.)

dix ans six mois et dix jours.

The continuator of Dares says, ten years, eight months, and twelve days, p. 177.

p. 43. *viij. lxxvj. hommes.*

These figures do not agree with Dares.

p. 44. *Au temple dApolin.*

"Interim Priamus re cognita, ad aram Jovis ante ædifi-
"ciale confugit." (Dictys Cretensis de Bello Trojano, lib. v. p. 115.)

fut lapidee des Gregoys.

"Quare motus miles lapidibus obrutam eam necat." (Dictys Cretens. Hist. cap. xvi. p. 120.)

p. 46. *que xxij. nefs tant seullement.*

"Que dauoir ot vint nefs cargies." (Wace, Le Roman de Brut, ed. Le Roux de Lincy, Rouen, 1836, vol. i. p. 2, v. 20.) La3amon says, "twelve gode scipen." In Roberts, Chronicle of the Kings of Britain, 4to. Lond., 1811, the number of ships is stated as 28.

p. 48. *Axerces.*

In the Paris MS. 2806, Acestes. See Aeneid, v. 758.

p. 48. *Ou le Tybre chiet en la mer.*

Wace has—

"La ou li Toivres en mier ciet
"Bien pres dilloc u Rome siet."

(Vol. i. p. 3. Edit. Rouen.)

p. 54. *Maxentius.*

In the Paris MS. 2806, Mezentius.

p. 55. *Celui qui fist listoire de Bructus.*

It is not clear to whom this refers. Perhaps the lost portion of Gaimar's history, which he tells us began with

Jason and the Golden Fleece, may be intended. Can this be the author frequently referred to in the present Chronicle as "le Maistre des Histoires"?

p. 55. *Bretons Latins.*

The Paris MS. 2806 has only *Latins*.

La cite dAlbane.

Alba Longa. See Aen. v. 597.

ou il tint son siege royal xxxviij. ans.

Wace and Laȝamon say thirty-four years.

demourer illec en Albane.

This story is not in Geoffrey of Monmouth. Wace and Laȝamon both have it. Wace, v. 97 et seq. Laȝamon, v. 230 et seq. See Aen. iii. 149.

p. 56. *a Silenus Postmus filz de Lavine.*

The Paris MS. has: "a son frere Silenius Postimus filz "de Lavine." The genealogy in the several histories is very obscure on this point. Compare Nennius, edit. Petrie, c. 3 and 4, p. 55, and edit. Gunn, 1819, pp. 48 and 49.

Julius le filz de Ascanius.

Julius is not named at all by Geoffrey, who calls the father of Brutus Silvius. The account given by the different authors of the descent of Brutus is confused. See also Nennius, Wace, and Laȝamon, and compare Polychronicon Ran. Higden, lib. ii. (Gale, Rerum Angl. Script. iii. 212.)

Livy says that Ascanius was the son of Aeneas, but it is doubtful if the same Ascanius were called Iulus, or one born afterwards; he had a son Sylvius, so called from the accident of being born in a wood, and after him all the princes who reigned at Alba had the surname of Sylvius. (Tit. Liv. lib. i. c. 1; Aen. i. 271. 286.)

The following account taken from a MS. chronicle of the Britons in the Imperial Library may serve to explain the defective narrative in the text.

"Car au tiers an apres quil eut Lavine espousee il tre-
"passa de ce siecle et Lavine sa femme laissa enceinte. Si
"fut la dite Lavine en tres grant crainte que Ascanius, fils
"du roy Æneas son mary, qui apres la mort de Æneas son
"pere avoit saisi le royaulme de Ytallie, ne voulsist elle

" et son fruit faire occyre pour seul au dit regne seigneurer,
" et en une forest sen alla a refuge a ung sien oncle qui
" faisoit la mansion, avecque le quel elle fist la demeure
" jusques a ce que elle fut de son fruit delivree, et que
" elle eut enffante ung fils, qui fut appelle Postumus,
" pource quil fut ne apres le deceix de son pere, et sour-
" nomme Silvius pource quil avoit este ne en la forest.
" Mais comme Ascanius entendist que ensi sen estoit
" Lavine sa marrastre fuye a seurte, et Postumus Silvius
" son filz avec elle apportez, le quel il fist soyneusement
" nourry. Et apres ce quil fut en asge convenable lui
" laissa gouverner la cite de Laurence avecque toute
" celle portion dYtallie que le roy Latin pere Lavine
" avoit en son temps posside. Et au temps que Sanson
" le fort jugeoit Israel fist le dit Ascanius une cite ediffier
" sur le fleuve de Tibre, la quelle il nomma Albe, pour
" le nom dycelui fleuve qui lors estoit nomme Albule, en
" la quelle il institua le principal siege de son regne
. . . . . .
" Et engendra Ascanius en sa femme deux fils et une
" fille, des quelx fils laisne fut appelle Silvius, et de lui
" sera parle cy apres ; le second, ainsi que escript Tithus
" Livius en sa premiere decade, fut nomme Jullius. Et
" pourceque daventure sa mere lenffenta en une forest fut
" en sournom Silvius dit. De cestui Jullius descendi une
" ligne de Romains appellee les Julliens, [de] la quelle
" Julius Cæsar descendy, et le quel Julius, apres la mort
" de Ascanius son pere, posseda le royaulme. Toutesfois
" escript Eusebe en son livre des temps, que Ascanius,
" voyant le terme de la vie approucher, et celui Julius
" son filz estre encore trop jeune et peu ydone pour le
" royaulme gouverner, a Postumus Silvius son frere, filz
" du roy Æneas son pere et de Lavinie, fille du roy Latin,
" la succession du dit regne delaissa.
" La fille Ascanius, ainsi que escript Sollin ou livre des
" merveilles du monde, fut appellee Roma . . . . .
" Brutus pourcequil fu filz Silvius laisne filz Ascanius,
" est ore endroit saeson que je tourne a celle seconde
" partie."—Croniques et Ystoires des Bretons, par Pierre
" Lebaut. MS. Imp. Lib. 8266 (olim suppl. fr. 67).

p. 56. *Auguriens que nous appelons maintenant devineurs ou sorciers.*

The Paris MS. 2806 has "augureurs." Nennius and Geoffrey speak only of one, whom they call "Magus."

p. 57. *ceulx de la lingnie Helenus le filz Priant de Troyes.*

Compare Wace and La3amon with Geoffrey, and the metrical Anglo-Norman version in MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi.

quilz estoient assez de bonnes gens.

Wace mentions the number to have been 6,000; La3amon, 7,000; Geoffrey, "ita ut septem milia (exceptis parvulis et "mulieribus) jam computarentur." (Lib. i. c. 3).

Separatin.

One of the three castles given up to Brutus by Assairacus. It would be difficult to determine either the name or the seat of this castle. M. de Gaulle pretends to identify the place with Sparta.

vers un grand fleuve qui pres estoit.

The name of this river, Achelous in Epirus, is given by both Geoffrey and Wace. "En Ascalon un floeve "grant" (Wace, v. 272, vol. i. p. 14); "fluvium Akalous, "qui prope fluebat, transire festinant." (Galf. Mon. lib. i. c. 5).

p. 61. *il fist trois parties.*

Compare Geoffrey, lib. i. c. 6. La3amon, v. 772, reads, "Brutus took his army and in four he divided them."

p. 64. *viel pecie fait nouvelle playe.*

The proverb put into the mouth of Brutus, but here only partially expressed, does not occur at all in Geoffrey. It is much fuller in Wace, although the text in Le Roux de Lincy's edition (8vo. Rouen, 1836, i. 27, line 537 et seq.) is somewhat obscure. A text similar to that of Cotton MS. Vitell. A. x., would seem to have been used by the compiler of the Chronicle in the text.

"Mult est fol ki el en espeire
"Ja ne deit lem mal fait creire;
"Jamais ne crerrai lor manaie
"De vielz peche novele plaie."

tant quil en ot trois cens.

The number of ships mentioned by Geoffrey is 324; Wace says 304:—

"Quinze vint nes et quatre furent,
"Quant del port de Gresse sesmurent;"

La3amon has, sixteen times twenty ships went from the

haven and four great ships; this is probably the correct number, and the reading in Wace should be *seize vint*, instead of *quinze vint*. This is given accurately in the Royal MS. 13 A. xxi.; the words are:—

" Treis c. et vint e quatre sunt
" Les nefs que Troien merrunt."

p. 64. *vers la havre ou leurs nefs estoyent.*

The Paris MS. reads *ou port*. MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi. mentions Miceine as the place where the ships were assembled:—

" A cel jur qe fust nome
" Les galees sunt assemble
" A la cite de Muceine,
" Dunt jadis fust Raine Heleine,
" Cil qi meinent en seizille
" Entrels lapelent meschine;
" Iloc si curt un braz de mer
" Le far lai oi muner."

Leogetie.

The Paris MS. reads "Leogeciam," so also in Geoffrey. Wace has *Leogice*, and La3amon "Logice." The editor of Wace, M. Le Roux de Lincy, supposes the place to be Lycia, where there was a temple for the worship of Diana; and Roberts, in his translation of the Chronicle of the Kings of Britain (4to., London, 1811), thinks that Leucadia is intended.

puis singlerent deux jours et deux nuis . . . au tierch jour vers le vespre.

Geoffrey writes, "duobus diebus et una nocte;" La3amon, "*twelve* dawes and twa niht;" and MS. Cott. Calig. A. ix. adds, "the second day in the evening they came to "land." MS. Cott. Otho C. xiii. has "on the third day." Wace writes:—

" Deux jors et une nuit siglerent,"

and—

" Al second jor a la vesprant vinrent,"

p. 65. *Escumeurs.*

The Paris MS. has *escumeurs de mer*.

en sa main et sy tenoit un dart.

There seems to be an omission here, which the Paris MS. supplies:—"en sa main senestre tout tendu, et en "sa main dextre tenoit ung dart."

p. 65. *puis avironna le dit autel ix. foix a genoulz.*

A more intelligible reading is found in the Paris MS. :—
" puis sagenouilla neuf fois devant celle deesse et neuf
" fois avironna lautel."

p. 66. *vous devez savoir quil ot anchiennement.*

This passage, relating to the twelve kings and twelve kingdoms of France, is not to be found in Geoffrey, Wace, nor Laȝamon. It occurs in the Paris MS., but from the context it has all the appearance of having been interpolated. See note (p. 71) p. 516.

Les salins du pays.

The entire passage relating to the voyage of Brutus and his companions after leaving the temple of Diana is here apparently corrupt. Compare Geoffrey, lib. i. c. 12, and Nennius' account of the first settlement in Ireland (edit. Petrie, cap. ix. pp. 56, 57). In Peter of Langtoft's Chronicle (MS. Cott. Julius A. v.) we have :—

" Arere a lour nefs od graunt esplait aleynt
" Les cousters de Aufrik od trefs le eue siglayent
" Les Oraturs Philistens par mer visitayent
" Le Lake de Salines par Azare passayent
" Par my le flum de Maylle en Mortayne venaient
" Pur quere leur vitaylle illokes aryvaynt
" Lors lour compaygnye en deus devysayent."

The progress of the Trojans after leaving the island of Leogetie is variously given by the followers of Geoffrey. In the Royal MS. 13 A. xxi., Brutus, having joined Corineus, puts to sea and comes to Maritane. After that he proceeds, and—

" Par mer sen vunt puis corant
" Plusurs realmes a costeiant,
" Ore vint tant par mer coru,
" En Aquitaine sunt venu,
" En leuue del Leire dunc sunt entre,
" Iloc vit lur auncres gete.

The MS. then describes their proceedings in the kingdom of Gauffier, king of the Poitevins; the engagements with the Poitevins; the death of Turnus and the founding of the town of Tours, called after Turnus. There is a curious passage on the death of Turnus in the chronicle of Willielmus Brito, or Armoricus, composed about the middle of the thirteenth century. "Pugnaverunt Brutus

" (et alii) cum Gallis super ripam Ligeris, ibique inter-
" fectus est Turnus, et honorifice in pyramide nobilissima
" tumulatus, quæ ibi usque in hodiernum diem ostenditur,
" non procul a Turonis civitate; et sic ab eodem Turno
" fundationem et nomen accepit civitas Turonica." (MS.
" Cott. Vesp. D. iv.) See also Selden's Notes to Drayton's
" Polyolbion, fol. 1612, p. 40."

p. 67. *en une isle qui a a non Makanie.*

The Paris MS. reads "Makaine;" this island is not named elsewhere. Geoffrey has, "thence passing the river Malua (Maulue or Melluya, which falls into the Gulf of Melillah), " they arrived at Mauritania, whereat at length they were " obliged to disembark for want of provisions." See preceding note.

la mer Tirianne.

That portion of the ocean which washes the European coast, named formerly Tyria. (See La Martiniere.) Upon the shore of this sea Brutus meets with four nations descended from the banished Trojans, who had accompanied Antenor in his flight, at the head of whom was Corineus.

p. 68. *le roy Gauffier dAcquitaine.*

It would be useless to conjecture who this Gauffier, king of Poitiers, may have been. The whole account is so manifestly a fable, that it would be idle to prove the non-existence of the kingdom of Aquitaine or the city of Poitiers at the period referred to. We can only believe that this version and Geoffrey's narrative were derived from the same early versifier.

p. 70. *lequel chevalier avoit nom Suars, ou Thoras selon listoire des Poitevins.*

The Paris MS. reads "Suars ou Thoars." The second name, which is here ascribed to the authority of the history of the Poitevins, has not been found elsewhere than in this Chronicle. Geoffrey has *Suhardus.* The edition of Wace, by Le Roux de Lincy, reads "Suchars."

mais Corineus les poursievoit et occioit impetueusement.

The Paris MS. has "et les occioit comme le loup " fait les brebis." Wace writes, "Come lions fait de ' berbis."

p. 71. *querir secours aux douze roys qui tenoit tout le pays de Gaulle.*

This reference to the twelve kings, or, as Wace writes, the twelve peers of France—" ala en France as douse pers " qi la estoient," (vol. i. p. 45, v. 623)—is clearly founded on the romance of the twelve peers of Charlemagne. There must have been some earlier poem than Geoffrey. See p. 391 of this Chronicle, " Gerinus le duc de Chartres et les douze pers de Gaulle." The twelve peers of France, however, had a real though probably a later existence, and the fable must not be confounded with the history.

Peter of Langtoft thus speaks of Gauffier and the twelve kings :—

" Goffar est fuyz a ses parentez
" A xij rays de Fraunce trestut corounez
" Ke en cel tens governerent Fraunce od les cytez
" Mercy lour crye ; si lour ad countez
. . . . . .
" Les deus pars a ws la terce a moy lyverez
" A la mi nuyt men irray si cum ja verrez,
" Al estayle journale en chaump ws moustrez,
" *Les xij. rays* vendrount lour hoste assemblez,
" Lore se medlerount les plus des avises,
" Ke il verrount noster pople tant amenulez."

MS. Cotton. Julius A. v.

In the French versions of Brut represented by Domitian A. x., Gauffier is made to form one of the twelve:— " Quant ceo fust feat onze rois vindrent de France et " Goffar avec eux, et amesnerent vingt mil hommes."

p. 72. *selon ce que dist listoire il occist dune espee sept cens hommes.*

The number slain by Turnus varies ; in Wace *seus cent* (i. p. 49, v. 1012), Geoffrey writes, " he alone, with his " sword, killed 600 men." Laȝamon has *many hundred.* Robert of Gloucester, *six hundred.*

The Royal MS. 13 A. xxi. has:—

" Icist sul aveit occis
" Plus que cinc c. Peitevins."

par cestui Turnus prinst la cite de Tours son nom.

The foundation of the city of Tours and the origin of its name, as given by the chronicler, is free from the extravagance which Geoffrey advances :—" quam ut Homerus

" testatur ipse postmodum construxit." See note (p. 66), p. 515. In Domitian A. x. Turnus is called *Tortin* and *Turtyn*.

p. 73. *tant quilz vindrent au port de Mortaigne, lequel port estoit en une isle appellee Albion.*

The text here is probably corrupt. There seems to be an omission of some words after Mortaigne, unless this be altogether a blunder arising from having mistaken the island where Brutus landed to take in necessaries after leaving Leogetia, as narrated at p. 67, the place there being called by Geoffrey *Mauritania*. See note before at p. 67. There is an account given in one of the chronicles that Brutus and his companions, after leaving the mouth of the Loire, sailed along the coast of Armorica till they came to a port, when many of the Trojans, tired of their wandering, desired to land, and there they accordingly founded a colony. If this be so, the port of Morlaix might be intended by Mortaigne. The story proceeds to relate that afterwards Brutus, with the rest of his followers, again put to sea, and sailed till they came to a port in the island of Britain called Totness, or Dartmouth, in Devonshire. The words supposed to be omitted after the word Mortaigne might go on to describe the second landing of Brutus, which, according to Geoffrey, was at Totness, " in Tottonesio littore applicuit." On the other hand, it it may be said that Mortaigne is nothing more than a corrupted reading of Totness. The port of Dartmouth was formerly called the port of Totness; that is, the port of the river Dart from Totness to the mouth. La3amon has " Aet Dertemuoe in Totenes." In Wace it is, "As Toteneis " en Derrtemue." In Domitian A. x. we have " Arri- " verent en la Hafne de Tottenesse et vindrent en la ille " de Albion." The date of the arrival of Brutus in Britain is thus given by Peter of Langtoft:—

" Mil e ij. aunz devaunt le incarnacioun
" Aryva Sir Brutus en le lylge de labyoun.
" Home ne femme i trove de nul nacioun
" Fors Geaunz ke la tenent en possessioun."
(MS. Cotton. Julius A. v.)

p. 73. *Or advint un jour.*

Compare with Geoffrey (lib. i. cap. xvi. and cap. xvii.) the account of the adventures of Brutus and Corineus with the giants on their arrival in Britain, and their subsequent partition of the country, as related in this and the following chapter.

p. 74. *car il avoit douze coustees de hault.*

The giant's stature here given of twelve cubits agrees with Geoffrey:—"quidam nomine Geomagon statura duo-"decim cubitorum." Robert of Gloucester writes:—

"Goggomagog was a geand swithe grete and strong,
"Aboute four and twenti fet me saith he was long."

In Robert of Brune the rendering of "douze coustees" is remarkable:—

"Twelf elbous he was o length."

The names of two of the giants are preserved in the French versions of Brut, followed by Caxton's Chronicle. Compare Wace (edit. Rouen, p. 51, v. 1068):—"ne nul fors "un ne sai nomer."

p. 74. *le sault Geomagon.*

The rock supposed to be referred to as Geomagon's leap was called in Camden's time the Haw.

p. 75. *ils trouverent que toute la terre estoit au delivre.*

The Paris MS. has this reading:—"il leur sambla que "ilz avoient bien nettoie la terre et le pays environ."

Corineus . . . avec ses compaignons retourna en Armoricque.

The statement of Corineus' return into Armorica is not mentioned by Geoffrey, Wace, nor Laȝamon; indeed, it seems to be inconsistent with the account afterwards given of Corineus' anger at Lotrin's treatment of his wife Gwendoline, the daughter of Corineus, who appears to have been still in Cornwall when Gwendoline's son, Madan, was sent to him to be educated. See p. 79. The remark nevertheless seems to favour the presumption referred to in the note at p. 517 (p. 73), that Brutus and Corineus, after sailing from the mouth of the Loire, first put in to some port on the Armorican coast, and thence proceeded to Totness. The passage occurs in the Paris MS. as in the text.

p. 76. *une nouvelle cite quil appella Nouvelle Troye ou Troye Nove.*

This is the Trinovantum of Geoffrey and Cæsar. There is some sort of resemblance in the two appellations of Trinovantum and Londinium, each derived from the position of the city. Trē-ŷn-ŷ-bant, according to Mr. Black, signifies the "town in the high place." Londinium or

Llyn-din (llyn, a pool or lake, and din or dynas, a fortress,) "the fortress on the lake." Peter of Langtoft has—

" Le lake de Tamyse nest pas ublyez
" De coste i ad ja fete un noble cytez,
" Ke la Noue Troye fu primes appelez,
" E pus en Trinovaunt fu le noun chaungez,
" Kaunt le ray Lud regna de ki apres orrez."

(Cott. MS. Julius A. v.)

p. 76. *ce fut au temps que Saul morut.*

The period of the capture of the ark by the Philistines and the government of Eli the priest in Judea, which Geoffrey makes cotemporary with the death of Brutus, is represented in the chronicle by the period of the death of Saul. The two almost simultaneous events of the death of Eli and the taking of the ark are placed by some chronologists in the year 1116 B.C.; the death of Saul is placed by the same chronologists in 1055 B.C. Compare Geoffrey, lib. ii. cap. 6, where he makes the death of Menpricius cotemporary with the reign of Saul.

laisne ot non Lotrin.

This name, in other chronicles, is usually written Locrin; the spelling in the text is followed from all the MSS. The Paris MS. reads "Lotrin" and "Loctrin."

p. 77. *et maintenant a a non Galles.*

See after, p. 500; and compare Wace, Le Roux de Lincy's edit. i. p. 64, v. 1314, and vol. ii. 298, v. 15. La3amon says that the Queen Gualaes, mentioned by Wace and Geoffrey, was the youngest and fairest daughter of King Ebrauc. See note, (p. 86) p. 522.

et divise cette riviere le pays dEscoche de cellui dEngleterre.

There is difficulty in defining precisely what is here intended by the river Humber. The estuary of the Humber ("Abus flumen" of the Romans) is formed by the Ouse from the north-west, and the Trent from the west to the east. The division here referred to is the division probably between Loegria and Albania. In the Eulog. Historiarum we have "*Prius* enim fluvius ille vocabatur Trenta, " tunc assumpsit nomen a rege in illo submerso, et vocatur " Humber" (Eulog. Hist., edit. Haydon, ii. 221.) Compare Geoffrey, lib. iii. c. 1, on the division of the kingdom

between Belinus and Brennus. "That Belinus should "enjoy the crown of the island, with the dominion of "Loegria, Cambria, and Cornwall, as being the first-born, "&c., and Brennus, as being the younger, should be subject "to his brother, and have for his share Northumberland, "*which extended from the river Humber to Caithness.*"

p. 77. *appellee Cambrie, et maintenant a a non Galles.* See after, pp. 85, 86, 500.

Wace adds :—

"Mais ore ad nun Cambrie Guales;
"Cambrei ont non Gwales apres
"Pur la reine Gualaes;
"Pur memorie del dux Gualon
"Out Guales primes icest non."

(Cott. MS. Vitellius A. x.)

Hestrudis.

The reader will recognize under this name the fair Estrildis of Geoffrey, whose beauty was hardly to be matched—"no ivory, no new-fallen snow, no lilies could "exceed the whiteness of her skin." (Lib. ii. c. 2.)

p. 79. *la rivere dEscure.*

The Stour, which rises in Dorsetshire and flows into the Avon opposite Christchurch.

un fleuve deaue lequel elle voult depuis estre appellee Sabrine.

Compare Geoffrey and MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi.; also La3amon's account of this incident, in which he appears to follow Wace:—

"Puis fut lewe u ele fut jetee
"Del nom Abren Avren apelee,
"Avren ke de Abren son nom prent,
"A Criste-cherche en ruer descent,"

(Cotton MS. Vitellius A. x.)

See also Drayton's Polyolbion, p. 90.)

Unless we assume that Wace or La3amon knew of some tradition or some history which would identify the river mentioned by Geoffrey with the river Avon, "which, "after being joined by the Stour, falls into the sea at "Christchurch," there is no ground for rejecting the express words of Geoffrey, "jubet enim Estrildem et "filiam ejus Sabren præcipitari in fluvium qui nunc "Sabrina dicitur." (Lib. ii. c. 5.)

The author of the Gesta Regum Britanniæ writes:—

—— "Inde novatur
"Nomen aquæ quæ Stura prius, nunc dicitur Habren;
"Ast alia lingua fluvius Sabrina vocatur.

(Lib. ii. vv. 593, et seq., edit. Michel, 1862, p. 22.)

p. 79. *le xiiii^e. an.*

The Paris MS. reads *ou xij^e. an.*

Un roy d'Irland que Offrin estoit nomme.

The Paris MS. reads *Offrins* and *Orfins*. The source of this story of the invasion of Gwendoline's territory by Offrin, a king of Ireland, has not occurred. Neither has any account been met with elsewhere of the jealousy which her brother-in-law, King Camber, entertained against the queen, and the consequent fealty and homage which he did to her for his kingdom of Cambria. There is no mention of it in Geoffrey, Laȝamon, or Wace, nor in any of the prose versions of Brut which have been examined.

Lotrin avoit regne x. ans.

The durations of the reigns of Lotrin and of Gwendoline agree with Geoffrey, but he is wholly silent as to the incidents mentioned in the fourteenth year of Gwendoline's reign.

p. 80. *pour venir en Bretagne.*

The Paris MS. reads *pour hontoyer Bretagne.*

p. 81. *lun avoit non Judas et lautre Argoris.*

The Paris MS. reads *Nydas* and *Argoris.*

p. 84. *et laultre Malvis.*

The two sons of Madan are called by Geoffrey, *Mempricius* and *Malim.* The Paris MS. and the MSS. A. B. and C. 2 read *Malvis.* The prose French versions of the Brut read Maulyns. Wace has:—

"Madan prist feme et ot deux fis,
"Luns fu Malins, laultre Membris."

Laȝamon (MS. Cotton. Calig. A. ix.) has Malin (Cott. Otho C. xiii.), Malui, or Maluis.

p. 85. *son filz Ebrot.*

Laȝamon, following Wace and Geoffrey, names this king Ebrauc or Ebroc. MS. Cott. Otho C. xiii. Eubrac. The Paris MS. and A. B. C. 2 have Ebrot.

p. 79. *il fist trois cites sur les marces dEscoce.*

This is a blunder of the transcriber, followed by all the MSS. A. B. and C. 2. The Paris MS., which is of a much earlier date, shows the correct reading:—"il fist deux cites "sur les marces dEscoce; lune ot non Karrebrac et "lautre Aclud; puis fut la premiere apellee Eborat." This reading agrees with Geoffrey and Wace. The chronicle adds:—"then he built the castle of the Maidens, and "called it first Mont Daguet (Mons dolorosus), or the Mount "of Sorrow." By the first-named place, Karrebrac or Kaer Ebrauc, no doubt Euerwic (Lat. Eborum and Eboracum) or York is intended. Aclud, more correctly Alclud, is the ancient name of Dunbarton, the capital of the kingdom of Strathcluyd. Edinburgh is believed to be represented by Maiden's Castle (Castrum Puellarum) or Mons dolorosus; whether Montdaguet (Mont des aguets) or Montdagnet be the more correct reading, may perhaps be doubted. Geoffrey has "oppidum montis Agned." The MS. du Roi 73, Cangé, reads "Et el mont agnez chestel fist," and Laȝamon, "Agnettes munte."

p. 85. *Lenicar.*

The reading in C. 2, *Quinquar*, is supported by the Paris MS., which reads Kincar; this agrees with Geoffrey.

Gloigem.

In the Paris MS., Gloigou. In Geoffrey, Gloigni stands first among the daughters named, but the description of her qualities, which occurs in the text, does not occur in Geoffrey. Laȝamon describes the qualities of Gloigin, Galaes, and another (Annore). Only two daughters are named in the Chronicle, three by Laȝamon; but the whole thirty are named by Geoffrey and Wace, who, in addition, describes Galaes as the most beautiful, Metael the most unlearned, Gandole the gayest, and so on. (Vol. i. p. 77.)

Sylimon.

The Paris MS. reads "Silmon." Geoffrey has "Silvius "Alba, qui regnabat post Silvium Latinum." (Lib. ii. c. 8.)

p. 86. *Galays.*

In Geoffrey, lib. ii. cap. 8, it is: "Galaes omnium pulcherrima quæ tunc in Britannia sive Gallia fuerant." Laȝamon adds: "After this Galoes, was Wales named."

je ne treuve pas la cause par escript.

The Paris MS. reads, "la cause nest point escripte." The peculiar custom here referred to of the Lombard

women objecting to make alliance with the Trojans is mentioned by Geoffrey:—"quorum cubilia et Latinæ et "Sabinæ diffugiebant." (Lib. ii. c. 8.) Compare Wace (ed. Le Roux de Lincy, vol. i. p. 77.)

p. 86. *Carleil.*

The Chronicle identifies this city with Carlisle. Geoffrey has Kaerleir.

p. 87. *il fist illec un feu qui estoit inestinguable.*

Geoffrey has the additional passage to this effect, very nearly in the words of Solinus (cap. 35), "to the Goddess "Minerva in whose temple he kept fires that were never "extinguished nor consumed to ashes, but as soon as they "began to decay were turned into balls of stone." (Lib. ii. c. 10.)

une cite sur la riviere de Sorre.

This clearly refers to Leicester. The allusion of Wace, which is an addition to Geoffrey, would seem to be more applicable to Chester, and the destruction of that city by the king of Northumbria under Brocmail.

et le chastel de Cestebric que alcuns nomment Decenfort.

In Geoffrey we read "oppidum montis Paladur, quod "nunc Sefovia dicitur." (Edit. Giles, 1844, p. 28.)
Wace has—

"E le chastel de Cestebire,
"Ke est al mont de Paladur."

Shaftesbury is usually assigned as the locality (Camden's Britannia, i. 173); but the meaning of Decenfort is not obvious. Laȝamon speaks of "Cesteburi Castel and "Waladune's dune."

ot regne xl. ans.

Geoffrey gives thirty-nine years as the duration of the reign of Rahudibras or Hudibras.

et a present est apelle Leicestre.

The situation of this town on the Sore sufficiently indicates its identity, but the allusion made by Laȝamon, not to be found elsewhere, would seem to be misapplied, and should rather belong to Chester. (See Geoffrey's account, lib. ii. c. 11.)

p. 87. *Ce roi ot trois filles.*

A story similar to this of King Leir and his three daughters is told of Ini, king of the West Saxons. (Camden's Remains of Britain, edit. 1674, p. 306.) Whether or not this is older than Geoffrey's version we cannot gather from Camden, as he does not give any authority for his tale. The Munich MS., from which extracts are given by Le Roux de Lincy, in his edition of le Roman de Brut (vol. I. pp. lxxxviii. et seq.) contains a much more lengthened version than that given by Wace. The text now printed contains also much that is not to be found in Geoffrey, nor in any other version that has occurred. The names of the daughters, Agornorille, Regault, and Cordeille exhibit no greater variation from those in Geoffrey than is to be found in almost every distinct version.

p. 88. *Agampus.*

This is the reading in all the MSS. A. B. and C. 2; but it is more frequently found in the various versions of the story Aganipus and sometimes Aganippus. Peter of Langtoft has Agampe:—"Agampe ray de Fraunce fust "ele espose;" and in another place, "Agampe est mort "en Fraunce a sa cyte." (MS. Cott. Jul. A. v.)

p. 89. *qui plus aime un aultre que soy.*

The proverbs introduced into the Chronicle do not occur in other versions of this story. They are not very accurately cited, but we are able to make some emendations of the text from the Paris MS. The one here cited is given:—

"Qui plus aime aultrui que soy
"A la fontaine meurt de soif."

et si javoye aultrefois recorde un proverbe qui dist ainsy.

In the Paris MS. the reading is "javois autrefois oy "dire ung proverbe qui dist:—

"'Mieulx vault donner et retenir
"'Que tout donner et puis querir."

. . . . . .

p. 90. *le dit du vilain qui dist ainsy.*

"Qui jette ce quen ses mains tient,
"Assez tost par fol se maintient."

. . . . . .

At the end of a MS. of Wace, written in the early part of the fourteenth century, there is a collection of proverbs with the title "Hæc sunt proverbia philosophiæ." Here the reading is—

" Qui de son serf fait son seingneur
" Vivre ne peut sans dishoneur,
" Qui gitte ceu qo ses mains tient
" A sez pies pour foul se contient."

(MS. de la Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, Y, f. 10.)

p. 90. *jay mal entendu le proverbe qui dist en ceste maniere.*

" De ce baston ou dun plus grant
" Soit il ferus ou front devant,
" Qui tout donne a son enffant
" Quil lui envoise puis demandant."

This is the reading of the MS. f. fr. No. 2806.

Le roy Leir se dementa longuement.

Compare the account of Leir's application to his son-in-law Agampus for assistance and the subsequent events to the death of Cordelia, with Geoffrey, lib. ii. cc. 12, 13, 14, and 15. The translator appears to have seen some version of this story not now known.

vint en Gaulle en la terre du roy Agampus.

Wace has here "a un port en Kaleis arriva." (i. 95 n.) This is the Karitia of Geoffrey, lib. ii. c. 12.

p. 91. *Quant elle ot cincq ans.*

The source is not apparent of the account here given of the death of the kings of Scotland and Cornwall, after Cordelia had reigned about five years in Great Britain, and of the names of the French nobles, the duke of Sens, the duke of Laon, and the count of Corbueil, who came over after Leir's death to assist her against her two nephews. Compare Geoffrey (lib. ii. c. 15).

p. 92. *Mais je treuve ici, selon le livre du Tresor des Histoires, faulte.*

The Paris MS. presents here an amended reading, but which still leaves the sense obscure, by referring the statements respectively to authorities inconsistently with what is actually found to be the case. The amended passage is :—"Mais je treuve cy, selon le livre du Tresor des

" Histoires, faute, car *le maistre du Tresor* dist le con-
" traire, car il dist que Margan et Cunedagez prindrent
" leur tante et lemprisonnerent sicque par ennui elle
" meismes soccist en la prison. Je nay point veu Brust
" en Latin, pourquoy je ne scay lequel est vray. Toutes-
" voies *Maistre Gaste* dist que aprez ce que Margan roy
" dEscoce et Cunedagez roy de Cornvaille ses nepveus
" eurent paix faitte a la roine Cordeille leur tante," &c.

There might be suggested a transposition of the words in this passage marked in italics, so as to change the authors of the statements respectively, and restore the obvious meaning of the sentence, as it was probably originally written: "But I find here a mistake, ac-
" cording to the Book of the Treasure of Histories;
" for *Master Wace* and other ancient historians say
" that Margan and Cunedages captured their aunt and
" imprisoned her, and that in despair she killed herself
" in prison; I have not seen the Brut in Latin, and so
" I know not which is the truth, but *the Master of the*
" *Treasure* says that after Margan, king of Scotland, and
" Cunedages, king of Cornwall, her nephews, had made
" peace with Queen Cordelia their aunt, she lived seven
" years and then died, and they buried her most honour-
" ably near King Leir, her father, at Leicester." The passage would thus be consistent with the statement as we find it in Wace, La3amon, and the other versions. What work is referred to as "the Book of the Treasure
" of Histories" we have yet to ascertain. Geoffrey has
" prœlia cum ipsa commiserunt eamque ad ultimum cap-
" tam in carcerem posuerunt; ubi ob amissionem regni
" dolore obducto, sese interfecit" (lib. ii. c. 15). Some versions of the French Brut say that the nephews put their aunt to death, but the statement said to be derived from the book of the Treasure of Histories does not occur elsewhere. The Royal MS. 13 A. xxi., the Munich MS., as well as the printed edition of Wace, all agree in the account given by Geoffrey (Le Roux de Lincy's edit., Rouen, 1836, vol. i. p. cxiv. v. 858–875, and p. 98, v. 2105–2114). Peter of Langtoft has the following:—

" Pris est ele en guerre e dure enprisonee,
" En angusse e en peyne est ele a mort lyvre."
(MS. Cott. Jul. A. v.)

p. 92. *Cunedragez.*

So in A. B. and C. 2. The correct reading should probably be Cunedagez, as in the Paris MS.

p. 93. *la reine Ludo qui estoit leur mere.*

The spelling of this name varies in all the versions. Roberts' Translation has *Widon;* Wace, *Ludon;* Laȝamon, *Judon,* and so also the Royal MS. 13 D. ii.; but the printed text of Geoffrey has *Widen.* The Welsh version states that "Widon, enraged at the death of her son, "entering Porrex's chamber by night, by the assistance of "her women, murdered him in his sleep and cut the body "in pieces;" but a tradition is added in a note of the translator, that "when the partisans of her son, who were "near at hand, had heard and seen that the horrible deed "was done, they took her and put her in a sack and "threw her alive into the Thames" (Roberts' Translation, p. 46). The following narrative of the events in Britain which succeeded after the death of the sons of Ludo is taken from the version of the Brut in MS. Cott. Domitian A. x. and Addit. MS. 18,462, art. 1, cc. xx., xxi. :—

"Puisque Ydon (Idonie) eust moerdry Ferres, elle ne "eust remiz filz ne file qui poet claymer la terre de "Brutaigne par descente deritage. Et pur ceo le pluis "grantz de la terre dechaserent le pluis fiebles hors de "lour heritage. Issi que partout en chascun pais il eust "grande guerre, mes entre les y avoient quatre parentz, "pruis chevaliers et fortz, qui venquirent touz les altres, "et par lour force et lour poair purpristrent tote la "region, et chescun de eux purprist entour soy une "grande pane (paan) de la terre et soy fist clamer pur "roy. Et un de eux eust a non Scater si regna en "Escoce, un altre eust a non Dedwaleyn (Dowalin), qui "regna en Loegres et en tote la terre que feust a Locryn "(Lotrin) le filz Bruit. Le iij^e. eust a non Rudak, qi "regna en Gales, et le iiij^e. eust a non Claten (Cloten), "qi regna en Cornewaille. Cest Cloten deust avoir par "reson tote la terre de Brutaigne, qar il feust le pluis "proschen de sang, mes les altres estoient de pluis "grande poair qil ne feust. Purquoy ils ne fierent force "de luy, et pur ceo navoit il de tote la terre de Bru-"taigne fors soulement le countee de Cornewaille."

"Avient issint que Cloten eust un filz qeust a non "Donebald, que apres sa mort," &c.

Circilius ou Salicius.

The Paris MS. reads *Circilius ou Cicilius* and *Scilicius.*

p. 93. *Gabogdo.*

The Paris MS. reads "Gabogdodo."

maistre Gaste dist.—Compare Wace.

(Edit. Le Roux de Lincy, Rouen, i. p. 163, v. 2213–2226.)

ad compaignie de damoiselles.

In the Paris MS. *de ses damoiselles.*

p. 94. *les maistres dient.*

The Paris MS. reads "Le Maistre des Histoires dist "quil en y ot ung deulz qui avoit nom Damallo."

cincq des plus puissans barons du pais.

See also in Geoffrey, but compare the names of the kings with Geoffrey, who mentions only four. See note above, (p. 93) p. 527.

It is represented that the name of an additional king, Damaso or Damalo, is found in the Master of the Histories. Dunwallo Molinus, called Dynfwall Moelmyd, is said to have established the laws "which the Britons call the "Molmutine Laws" (Geoffrey, lib. ii. c. 17.)

p. 95. *maistre Gaste, qui translata ceste istoire en rime, dist.*

The Paris MS. reads *Cestui livre.* Compare Wace, printed edition, i. 105, v. 2257–2260.

Damaso, selon le Maistre des Histoires, ou selon maistre Gaste, Donal.

Here again reference is made to a discrepancy between Wace and the Master of Histories, but we have failed to discover the work indicated under that name, unless the conjecture be well founded that Master Gaimar is intended.

et de Wernorth.

These words are an addition to Geoffrey, lib. iii. c. 17. They do not occur in Wace nor Laȝamon.

p. 96. *Brenius se tint a mal parti.*

Geoffrey does not give the grounds of the dispute, nor the description of the persons and dispositions of the two brothers.

p. 96. *Ansigius.*

The name of the king of Norway, as given by Geoffrey, is *Elsingius*. By Wace he is called *Elfinges*, and by Laȝamon *Alfing*. In MS. Cotton. Julius D. xi. (lib. ii. v. 900) it is *Elsinus*.

p. 98. *cest lentree dEspaigne ou dEscoce.*

These words are not found in Geoffrey nor elsewhere.

depuis la mer de Cornvaille.

The causeways or great roads, constructed by Belinus, are here very imperfectly given. Compare Geoffrey, lib. iii. c. 5, and Laȝamon (edit. Madden, i. 205, 206.)

p. 99. *justice de tous ceux qui y mefferoient.*

Geoffrey adds:—"si quis autem scire voluerit omnia quæ "de eis statuerit, legat Molmutinas leges quas Gildas "historicus de Britannico in Latinum, rex vero Aluredus de "Latino in Anglicum sermonem, transtulit. (Lib. iii. c. 5.) Consult Roberts' Dissertation on the Laws of Dyfnwall Moelmyd (Coll. Camb. vol. i. Appx. No. 5).

Segius duc de Sens en Bourgoigne.

This Segius is by Geoffrey called Seginus dux Allobrogum. Laȝamon says:—"Segunie duc the lauerd wes "of Burguine," and adds, "of them Brutlonde." This addition of Brittany to the territory of the dukes of Burgundy is not supported by any incident in the histories of Burgundy and Bretagne. Consult L'Art de vérifier les Dates, x. 357, and xiii. 182. 8vo. Paris, 1818.

p. 100. *Thonene.*

It is singular that all the versions agree in the reading of the first letter of this queen's name, called by Geoffrey Conwenna. (Lib. iii. c. 7, edit. Giles, p. 44.)

p. 102. *toute la terre jusquez aux Mons Senis.*

Compare Geoffrey, lib. iii. c. 8, amplified by Wace. Edit. Rouen, i. 137–9, v. 2880–2920.

p. 105. *fut Gabius occis et Prosanna.*

There is probably an omission in the text. Conf. Galf. Mon. lib. iii. c. 9:—"Interfecto etiam Gabio et *capto* "Porsena."

p. 106. *la riviere de Schepars.*

The Paris MS. reads Doschepars.

p. 106. *et contient un legion six mil six cens et soixante six hommes.*

The number of men contained in a legion is not given here by Geoffrey; but see the number of which Arthur's company, in his encounter with Modred, is stated to have consisted (Galf. Mon. lib. xi. c. 2). The addition occurs in Wace (edit. Rouen, i. p. 154. v. 3232).

p. 107. *si comme raconte le maistre des histoires.*

A conjecture has been hazarded that the lost portion of the history of Geoffrey Gaimar may be indicated in this and the other references made in the text to the relation of *Le Maistre des Histoires*. See Monumenta Hist. Brit. fol. 1848, p. 764, note *b*.

Brenius qui demoures estoit en Ytalie.

Geoffrey (lib. iii. cap. 10) contents himself with saying: "The victory thus gained, Brennus stayed in Italy, where "he exercised unheard-of tyranny over the people. But "the rest of his actions and his death, seeing they are "delivered in the Roman histories, I shall here pass "over," &c. The Chronicle gives some particulars, for which we are referred to *Le Maistre des Histoires*, adding,— "and the Romans called him a second Romulus, because "he had thus restored and, as it were, renewed the city, "*comme dient le Maistre des Histoires et Titus Livius*." See Livy, v. c. 38-43.

p. 108. *Gragius son fils.*

This name, given to the son of Belinus, is peculiar to the Chronicle, which adds:—"Some call him Guigembra- "teruch." In Geoffrey we have Gurgiunt Brabtruc. Laȝamon has Gurguint Bertruc. In the Latin metrical version (Cotton MS. Julius D. xi. lib. iii. v. 1079, ed. Michel, p. 40) he is called,—"Goruhaudus barbæ rubeæ, non de- "gener hæres Locrini."

quil estoit de Blace.

Geoffrey has "ipsos ex Hispania venisse et Barclenses "esse vocatos." The MS. Reg. 13 D. ii. reads "Basclen- "ses;" and Sir F. Madden suggests that the Basques or Biscayners are probably intended. This tradition was probably derived from Nennius. See Gunn's note on Nennius, (24) p. 115, 8vo. 1819.

p. 109. *je vous parlerai de la mort du duc Brenius.*

This account of Brennus is peculiar to the Chronicle. The author cites Justin as his authority for the entire story (Justini, lib. xxiv., cap. v.–viii. 8vo. Amstel., 1659.

Aristones.

This seems to be a corrupt reading for Sosthenes. See Justin, lib. xxiv. c. vi.

p. 111. *des deux freres Belinus et Brenius.*

The observation is scarcely needed that there is no mention of Belinus in Justin.

laquelle loi un appelle Amires translata depuis en langue Britonicque.

The Paris MS. reads, *ung roy qui fust apelle Amires.* King Amires does not occur elsewhere; it is probably a corrupted reading of Alfred. The translation of these laws by King Alfred is mentioned by Geoffrey, which he says were called "tha marchitie lage" (lib. iii. c. 13); but there is no trace of the existence of such translation. The author of the prose version of the Brut (MS. Cott. Domitian A. x.), speaking of Alfred, says:—"Il estoit bon "clerk, et fist escrire un livre Engleis des aventures, *et* "*des leis*, et des batailles de la terre, et meint altre "livre fist il escrire de sen et de saver et de bele aprise, "dount meint homme se poeit amender qi les voleit lire "et regarder." Compare also Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. i. lib. 4, c. 10. In the text the Queen Marcia of Geoffrey is called Marie, and hence the Marian law. The MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi. has—

"La dame ont nun Martiene,
"Lais Martienes controvat,
"Ke li reis Auured puis traitat."

p. 112. *Rommarus apres son pere Silius.*

According to Geoffrey the son of Sisillius was Kimarus (lib. iii. c. 14). See also (lib. ii. c. 16), "Kinmarcus "Sisillii filius."

un monstre marin vint devers Irlande.

Geoffrey has "advenerat namque ex partibus Hiber-"nici maris inauditæ feritatis bellua." Compare the account given in the Chronicle of the engagement of Morbidus with the sea monster, the details of which are much fuller than in Geoffrey (lib. iii. c. 15).

p. 116. *en la forest de Kalatere.*

Geoffrey has "forte in Calatherio nemore venans" (lib. iii. c. 17). Sir F. Madden conjectures this to be the modern Torwood in Perthshire, and he thinks that from the ancient name of this forest, as variously spelt and pronounced, the Thanes of Cawdor derive their name. It had been generally, but erroneously, supposed to be the forest of Gualtres in the North Riding of Yorkshire.

et fut ensepveli.

The place of burial of Argal is not here named. Geoffrey says, "et in urbe Kaerleir sepultus est" (lib. iii. c. 7); this is rendered Carlisle in the metrical version of Brut (MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi.)

Robert of Brune has—

"In Aldburghe Castel was he laid
"Elud that time the name was said."

Aldborough on the Ouse, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, is by some authorities thought to be the British Alclud; but the supposition is unfounded. See Drake's Eboracum, p. 3, fol. 1736.

en prison dedens la tour de Londres.

Geoffrey has "intra turrim urbis Trinovantinæ." If this have reference to the Tower of London, as the translator seems to say, the allusion is remarkable. The Tower of London was certainly built at the time Geoffrey wrote, but not at the time of which he was writing. Mr. Black thinks that the *prætorium*, at the eastern entrance of the London Forum, in the centre of the primitive city, was a royal stronghold before the Tower of London was built, which he identifies with the "Tower Royal" commanding the port, and the principal entrance to Londinium. (Primitive Site of Roman London, by W. H. Black, F.S.A. London, 1863.)

ilz partirent eulx deux le royaulme.

The partition of the kingdom between the two younger brothers of King Helidus was in this wise: Jugenes held all the land from the river Humber downwards towards the south and west; the other brother, who was called Peredur, had all the country towards the east and north.

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Compare Geoffrey, lib. iii. c. 17, and the account of the partition of the kingdom between the two nephews of Cordelia. (Galf. Mon. lib. ii. c. 15).

p. 117. *Gorboman.*

In the Paris MS. this is Gorbonian, and in Geoffrey Gorbonianus. The name of Gorboman's nephew, who succeeded Helidus as king, is not given by Geoffrey, nor in any version except that of La3amon.

Emnanius.

The Paris MS. reads *Eumamius*; Geoffrey has *Enniaunus*; and for *Jugenes* of the text he has *Vigenius*. The difficulty of distinguishing the minims, except in very early MSS., is a frequent cause of inaccuracy in transcribing such names as this. The account of this king, given in the text, is more ample than in Geoffrey, though in the main it agrees, except as to the duration of his reign, which Geoffrey makes six years instead of seven. Geoffrey is followed in nearly all the other versions except in the printed text of Wace, i. 175:—

" Sept ans mena sa tyrannie,
" Sa cruelte et sa folie."

qui Avalon fut appelle.

In Geoffrey it is Idvallo; in Wace, Juvalon. Compare with Geoffrey (lib. iii. c. 19) the account given in the text of the several kings mentioned in succession; the orthography varies, and the details of several are given much fuller than in Geoffrey.

p. 118. *Cercius qui fut un grant buveur de vin.*

Geoffrey, followed by Wace and La3amon, calls this king *Cherin*, but he says nothing more about him beyond naming his three children. The additions by Wace, followed closely in the text and by La3amon, cannot be referred to any source at present known.

Merian lequel fut a merveille beau.

The character and description here given of Merian and of his son Bledo are additions by Wace, followed by La3amon, which must be referred to some other source than Geoffrey.

p. 118. *Cappius Ornus.*

The two kings of Geoffrey, Cap and Oenus, are here made into one. Ornus in the text is evidently a corrupt reading for Oenus, as in B. and C. 2. This is followed by another deviation from all other versions by making Octius Silius the successor of Oenus. The text, which seems to be corrupt, might be amended by reading,—"Apres cestui large roy Bledo rengna Cappius, et apres "lui Oenus, et apres Oenus, Silius."

p. 119. *regna son fils Eldol.*

Wace is the authority for calling Eldol the son of Artiual (or Arthmail, as in Geoffrey), as also for the character here given of him of fondness for women. La3amon, who calls him Ældolf, follows Wace.

Apres la mort de Eldol regna Gedion.

Compare Geoffrey in the succession of the following kings. The Redion of Geoffrey is here called *Gedion;* Rederchius, *Redel;* Samuilpenissel, *Pampainsal;* and after him, *Pir,* "whose head was handsomer and his hair fairer "than any other man's of his day." For this description Wace is the authority. Capoir is called *Capolus;* his son Gligueillus, *Elingranus*, called *Eligille* by La3amon. He is the Mynogon of the Welsh poem, and the Minocanus of Nennius (edit. Petrie, cap. xiv.)

regna son fils Heli.

In Geoffrey we have "post illum successit Heli filius "ejus." He is called by Nennius *Belinus*, and by the Welsh writers Beli Maur. His three sons were Lludd, Caswallaon (Cassibelanus), and Nyniaw (Nemynus), called in the printed text of Geoffrey and by La3amon *Nennius.* A fourth son is given to Heli, or Beli, in the Welsh version translated by Roberts (p. 66), named Llefelys, and his marriage to a daughter of the king of France is mentioned. Mr. Owen Pughe, who has translated the Welsh tales, the Mabinogion, gives one—"Ymarwar Lludd a Lle-"velys,"—the contention of Lludd and Llevelys. Compare Geoffrey (lib. iv. c. 8), and postea p. 137 and p. 140.

p. 120. *daucuns estrangiers qui point nentendoient le langage.*

Compare Wace, edit. Le Roux de Lincy, vol. i. pp. 61, 62, 182, and 183.

p. 122. *comme fist Pompee.*

The Paris MS. agrees with the reading in B. and C. 2, and this denotes an omission in the text.

Vous devez scavoir que ou temps de Cesar et du grant Pompee.

This introductory account of Cæsar's invasion of Britain is peculiar to the text. Compare Geoffrey, lib. iv. c. 1, and Wace, edit. Rouen, vol. i. pp. 185 et seq.

p. 123. *Lombardie et les monts.*

Mons Jovis, or Mont Jou. In Wace, printed text, p. 186, "Mon Geu,"—the pass of the Great St. Bernard, a mountain of the Pennine Alps, on the frontiers of Piedmont. The order of the conquests of Cæsar is corrupt in the text. The Paris MS. reads as in the note from MS. B. Compare Wace (ed. Le Roux de Lincy, vol. i. p. 186) and MS. Cott. Vitellius A. x.

Apres revint par Flandres et sarresta a Boulogne sur la mer.

Geoffrey writes: "ad littus Rutenorum." The anonymous author of the Norman French metrical version of Brut has:—

"Com estut a Witsand sur rive de mer,
"Vers Bretaigne prist a esgarder,
"En Dovre vit blanc dras venteler,
"As paisans prist a demander," &c.
(MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi.)

M. J. F. Henry has compiled in a tabular form all the places which have at any time been contended for as the port of Cæsar's embarkation:—"Notice des diverses "opinions sur la position du Port Itius, des raisons sur "lesquelles on les appuie et des objections pour ou contre "ces mêmes opinions."—(Essai Historique sur l'Arrondissement Communal de Boulogne-sur-mer. Boulogne, 4to. 1810.) The author closes this curious analysis with these remarks: "Il est évident que si des autorités pouvaient "décider une question de la nature de celle qui nous "occupe, on ne balancerait point à donner la préférence "au port de Wissant."

p. 123. *ou il fist faire la Tour dOrdre.*

The allusion here made to the Tower of Order as having been erected by Cæsar at Boulogne is remarkable, founded as it is upon Geoffrey's somewhat more obscure expression. His words are:—" ingressus est deinde quandam " turrim quam in loco qui Odnea vocatur construxerat, " antequam Britanniam hac vice adivisset." This is rendered by Wace:—

" A un molt bon angigneor
" Fist sor la mer faire une tor,
" Em Boloigne siet, Ordre a non,
" Nen sai nule de tel facon."

And in the MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi. the tower is called " Tur d'Odene;" by Gervais of Tilbury it is called " Dodres." The monument referred to is the pharos or lighthouse at Boulogne-sur-mer, the remains of which were extant until nearly the close of the last century; it was well known as La Tour d'Ordre, or d'Odre, and the street leading to the site is to this day called " la rue de " la Tour d'Ordre." It appears to have been built in the form of an octagon. The tower was upon an eminence commanding the harbour, but being undermined by the sea, it fell in the year 1644. The erection was not, however, accomplished by Julius Cæsar, as stated in the Chronicle, though not improbably raised on the site of a rampart there constructed by him in the year previous to his first invasion of Britain (De Bell. Gall., lib. iii. c. 20). It was set up by Caligula, as related by Suetonius; but it would be difficult to believe that Geoffrey derived his information from the Roman historian. After referring to Caligula's vain expedition against Britain, Suetonius writes: —" At last, as he was resolved to make an end of the war " at once, drawing up his army upon the shore of the " ocean, with his balistæ and other engines of war, whilst " nobody was able to conceive or imagine what he was " going to do, on a sudden he commanded them to gather " up the sea-shells and fill their helmets and the laps of " their coats with them, calling them the spoils of the " ocean due to the Capitol and the Palatium. ' Et in indi- " ' cium victoriæ altissimam turrem exitavit; ex qua, ut " ' ex Pharo, noctibus ad regendos navium cursus ignes " ' emicarent.' " (C. Sueton. Tranq. Caligula, 46.) There is a very interesting account of this monument, with an engraved representation of it, in the work of M. Henry above

referred to. See also a dissertation by Dom Bernard de Montfaucon, read in 1721 before the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres:—"Sur le Phare d'Alex-"andrie, sur les autres Phares bâtis depuis, et particu-"lièrement sur celui de Boulogne-sur-mer, ruiné depuis "environ quatre-vingts ans" (A. i. vi. (M.) p. 576).

p. 123. *sy demanda quele isle cestoit.*

The account in the text of Cæsar's contemplation of the opposite coast, of his observation upon the Romans and Britons having the same ancestors, and of his letter to Cassibelanus, with the king's reply, is more fully detailed than in Geoffrey. Compare Wace, with whom it agrees more in the main, although there are some remarkable differences.

p. 126. *logie a Douvres.*

And so also in Wace and Laȝamon, it is seemingly the Dorobellum oppidum of Geoffrey (lib. iv. c. 3.) In the anonymous metrical version of Brut we read:—

"Idonc sunt tint asemble
"En Dorobelle la grant cite,
"Ici out nun a icel tens
"Doint lapelent noz parenz."
(MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi.)

This would appear to be adopted from Geoffrey, who has apparently founded his statement on a faulty copy of Nennius. The best MSS. of Nennius clearly indicate the name of a person and not that of a place. (Edit. Petrie, cap. xiv.) Compare also Henry of Huntingdon:—"Labienus ergo tri-"bunus militum dum primum aciem in Dolobelli cuneum, "qui proconsul erat Britannici regis, acrius immergit, "cedentesque cædit, prosternit, et persequitur, regalis acies "inter Cæsareas et Labieni phalanges infigitur."—(Henr. Huntend. Hist. Anglorum, lib. i.) It is quite possible that Wace had seen some account, or heard of a tradition in which Dover, or some spot in the vicinity, was referred to as the place of Cæsar's landing. The result of later investigations points to a different locality. Gunn has an inconclusive note in his edition of Nennius upon this passage (38, p. 125, 8vo. Lond., 1819), wherein he adopts the view that a place and not a person is indicated.

p. 126. *Belinus.*

All the versions speak of Belinus as a proconsul, constable, or grand marshal, not as the king. In Nennius, Dolobellus is named the proconsul of Belinus the king. If this be Beli Maur, or Beli the Great, called in the Chronicle (p. 119), Heli, the father of Lludd, brother of Cassibelanus, he must have been dead at the time of Cæsar's invasion, nevertheless Dolobellus may have been his proconsul whilst he was alive.

Neminus, Androgenes, et Tenantius — freres et nepveux du roy.

Neminus only was the king's brother; and Androgenes and Tenantius were his nephews, they being the sons of Lludd. Androgenes is called by Geoffrey, "Androgeus dux Trino-" vanti," and his brother, "Tennantius dux Cornubiæ."

Eridonius.

Called by Geoffrey, in the printed text, "Cridious," (lib. iv. c. 3); "Eridios," by Wace, and by Laȝamon, "Æridius."

Uritael roi de Demecie.

Vritael or Uritael, king of South Wales, called by Geoffrey and by Laȝamon, *Britael.*

p. 130. *Troceamors.*

The name of Cæsar's sword by which Nemynus or Nynyaw, the king's brother, is wounded, is called by Geoffrey *Crocea mors*, and the same explanation of the name is there given as in the text. Laȝamon retains the Latin name without translating it. Robert of Gloucester has:—

" For ther was non ther with y wonded that ever keuer
" myȝte,
" Therfore *yt was rede deth ycleped* and mid ryȝte."

In Harl. MS. 636, fol. 7, the name occurs thus:—
—— "et fust appelle *iaune mort.*"

p. 131. *dist le maistre qui fist ce livre.*

The saying here referred to—"that gold and silver have " great power, since they so soon made up a great quarrel " and ended a great war"—is not found in Geoffrey nor in any other known version of the work.

p. 132. *Bien avez oy cy-dessus comment Cesar fist faire la Tour dOrdre a Boullogne-sur-la-mer.*

See note on the Tower of Order at page 536 (p. 123). The anonymous metrical version of Brut reads here:—

" Ainz qe des sons eust la mur
" Sur mer fist faire une grant tur,
" U dedenz se poust receter
" Si mes li sursist encumbrer
" La tur fut faite en Boloigne,
" Eu pur icele busoigne ;
" Tur dOdene lapelent li paisant,
" E li velz home e li enfant."
(MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi.)

The introduction to this chapter is not to be found in Geoffrey. Compare Wace, printed text, vol. i. p. 204. The number of ships collected by Cæsar on his second invasion is stated by Wace to be six hundred; in the Chronicle it is seven hundred.

p. 133. *plusieurs haies de grant pieux ferres.*

Compare Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. v. c. 18. See also Beda, lib. i. c. ii. (edit Petrie, p. 110.)

p. 134. *Le roy des Bretons qui tout ce veoit.*

Compare Geoffrey, lib. iv. c. 7, and Wace, printed text, pp. 206–208.

p. 136. *Il est a scavoir que en ce temps ilz faisoient leurs sacrefices.*

The different modes of sacrifice employed by the Britons in the time of Cassibelanus, as here detailed, are not referred to by Geoffrey, or in any other known version of the history. See Geoffrey, lib. iv. c. 8, and Wace, printed text, vol. i. p. 209.

p. 137. *Or advint entredeux.*

This account of the quarrel between Ilregas and Enelinus is repeated by Androgenes in his letter to Cæsar, with a slight variation as to the manner by which Ilregas met his death. The letter as it occurs in Geoffrey is not precisely followed in the text. Compare Geoffrey, lib. iv. c. 8, and Wace, printed text, i. 213–215. The reading in

the anonymous metrical version of Brut is in accordance with the passage in Geoffrey:—

" Quant mon nevu i co veit
" Saisit lespee quil teneit
" Des poinz la li volt tolir
" Quil ne poust mie ferir
" Com si estruiavent a malure
" Li nes le Rei chai sure
" Del espee sest nafrez."
(MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi.)

p. 141. *appelle Sceva.*

So in Geoffrey, lib. iv. c. 9. Compare Wace, p. 218. MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi. has:—

" Li dux son fiz donc demandat
" Sceua out nun si len enveiat,
" E od lui trente juvencels
" De son lui ki tuz sunt lels."

The addition to Geoffrey, viz., that Cæsar placed these hostages in his Tower of Order, also occurs in Wace (i. p. 218). La3amon, who calls Androgenes' son Cenau, has " who sent them to Otheres."

en Rommenel pres du port du Dore.

Geoffrey has " in Rutupi portum applicuit" (lib. iv. c. 9). Compare Wace, printed edition, vol. i. p. 218. The editor does not state in what MSS. of Wace Cæsar's landing-place is assigned to Rommenel, but the Cotton. MS. Vitellius A. x. reads " Dover." The prose translator of this Chronicle has followed a faulty copy of Wace, or derived his information from a source not apparent. The locality indicated by Geoffrey is most probably Richborough in Kent.

p. 143. *Lucan dist que les Bretons.*

The source of the statement, here referred to Lucan, has not been traced.

Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.

Marci Annæi Lucani Pharsaliæ, lib. ii. v. 571.

p. 147. *mais il emmena Androgenes avec lui.*

This account of the reconciliation of Cæsar and Cassibelanus, of Cæsar's sojourn in Britain during the winter,

and his return to Gaul, is also briefly stated in the "His-" toria Britonum," but Geoffrey does not say that Cæsar took Androgenes with him; that circumstance, however, is referred to by Geoffrey in another place (lib. iv. c. 2.) See also p. 148 of the text. The subsequent observations are peculiar to the translator. Nothing of the kind is mentioned either in Geoffrey or Wace; and for the further account of the civil war, which arose out of the Senate's refusal to grant a triumph to Cæsar, the reader is referred, in the text, to Lucan.

p. 148. *Apres Cassibelaunt regna son neveu Tenancius.*

There is an omission in the text (as there is in Geoffrey, (lib. iv. c. 2), and in Wace, printed edit. vol. i. p. 231,) to mention the length of the reign of Tenantius. La3amon says:—"tou and twenti wintre this lond he iwalde," and he mentions several other particulars relative to Tenantius not found in Wace or Geoffrey. These statements must have been derived from sources not at present known. What renders this the more worthy of remark is that in the anonymous metrical version of Brut, MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi., some statements occur, not to be found in Geoffrey. La3amon says that Kimbelin, son of Tenantius, had accompanied his uncle (Androgenes) to Rome. The anonymous author says:—

"Li reis son pere mult lamat,
"Pur co a Rome lenveiat,
"Pur servir lempereur
"Ki tint lempire a icel jur."

And he adds:—

"Trenté anz pleners e alques plus
"Regnat dan Tenuacius,
"Icel refist plusurs citez
"Ki chaeit erent dantiquitez,
"Si tost cum il fut finez
"Li Breton unt a Rume enveiez,
"Son fiz en unt amene
"Le realme li unt done."
(MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi.)

Ou temps de cestui roy.

Geoffrey mentions very briefly the birth of Christ "in "diebus illis." The details here given, and the anecdote introduced respecting Thezelinus or Taliesin, are found

also in Wace (printed edit. i. 231). Compare La3amon, edit. Madden, i. 386–391. The Royal MS. 13 A. xxi. also refers to the birth of Christ, but without mentioning Taliesin's prophecy. The period is thus mentioned:—

" A icel tens qe Deus fust ne
" Kimbellins out dis anz regne."

The inconsistency of making Taliesin cotemporary with the reign of Cambelinus is manifest, and his prediction of the birth of the Saviour is at the least a remarkable anachronism. This, like all the predictions ascribed to Merlin, was doubtless written long after the event.

p. 149. *ot regne deux ans.*

La3amon has " Kimbelin Britains king . . . . and he " lived here two and twenty years." Geoffrey says, " when " he had governed Britain ten years, he begat two sons." The author of the metrical version says:—" At the time that " Christ was born Kimbelin had reigned ten years." (See note above.) Wace, printed text, i. 233, says:—

" Dix ans fu rois et puis fina,
" Et Winder (Wuider) son fil corona."

From these various statements it is not easy to define the duration of the reign of Cambelinus.

p. 150. *Lelius Homo.*

In MSS. B. and C. 2 more accurately Hamo. In the printed text of Geoffrey he is called Levis Hamo; but in MS. Reg. 13 D. 11, it is Lelius Hamo. The story of his death having given name to the port of Southampton is more or less amplified in the various versions of Geoffrey, who contents himself with saying, " Portus autem ille ab illo tempore " usque in hodiernum diem portus Hamonis appellatur" (lib. iv. c. 13).

p. 153. *Genois.*

According to Ponticus Virunnius, who has left an abridgment of Geoffrey, the name of Claudius' daughter, affianced to Arviragus, is preserved by the poet Gildas; a writer who, we are told, was the author of the lines in which Brutus addressed Diana, and those in which the goddess replied, and was a contemporary with the emperor Claudius. (Pontici Virunnii Britan. Hist. lib. i. p. 4 and p. 35, edit. Giles, 8vo. 1844.) Geoffrey has converted this name Juvenissa into Genuissa.

p. 153. *Les isles de Orcanie, de Pasie, et aulcunes aultres par layde de Arviragus.*

A curious misconception of the text of Wace has crept in here. Compare Wace (printed text, vol. i. p. 241).

" Entretant conquist Orquenie
" Par Arviragus *par saie,*
" Et altres illes environ,
" Que je ne sai comment ont non."

que on appelloit Saverne.

Probably the valley of the Severn.

p. 154. *au port de Douvres.*

This is the interpretation given to the Rutupi portum of Geoffrey (iv. c. 16). Richborough is the place indicated.

tant quil vint a un plain sans nulle defense, ou il prinst terre et fist descendre sa gent.

Geoffrey has here:—" in Tottonesium littus applicuit." The port of Dartmouth seems to be indicated, which extends from the mouth of the Dart for some miles up the river as far as Totness.

a Ocestre.

Exeter. In Geoffrey it is " Kaerpenhuelgoit, quæ Exonia " vocatur" (lib. iv. c. 16).

par huit jours.

So also in the metrical version of Brut, MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi. Geoffrey has seven days, and Wace the same, p. 243, v. 5243.

cest accord tint le roy Arviragus toute sa vie moult franchement.

Compare Geoffrey's character of Arviragus and the reference made by him to Juvenal. It has been said that Geoffrey's application of the passage in Juvenal (Sat. iv. l. 126–7), to this Arviragus is not just. Admitting the accuracy of the computation of the reign of King Gweyrydd, as the Welsh writers name Arviragus, from A.D. 45 to A.D. 73, which dates would show that he was dead several years before Domitian's accession, the objec-

tion would still seem to be insufficiently grounded; but this assumption of date is moreover open to some dispute. The anonymous metrical version here follows Geoffrey very closely:—

" Despuis si fut amis certeins
" Li reis tut dis as Romeins,
" Sa terre tint a grant honur,
" Ses veisins fist sovent pour
" Mult bones leis puis controvat
" En son regne confermat.
" Cist fut mult bon duneur.
" En Europe nen out meillur,
" Des Rommains fust mult amez,
" E pur ses fez e redutez
" Sur tuz les reis sil honurouent,
" Sovent beuls dons lui enveioent.
" En guere esteit ardiz e pruz,
" En pes esteit humbles e duz.
" A sons ert simples cum un enfant
" Seignor aveient a talent
" Cum longuement out si regne,
" En bone fin si est fine,
" En Gloucestre est enseveliz,
" Le regne donent puis a son fiz."
(MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi.)

p. 155. *en laquelle fist escrivre toute ladventure de ceste bataille.*

Compare William of Malmesbury, De Gest. Pont. Prol., lib. iii.—" velut est in Lugabalia civitate (Carlisle) tricli-
" nium lapideum, fornicibus concameratum . . . Cum-
" berland vocatur regio et Cumbri vocantur homines, scrip-
" turaque legitur in fronte triclinii—MARII VICTORLÆ." Malmesbury is perplexed to find the meaning of this inscription; but unless Geoffrey be indebted to him for the suggestion, and the entire account in the Hist. Reg. Brit. (lib. iv. c. 17.) be a mere fabrication, a singular solution of this difficulty is here afforded. The best evidence of this being an independent testimony seems to be in the fact that Geoffrey describes the locality as Westmoreland.

p. 156. *Quant le roy Maurius fut mort.*

The length of the reign of Maurius is not mentioned by Geoffrey (lib. iv. c. 11); and Wace merely says " Marius regna longement," and so also the anonymous

author, MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi. Peter of Langtoft, upon what authority is not evident, says that he reigned thirteen years, and gives Salisbury as his place of burial. (Cott. MS. Julius A. v.) The reign of his successor Coillus is also stated by Langtoft to have been ten years, and his place of burial, Norwich. The anonymous metrical version, speaking of Coillus, has:—

" Ben quarante anz tint cil la terre
" Unc en ses jurs ne muot guere."
(MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi.)

p. 157. *puis establirent eveschies et arceveschies.*

Respecting the introduction of Christianity into England in the time of King Lucius, compare Geoffrey, lib. iv. c. 19; Nennius c. 18; and Beda, lib. i. c. 4, and for ample information on the subject consult Ussher's Antiquitat. Ecclesiar. Britann. Lond. fol. 1687, pp. 19 et seq.

ce fut cent et cincquante ans apres lincarnation.

The death of King Lucius (Lever Maur) is stated by Geoffrey (lib. v. c. 1), and by Wace (printed text, vol. i. p. 250), to have occurred 156 years after the incarnation. Some MSS. cited by Le Roux de Lincy read 150.

p. 159. *mais il y avoit lors.*

The particular allusion here to the condition of the seas, and the multitude of pirates and corsairs under Basianus, and the representation thereupon made by Carausius to the senate are peculiar to the Chronicle. Geoffrey and Wace very briefly mention the circumstances.

p. 160. *En ce tems y avoit en la Grant Bretaigne un compaignon routier de guerre appelle de son nom Karras.*

See a learned dissertation on the country, origin, family, and descendants of Carausius, the Roman emperor, who reigned in Great Britain in the time of Diocletian and Maximianus Hercules, his competitors, in the empire of Britain. (Histoire de Carausius, &c., prouveé par les Médailles. 4to. Paris, 1740.)

p. 160. *et ancorres sont.*

Neither Geoffrey nor Wace justify this addition of the chronicler in the text. Compare the whole account, to the end of the chapter, with Wace, whose description is much abridged.

p. 165. *La riviere Galvie, mais depuis les Englois lappellerent Unawort.*

These names are manifestly corrupt in the MSS. *Unawort*, as the reading is in A. and B., and "Unabwort" in C. 2, may be errors of the scribe for Uuaworc and Uuabworc. The reading in the Paris MS. is "ilz appellerent lors la "riviere Gallivie du nom Gallus, mais maintenant les "Englois lappellent *Walbroc*." Compare Geoffrey and Wace. The readings in the printed texts are, Wace, vol. i. p. 263, "Nengauli," British, and "Galabroc," Saxon; and Geoffrey, lib. v. c. 4, "Nautgallim" and "Gallemborne." The Cotton. MS. of Wace, Vitellius A. x., reads "Nen-"gallum," and the MS. of Geoffrey, MS. Reg. 13 D. ii., has "Nautgallun" and "Gallabroc." The anonymous version 13 A. xxi. reads:—

"En un russel les unt gete,
"Ki curt par mi la cite,
"Galabroc lapelent en Romanz,
"E Nautigal cil en Bretanz."

The presumed locality is the river Walbrook, now covered by a sewer, which, according to Mr. Black's conjecture, formed the eastern boundary of the ancient Londinium.

clercs ne prestres.

Geoffrey has here some remarks, which do not occur in the Chronicle, on the condition of the Christian church and the holy martyrs, Alban of Verulam, and Julius and Aaron of the city of Legions (lib. v. c. 5).

Choel conte de Leycestre.

This is evidently a mistake of the chronicler. Geoffrey has "dux Kaer Colvin, id est, Colecestriæ;" and Wace, (Cott. MS. Vitellius A. x.,) "Coel un quens de Colecestre.'

p. 167. *Helaine, par le conseil de ses parens, espousa Constant.*

The marriage of King Choel's daughter with Constan-

tius need scarcely be pointed out here as apocryphal. The tradition which assigns for her father a British king is rejected by Gibbon, but he defends the legality of her marriage against those who have represented the mother of the great Constantine as his father's concubine. (Gibbon, ii. 190; Eutropius, lib. x. c. 2; Beda, lib. i. c. 8.)

p. 169. *Leominus, laultre Trahen, et laultre Maurius.*

The names of Helen's three uncles are given by Geoffrey as Leolinus, Trahern, and Marius, called in the Welsh Chronicle Llewelyn, Trahaern, and Meurig. These are converted by the anonymous author of the French metrical version into Joelinus, Trahern, and Majus.

Ostones le duc de Gallez.

This is an approximation to the "Walsce londe" of La3amon, who calls the duke Octaves. Geoffrey has "Octavius dux Wisseorum," and the MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi.:—

" Grant tens apres Octaius,
" Ki de Gewissiers ert dux."

And afterwards, when he became king, it reads "Octavien." The Welsh copies (Roberts, p. 97) read "Eudaf" for "Octavius." In the Paris MS. the name is Ostanes.

atout deux legions.

And so in Wace. Geoffrey has three, and is followed by the MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi. The Welsh Chronicle also has three legions. (Roberts, p. 97.)

au port de Porcestre.

This represents the Kaerperis of Geoffrey (lib. v. c. 8). The MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi. has the same :—

" En Bretaigne est arive
" E Porecestre ad sege."

It also names the field near Winchester where the battle was fought, called by Geoffrey *Maisuriam*, Marsure. This name is altogether omitted in the Chronicle, and so also in La3amon and Robert of Brunne. Wace has "Maisure" (Cotton, Vitellius A. x.). The spot was named Maes Urien, *i.e.*, the field of battle of Urien." (Roberts, p. 97.)

p. 171. *une seule fille.*

The name of King Ostone's daughter is not mentioned by Geoffrey, but in the Welsh text (Roberts, 99) she is

called Helen, and by Laȝamon Orien (ed. Madden, ii. 55). A singular story is told by Vincent, bishop of Beauvais, of the empress, wife of Maximus and daughter of the king of Britain, about her obtaining permission to prepare a repast for Saint Martin, which she did, and served it with her own hands. (Miroir Hystorial, lib. xviii. c. 16.)

p. 171. *Aulcuns de ses amys lui conseilloient.*

Compare Geoffrey (lib. v. c. 9).

Conant son nepveu.

Conan Meriadoc (Galf. Mon. lib. v. c. 9),—otherwise Conan Meriadech or Conan Meriadawg or Murdoch—is recognised by the Breton writers, who are indisposed to reject, with Lobineau, as fabulous the whole story of the settlement by Maximus in Armorica, and which represents him as the founder of the Armorican monarchy in Bretagne. Roberts thinks he may have been a son of Caradoc, earl of Cornwall, but on what ground he does not say. The name Conan is the same word with Cyning or Koning, and signifies king.

Amaury.

Meurig, the son of Caradoc, is called by Geoffrey Mauricius. The history here comprised in cap. xlv. is very much abridged from Geoffrey; the speeches of Amaury to Maximus are omitted, with many other details. Compare Geoffrey, lib. v. cc. ix. to xv.

p. 172. *Humbaut, sire de la terre.*

The Breton writers call him Jubaldus. In Geoffrey (p. 89) we have Inbaltus, and in the Welsh copies Hymblat and Imbald. (Roberts, p. 100.)

p. 174. *Cestui Adjonet estoit regent de la Grant Bretaigne.*

From Geoffrey's narrative it appears that when Maximus left Britain he appointed Dianotus (the Adjonet of the Chronicle) to be his lieutenant. Caradoc, earl of Cornwall, had since died; and his brother Dianotus, having succeeded him, is now called king of Cornwall. The romantic legend of Ursula, daughter of Dianotus, (called in the Welsh copies Dunawd,) and the 11,000 virgins of noble birth and 60,000 of lesser rank sent over to Conan, king of Armorica, and of their subsequent misfortunes, is repeated in various forms; but there does not appear to be

any foundation for it in genuine history. Roberts has a note, p. 101, in which he endeavours to explain the difficulty respecting the "undecim millia virgines." On the subject of the legend, see Crumback's Ursula vindicata, fol. col. 164, and a notice by Michaud, published in La Biographie Universelle, *Ursule (sainte)*. See also Ussher's Antiq. Eccl. Britann., pp. 108, 331.

p. 176. *le roy Gavianus de Honguerie et Melga sire de Seice.*

The Paris MS. reads "Scicie." The printed copy of Wace, p. 287, reads incorrectly "dEscoce." Geoffrey has "Guanius rex Hunnorum, Melga vero Pictorum" (lib. v. c. 16). Roberts offers a conjecture that Gunwas (Gavianus) and Melwas (Melga) ought to be read Chunwys and Alanwys, signifying Huns and Alans.

Ci arriverent atout leur armee en Escoche.

The history here is much amplified. Compare Geoffrey, lib. v. c. 16, and lib. vi. cc. 1 and 2.

p. 177. *lequel fut occys en Acquilee.*

The death of Maximus in Acquileia is here correctly represented. Geoffrey has "interea Maximianus *Romæ* "interfectus est" (lib. v. c. 16).

p. 180. *Helas! ce dist lacteur.*

The authority here referred to has not occurred.

a Romme devers les senateurs.

Here the statement varies from that in Geoffrey, who, as in Beda and Gildas, makes the Britons address themselves to Aetius the consul. The answer returned from Rome, through the ambassadors, is given in the words of the senate.

p. 182. *Et dist listoire.*

Geoffrey (lib. vi. c. 4) says nothing about King Aldroen's assurance that he would himself have gone in person if it had not been for the war which he was carrying on against the French. The speech of Bishop Guicelin to the king, as well as Aldroen's reply, as introduced by Geoffrey, are not in the Chronicle; here the king remarks, "for indeed a "larger number I do not mention to you, because I am "daily threatened with disturbance from the Gauls."

p. 182. *au port en la Grant Bretaigne.*

The port is not here stated, but Geoffrey names Totness. On almost every occasion, when the passage is made from Brittany, the port of Dartmouth or Totness, as it is called in the Brut, is selected as the port of arrival in Britain.

p. 183. *puis adrecherent leur chemin vers Londres.*

Geoffrey says nothing about their proceeding to London. He states that after the victory a council was called at Silchester, and Constantine was advanced to the crown. The Chronicle, without naming any place, says:—"This " done, they held a great parliament, in which the Britons, " with one accord, elected Constantine king." Wace, in the printed text, has "Cirecestre," and so also in MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi., "Cirecestrie."

lequel tira un coutel et occyst le roy.

It is remarkable that in lib. ii. c. 59, p. 291, the chronicler makes King Aurelius refer to the "treason perpe- " trated by Vortigern on the noble person of his father " King Constantine." The participation of Vortigern in the murder of Constantine had not been previously referred to by Geoffrey, but he and Alfred of Beverley both concur in placing in the mouth of Aurelius an allusion to Vortigern's treason against Constantine. "Primo prodidit " patrem meum Constantinum, qui ipsum et patriam a " Pictorum irruptione liberaverat" (lib. viii. c. 2). Wace, printed text, i. p. 305, has:—

" Puis ai oi a pluisors dire
" Qe Vortiger le fist occire."

The MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi. reads:—

" Cum dis anz furent passe
" Ke Costentins fust corunez,
" En un gardin si fu tue,
" Dun chevaler dun son prive."

A tradition probably existed at the time that Vortigern had been the instigator of the murder of Constantine, but it is singular that Geoffrey should not have noticed it. Alan de Insula, who wrote less than 40 years after Geoffrey, has this account:—"Fuerant enim [Aurelius Ambrosius et

" Uther Pendragon] filii Constantini Britonum regis, *quem*
" *supradictus Vortegirnus, cum esset Gewiseorum comes*, as-
" tutus nimis et potens, atque insatiabili ambitione aspi-
" raret ad regnum, ut videlicet quocunque eventu sese
" in regem erigeret, *dolo fecit occidi, subornato quodam*
" *milite*, qui in obsequio regis fuerat quique eum semotis
" cæteris in virgultum quoddam vocans quasi secretum
" cum eo colloquium habiturus, ut nefandissimus proditor
" cultro peremit." (Alani de Insula Comm. in Prophet. Merlini, lib. i. p. 11. Francof. 8vo. 1608.

p. 184. *Adont parla Vortigier a labbe et au couvent.*

This is fuller than in Geoffrey. Compare lib. vi. cap. 6.

avoit un baron de Gaulles.

Vortigern is here called a wealthy and powerful baron of Wales. So in Wace (MS. Cotton. Vitellius A. x.):— " en Guales maneit . . . e quens estoit." Geoffrey has " consul Gewisseorum " (lib. vi. c. 6).

p. 189. *Endementiers que ces parolles couroyent en Bretaigne, arriverent au port de Saumis.*

The name of this port was probably here intended for Saunvis. The Paris MS. reads, on an erasure, "*au por* " *de Chandwich.*" The Cotton, MS. has " a Sandwiz, un " port, arriverent ; " and the MS. du Roi 7515, 3. 3. Colb., " En Kent a un port arriverent."

" Cis port est tot droit en Tanet,
" Pres de Sanewic en un islet."

Compare Nennius, cc. 28, 29 ; Beda, Hist. Eccl., lib. i. cc. 14, 15 ; and Gildæ Hist., c. 23. The Saxon Chronicle has Ebbsfleet in Thanet.

au roy Pudis, qui leur parent estoit.

MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi. reads " al rei Budice." In Geoffrey it is " Budccius rex."

p. 190. *Englist et Orsus son frere.*

The appellation given to the two brothers is peculiar to this text. The etymology of Hengst and Hors would be inapplicable to the names here ascribed. The Paris MS. reads " Henguist."

p. 190. *quelle estoit leur creance et qui estoit leur dieu.*

Compare Geoffrey, lib. vi. c. 10.

p. 193. *que on dist Linsoye.*

The Paris MS. reads "Lindeseye;" Geoffrey, "in Linde-"seia regione" ("Londesia" in edition Giles, 8vo. 1844, p. 106). MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi. has "Lindeseie." Compare Nennius:—"Et tradidit eis insulam quæ lingua eorum "vocatur Taneth, Britannico sermone Ruichim" (c. xxix., edit. Petrie, p. 63.

p. 194. *sy lui advint une fois quil se trouva seul avec le roy.*

The account of the dialogue between Englist and Vortigern here varies from all other versions. The introduction of several apostrophes by "the author" to Vortigern is peculiar to this Chronicle; but the name of the author referred to yet remains in obscurity. The Paris MS., which was written before the close of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, presents the same peculiarity, although there is a slight variation in the language.

p. 197. *si lapella Chast de Couroye et les Bretons lapellerent Kaecordy.*

MS. B. and C. 2 read "Kaercordy" or "Caercordy." The Paris MS. has "*Caer Cordy et en langue Saxonique* "*Thangcastre, qui vault autant dire en nostre langaige* "*comme chasteau de Coirroye.*" Wace, according to the printed text (i. 327), presents some singular varieties in the appellation of this castle, *Vancastre, Kaer Kaerai, Wancastre,* and *Lancastre.* These are all corruptions of Thangcastre or Thong-castle. In Peter of Langtoft we have:—

"Al chastel de Thauncastre vynt Sir Vortiger,
"Devaunt li en la sale tost apres manger
"Vint Rouenne la bele le ray saluer
"Of un coupe de or plein de vyn cler."

The MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi. has:—

"Cum il out feit icel chastel
"En Lindeseie, qe mult fu bel,
"De la coreie nun lui donat
"E Thangcastre lapelat."

These lines seem to fix the locality in Lincolnshire. Compare Geoffrey, lib. vi. c. 11.

p. 198. *Et avoit non Ronixe.*

The Paris MS. reads *Ronixein.* MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi. has *Rodwen,* and Geoffrey *Rowena.* In the Commentaries of Alanus de Insula, p. 13 (8vo. Francof., 1608), the daughter of Englist (Hengist) is named *Ronixem,* and at p. 16 *Ronixa.*

p. 199. *Depuis ce temps de lors dont nous parlons jusques a present a este ceste coustume de boire.*

In the story of King Edgar and Elfrida, the daughter of a Devonshire baron, as related in MS. Reg. 20 A. iii., and in many other French copies of the *Brut,* the scene which is said to have originated this custom is reproduced. The lady is there called Estrild, the daughter of Orgar, "un baron de Devensshire." Part of the story is thus narrated:—"La dame welcoma le roy, e il douce-" ment la beysa, et la prist par sa mayn et sassist pres " de luy et souperent ensemble. Et la coustume ert donc " tiele, que quant homme beveroit a aultre luy dirreit " *Wassheyl,* et laultre responderoit *Drynkhail.* Et issint " firent le roy et la dame, et sovent sentrebaiserent. " Et apres soper," &c. Compare Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. i. lib. 4. c. 17. William of Malmesbury, in relating the anecdote of the king's passion for Elfrida or Elfthrida, says nothing of this interview, nor of the custom alluded to. (Gest. Reg. Angl., lib. ii., edit. Hardy, 8vo. 1840, p. 253.)

p. 200. *Gorogauch.*

The Paris MS. reads *Girogauth.* Compare Nennius, c. xxxvii. "Et dedit illis, Gnoirangono rege regnante in Cantia; et " inscius erat quod traditum esset regnum ipsius Paga-" nis, et ipse solus, in potestatem illorum clam dari."

laisne avoit non Morcymer.

The Paris MS. here reads *Noreimer.* The name of Vortimer is written variously in all the MSS. of the Chronicle, and so also in the Paris MS. throughout. The three sons of Vortigern,—Vortimer, Catigern, and Pascent,—are named in Nennius (c. 53) Guorthemir, Cantegirnus, and Pascent. Edit. Petrie, 70.

Quant ces trois enffans . . . bonne et juste raison.

The entire passage is omitted in the Paris MS.

p. 201. *Lacteur.*

This apostrophe to Vortigern, "by the author," is peculiar to the Chronicle. It occurs also with some variation in the phrases in the Paris MSS. The authority common both to Wavrin's Chronicle and to the MSS. No. 2806 and 5621 has yet to be discovered.

p. 202. *tous estoient devenus hereses.*

In the first mission St. Germanus was accompanied by St. Lupus, bishop of Troyes in Champagne; St. Severus, bishop of Treves, was joined with him in the second visit to Britain. Compare Bedæ Chron., edit. Petrie, pp. 94, 122, 123, 127 c. The errors and anachronisms respecting this mission, which are found in Geoffrey and in Wace, are greatly avoided in this Chronicle.

Un Anglois hystoriagraph.

This statement seems to have been derived from Geoffrey (lib. vi. c. 13), who says:—"Multa per eos miracula ostende-
"bat Deus, quæ Gildas in tractatu suo luculento sermone
"paravit." It has been supposed, but apparently on very slender foundation, that Geoffrey here refers to Nennius under the name of Gildas. None of the writings of Gildas now extant would seem to be indicated in this passage, but there is certainly still less ground for believing that Nennius can be the historiographer referred to. A life of Saint Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, was written in Saxon by an anonymous author in the ninth century; and Constantius, a priest of Lyons, a friend and contemporary of the bishop, wrote his life, which also in the ninth century was rendered in verse by Heiricus. (Hardy's Descriptive Catalogue, vol. i. p. 53, No. 125 *b*.) Wace only says,

"Maint miracle, mainte vertu
"Fist Dex par als deus;"

and he makes no mention of any written account of those miracles.

p. 203. *vint devant le roy et lui dist.*

Compare Nennius, c. xxxviii. The account given in the text is much fuller than in Geoffrey or in Wace.

Cocta.

See also the Paris MS. The name is Octa in Geoffrey.

par devers Acquilon.

The Paris MS. reads here—"devers Aquilon; il vouloit
"dire celle terre qui estoit es fins de lisle, et marchisoit

" entre Albanie, que maintenant disons Escoce et Dei-
" rauth, ou habitoient les Picz, que est empres Galles, car
" il detenroit de celle partie ses mouvemens impetueuz
" ou ses barbariens, cest des Escotz et des Picz." Compare Nennius, c. 38:—"Et da illis regiones quæ sunt in
" Aquilone juxta murum qui vocatur Gual;" and Geoffrey,
" juxta murum inter Deiram et Scotiam" (lib. vi. c. 13).

p. 203. *Cocta mon filz et ton frere.*

Compare Nennius:—"Invitabo itaque filium meum cum
" fratrueli suo."

p. 204. *trois cens nefz.*

With these 300 ships, according to Geoffrey, arrived Octa, Ebissa, and Cerdich (lib. vi. c. 13).

Les Anglois apperceurent bien.

The narrative here is altogether much fuller than in Geoffrey.

p. 206. *la premiere fut sur la rive du fleuve dEured.*

Supposed to be Darent in Kent. Geoffrey (lib. vi. c. 13) has "super fluvium Derwent." Compare Nennius, cap. 46, on the subject of the several battles fought at this time between the Britons and the Saxons. See Turner's History of England (Anglo-Saxons), vol. i. p. 261, ed. 1836—1839, and the Notes of Stevenson (p. 35) and Gunn.

En ceste bataille jousterent lun contre laultre.

In this battle, according to the Chronicle, the combatants engaged are Pascent and Catigern, the two sons of Vortigern, of whom Catigern is slain, and Pascent withdraws apparently mortally wounded. Whereas in Geoffrey Horsus and Catigern are the combatants, and both are slain (lib. vi. c. 13).

ils envoyerent le roy Vortigier.

Nennius only says they sent ambassadors to obtain a peace (c. 48). Geoffrey writes:—"miserunt Vortigernum
" regem, qui in omnibus bellis cum ipsis aderat, ad filium
" suum Vortimerium, petentes licenciam abscedendi, pe-
" tendique Germaniam cum salute" (lib. vi. c. 13).

p. 207. *le noble roy Norcimer.*

The details of this chapter, which describes the proceedings of Vortimer after the defeat of the Saxons and his

subsequent death by poison through the agency of Ronixa, are very much more ample than in Geoffrey (lib. vi. c. 14), or in Wace, printed text, i. 341.

p. 212. *trois cens mille homes armes.*

The Chronicle says that Englist assembled a very large army and a very great fleet, and sailed over the sea till he arrived in Great Britain with 300,000 armed men. This number of men agrees with Geoffrey and Wace, but neither of them mentions the number of ships. It is remarkable that the Anglo-Norman version of the Brut, MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi., states the number of ships to be upwards of 300:—

" Nefs amenat plus qe treis cent,"

and the number of knights to be more than 300,000:—

" Et si amenat chevalers
" Ben plus de treis cent millers."

Laȝamon says that tidings came to Vortigern that Hengist was in the Thames with 700 ships, each ship filled with 300 knights.

p. 213. *que es kalendes de May lui ses barons et citoyens iroient en un certain lieu.*

The first of May is the date assigned in all the versions, but Geoffrey names the place of meeting at the monastery of St. Ambrius. Wace has:—

" Es grans plaines de Salesbere,
" Les labeie dAmbresbere."

The narrative of this meeting, and the treachery of the Saxons, is related in the Chronicle at far greater length than in Geoffrey. Compare lib. vi. cc. 15 and 16.

p. 215. *nimet oure Saxas.*

The narrative of this transaction is fuller than in Geoffrey (lib. vi. c. 15). See Nennius, c. 49.

Soixante de sa seule main.

Perhaps we should read here " soixante dis." Geoffrey has seventy, so also Wace and the MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi.

bien soixante occis six vingt affolez a tousjours.

This statement does not occur in any other known version.

p. 216. *O tres desloyal traytre !*

The several apostrophes made to Vortigern, as also the observations introduced, are peculiar to this Chronicle. The Paris MS. here exhibits considerable variations from the text.

p. 219. *Il manda les devineurs, augures, et ingromanciens.*

Compare Nennius, cc. 40–45.

p. 220. *sont descendus les Anglois.*

This observation on the character of the English is peculiar to the Chronicle.

p. 221. *sur une montaigne.*

Nennius gives the name of the place:—"et minime "quod quærebant reperientes, novissime ad illam re- "gionem quæ vocatur Guoienit pervenerunt. Et illo "lustrante in montibus Heriri, id est, Snaudun *Anglice*, "tandem in uno montium, locum in quo aptum erat arcem "condere adeptus est." (Cap. 41, ed. Petrie, p. 66). Geoffrey says he made a progress about the country to find out a convenient situation, and came at last to Mount Eric (lib. vi. c. 17). Giraldus Cambrensis, in Itinerar. Camb. (lib.ii. c. 8, p. 870, Angl. Script., Camden, fol. 1603), writes:—"Non procul ab ortu Conwey, in "capite Montis Eryri, qui ex hac parte in Boream ex- "tenditur, stat Dinas Emrys, id est, promontorium Am- "brosii, ubi Merlinus prophetavit, sedente super ripam "Vortigerno." The traces of a building called, according to popular tradition, Dinas Emris, or the fortress of Ambrosius, are said to be still remaining on Snowdon.

vindrent a une cyte qui estoit assez pres de Kaercordy.

The reading here would seem to be corrupt. Caercordy was Englist's castle, the castle of the Courroie. See p. 197. We should probably read *Kaermerdin*. Geoffrey has "in "urbem quæ postea *Kaermerdin* vocata fuit" (MS. Reg. 13 D. ii.) The anonymous Anglo-Norman metrical version of Brut reads:—

"E venent a une cite
"Kair Merlin fut apele."
(MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi.)

Alan de Insula, in his Commentaries on the Prophecies of Merlin, which appear to have been composed about the the year 1170, writes:—"Ad civitatem quandam venissent "quæ est in Gualia vocaturque Kaer Merdin, id est, "civitas Merlin, *l* litera versa in *d*." (Francof. 8vo. 1609, p. 9.) We read in the Itinerarium Cambriæ of Giraldus de Barri" (lib. i. c. 10):—"Sonat autem Caer-"mardyn urbs Merlini eo quod juxta Britannicam histo-"riam ibi ex incubo genitus, inventus fuerat Merlinus." David Powel, in his annotation on this passage (Annotat. in cap. 10), cites Ptolemy the Geographer, who flourished A.D. 120, to prove that Caermarthen could not have been derived from Merlin—"nomen Mariduni a Merdhino de-"ductum." Again, south of the tribes enumerated, "westernmost are the Demetæ, and their towns are Lu-"entinum, *Maridunum*." (Anglica, Normannica, &c. a "veteribus scripta, ed." Camden. Francof. fol. 1603, p. 846-7. The spot where Vortigern's messengers arrived in search of a child without father is thus described by Nennius (c. 43), edit. Petrie, p. 67:—"Venerunt ad cam-"pum Electi qui est in regione quæ vocatur Glevising." The editor adds in a note:—"Pagus inter duo flumina "Teivi et Uske, ut videtur." The "campus Electi" is supposed to be a village, called in Welsh *Bassaleg*, in Monmouthshire. (Cambrian Popular Antiquities, 8vo. 1815, and Stevenson's Note on Nennius, c. 41, page 31.)

p. 222. *comme tu navoyes point de pere.*

The whole speech of Dinabuch, as rendered by the anonymous author of the French metrical version of Brut, is remarkable:—

"Icist apelat Merlin
"Fiz a putein, de pute lin,
"Tu ne deis od mei tencer
"Devant gent ne contrarier;
"De reis fu nez de par mun pere
"De dux e cuntes depar ma mere,
"Tu es fiz de une puteine
"E de une malveise noneine,
"E li ne seit qi tengendrat
"Enfant sanz pere te clamat."
(MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi.)

This is scarcely justified by the account given of the mother of Merlin by the neighbours, that she was daughter to a king of Demetia.

p. 224. *Apuleyus en son livre intitule des natures ou secret des Dieux.*

See L. Apuleii Madaurensis de Deo Socratis, lib. singular. Sec. v.

p. 226. *Comment Maistre Gauffrois Monemutensis, qui cestui livre compila de langue Brete en Latin.*

In Geoffrey's Historia Britonum (lib. vii. c. 1) the introduction to the prophecies of Merlin consists of a preface by Geoffrey, and an explanatory letter from him to Alexander, bishop of Lincoln. In the Chronicle now printed a free translation is attempted, as well of the preface as of the letter to the bishop. The Paris MS. at this part varies considerably in language from the translation given in the text, but the arrangement is the same. These translations are followed by the translator's own preface, which occurs also in the Paris MS., and from this preface we derive some hints as to the author, and the period at which he lived.

p. 226. *lesquelles myses en fourme de buec tote je tramys au dyt evesque une lettre, &c.*

The Paris MS. reads:—" et puis les tramis au dit evesque " avecques unes lettres protestatoires."

p. 229. *Et cestui rouge dragon signifye.*

The prophecies of Merlin, which are comprised in the seventh book of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Britonum, do not occur in the ordinary versions of Brut (French or English); Wace, Laȝamon, Peter of Langtoft, and the Norman-French metrical version, all omit them. The Latin metrical version, Gesta Regum Britanniæ (Cotton, Julius D. xi.), dedicated to Cadioc, bishop of Vannes, and compiled in the first half of the thirteenth century, has retained only the prophecy relating to Arthur figured by the " Cornubiensis aper." The author after this proceeds (v. 2497):—

" Postquam Merlinus hæc pluraque vaticinavit,
" Quorum difficile est seriem committere metro."

The type or version of the French Brut, represented by Cotton, Domitian A. x., Harl. 200, and Addit. MS. 18,462,

art. 2, does not contain any reference to the prophecies. That represented by MS. Reg. 20 A. iii., and Addit. 18,462, Art. 1, contains only certain prophecies, said to be by Merlin, which are applied to the six kings who were to succeed Arthur, but these manifestly are not derived from Geoffrey. The only type of the Norman-French Brut that has occurred which contains the prophecies of Merlin recorded by Geoffrey is that represented by the Paris Imperial MSS. 2806 and 5621, and the text of the volume here printed. In the Paris MS. 5621, the prophecies and the commentaries are carefully obliterated throughout, but the commentary beginning at p. 282, "Qui voldroit," &c., to the end of the chapter at p. 286, is left remaining without obliteration. This entire commentary is altogether omitted in 2806. In a great number of the MSS. a reason is assigned for the omission of the prophecies, as in Harl. 636, fo. 15 *verso*:—"Le rouge dragon signifie les gens de Bre-
"taygne, le blaunc les Saxoneis . . . . plus de la prophetie
"ke Merlyn ilukes disoyt au roy, purceo ke ele est lunge
"oscure e nyet entendable si tonderoyt desir as gens ceste
"breve compilatiun lire ne voil si plus treter." Peter of Langtoft says:—

"Ke Merlyn dist, plus devyner ne put home mye,
"Si noun apres le fet tel fu sa vaydye,
"Ke Latyn est escriz de sa prophecye
"En la fyn del livre ke lem nel obblye."

(Cott. Julius A. v.)

The prophecies in Latin, beginning "sedente igitur Vortigerno," are given in this MS. at the end of the poem (imperfect). Robert of Gloucester gives a somewhat similar reason for not continuing the prophecies after the prediction relative to Arthur:—

"Of prophecie of Merlyn we ne mow tell no more,
"For it so derk to symple men, bute me were þe bet in
"lore."

(Chron. Rob. Glouc., ed. Hearne, Oxf. 1724, vol. i. p. 133.)

p. 230. *les saulz neis.*

The text is here corrupt. The Paris MS. reads "les "*saulz Galliques.*"

et sera son issue de ce mortel monde doubteuze.

After the battle of Camlan, as related in the Chronicle (p. 446), the nine knights went to the place where King Arthur lay half dead; when he saw Gifflet and his nephew

Constantine, "he suddenly rose to his feet as if he felt "neither pain nor suffering, and at length, because it was "now night, the king and his nine companions went to "the nearest hermitage, and they had not been long there "when six died of the nine knights who were all severely "wounded. King Arthur perceiving his own end approach- "ing confessed himself to the hermit and made his will, "leaving his kingdom to Constantine, the son of Cador of "Cornwall, then, having made his arrangements, he imme- "diately embraced one of his three knights very tenderly, "and he expired in his arms. The other two weary, "wounded, and worn out, fell into a sound sleep, and King "Arthur vanished, so that it was never known what be- "came of him, but some say he was carried to the island "of Avalon to be healed of his wounds, as Merlin had "prophesied, where he remains in joy and rest, and will "be till the day of judgment.

"The story of the St. Graal speaks of this in another manner . . . . . "Others will have it, that when King "Arthur perceived that all his companions were dead ex- "cept Gifflet, he called him, and they went both together to "the sea shore, where Arthur kissed Gifflet and gave him "his good sword Caliburn, and then entered a ship which "he found ready there, and which, as soon as King Arthur "got into it, skimmed along the sea so rapidly, that in a "little while Gifflet did not know what had become of it." On the subject of the death of Arthur, compare the passage in the metrical life of Merlin, ascribed to Geoffrey of Monmouth, v. 929 et seq. (ed. Michel. 8vo. Paris, p. 37), and Gerald de Barri, De Instruct. Princ., Distinct. I. (ed. Brewer, Angl. Christ. Soc. Lond. 1846, App. 191.) See also Gibbon's Decline and Fall, vol. vi. p. 361, 8vo. London, 1818. We find a passage in Alanus de Insula, which testifies the celebrity of Arthur in Britany anterior to the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth: "Verissime quidem, "sicut hodieque probat, varia hominum de morte ejus et "vita opinio. Quod si mihi non credis vade in Armori- "cum regnum, id est, in minorem Britanniam, et prædica "per plateas et vicos, Arturum Britonem more cæterorum "mortuorum mortuum esse, et tunc certe re ipsa pro- "babis veram esse Merlini prophetiam quæ ait: 'Arturi "'exitum dubium fore;' si tamen immunis evadere inde "potueris quin aut maledictis audientium opprimaris aut "certe lapidibus obruaris." (Proph. Merl., lib. i. p. 19.)

p. 230. *sa loenge et sa glore sera celebree et diwlgue par tous les peuples jusques en la fin du monde.*

The exploits of King Arthur have been celebrated in every age. Can it be contended that all that has been written of his wonderful career must be referred to Geoffrey alone as the inventor of his history? The little that we know of him from chronicles anterior to Geoffrey will scarcely be deemed sufficient to justify his high reputation. Many believe that Geoffrey must have had access to some history or poem now lost. Wace has incidents, and Laȝamon too, beyond what Geoffrey has narrated; but having Geoffrey as a foundation, they may, with a poet's licence, have done nothing more than in their turn invent where they had so good a foundation to build upon; but what can we say of more sober historians who have recorded his greatness? Contemporaries of Geoffrey would not be likely to be imposed upon by a mere fiction passed off for genuine history, unless they too had some faith in traditions or in the existing histories of their time. Alan of Lisle no doubt had seen Geoffrey's work, but if we may believe what he has written on this subject, a reputation belonged to Arthur even in his day, which it would have required more than forty years to have established, such being nearly about the time which had elapsed between the appearance of Geoffrey's history and the composition of Alan's work.

"Quis enim de gestis Arturi non libenter audiat vel "loquatur? Usque adeo enim in admiratione hominum "habita est ejus et vita et gesta, ut nec generatio ejus aut "conceptus miraculi novitate caruerit. Quod quidem "propter ejus qui ejus historiam non legerunt non erit "importunum evolvere." (Alan. de Insula, Comment., "lib. i. p. 20, ed. Francof. 1608.)

"Quo enim Arturi Britonis nomen fama volans non per-"tulit et vulgavit: quousque Christianum pertingit im-"perium? Quis, inquam, Arturum Britonem non loquatur "cum pene notior habeatur Asiaticis gentibus quam "Britannis, sicut nobis referunt Palmigeri nostri de ori-"entis partibus redeuntes? Loquuntur illum orientales, "loquuntur occidui, toto terrarum orbe divisi. Loquitur "illum Ægyptus, Bosforus exclusa non tacet. Cantat "gesta ejus domina civitatum Roma, nec emulam quondam

" ejus Carthaginem Arturi prœlia latent. Celebrat actus
" ejus Antiochia, Armenia, Palæstina." (Ibid. p. 26.)
" Vere dignus de quo non aniles fabulæ mentiantur, sed
" de quo veraces historiæ vera et laude digna loquantur.
" Nam et gentem suam ab alienigenis conculcatam, pris-
" tinæ dignitati restituit et perfidos invasores a patriis
" finibus effugavit." (Ibid. p. 110.)

p. 230. *A la royaulte de cestui noble dragon rouge succederont six hommes.*

The six kings of whom Merlin here speaks have been variously represented by commentators, " sex posteri ejus " sequentur sceptrum " (Galf. Mon. lib. vii. c. 3); and in a gloss upon the passage in MS. Reg. 13 D. ii., we find, *i.e.*, " sex reges de genere Brittonum ipsum in " regno." Alanus de Insula, p. 26 (8vo. Francof. 1608), has " sex posteri isti, qui post aprum Cornubiæ, hoc est, " post Arturum, sceptrum secuti sunt, id est, regio dia- " demate fastigiati, isti fuerunt, *Constantinus*, videlicet, " primus, filius Cadoris ducis Cornubiæ, et ipsius Arturi " cognatus; secundus, *frater ejus*, id est, Constantini; " tertius, *Conanus Aurelius* nepos eorum; quartus *Vorti-* " *porius;* quintus *Malgo;* sextus *Caretius.*" And again, p. 28, after relating the death of Constantine by the hand of Aurelius Conan, his nephew, he adds:—" Cui successit " frater ejus in regnum, quem et præfatus Conanus in- " quietare non destitit, donec captum carceri mancipavit, " duobusque filiis ejus interfectis, regni diadema capiti " suo imposuit." These passages afford another instance (see note, p. 550), (p. 183) of an addition to Geoffrey by an author who was his contemporary, and whose work was compiled within 40 years after the first publication of the Historia Britonum; and it is impossible not to acknowledge in these and similar instances the influence of traditionary tales derived from other and more ancient sources than Geoffrey. The six kings who are made to succeed Arthur before the coming of " the German worm, who shall be " lifted up by the sea-wolf, whom the woods of Africa shall accompany," would not be complete without the brother of Constantine, who was the second of the kings, but of whose succession to the crown Geoffrey makes no mention; on the contrary, when speaking of Conan, he says, " avunculum etenim suum qui post Constantinum " regnare debuit inquietavit, atque in carcerem posuit" (lib. xi. cc. 4, 5).

In the Royal MS. 20 A. iii. f. 156, we have a passage which presents a totally different application of this prophecy of Merlin. Here, instead of the six kings immediately to succeed Arthur, the prophecy is made to apply to six other kings who began to reign after some seven hundred years, the first of whom is King Henry the Third. Merlin is here made to surpass in skill all prophets who have ever predicted events by announcing the very year of Henry's accession to the crown. The rubric is:—"Comment le roy Arthur demand a Merlin les aventures "des sis derreins rois qi regneroyent en la Grant Brit-"taigne, et coment la terre finireit." The prophecies begin:—"Sir fait Merlin en lan del incarnacioun Jhesu "Crist mille deux centz et sesze vendra un aignel hors de "Wyncestre, qe auera blaunche langge et leures verita-"bles, et auera escript en son quor seintetee. Cesti aignel "fera moultz des maisouns dieu, et auera pees tut le plus "de son temps," &c. The second king is described as *un dragon medlee de merci.*—"Apres cel temps vendra un "dragon medlee de mercy et de fiertee, qi auera barbe "come cheure, qi dorra umbre a Brutaigne si la gardera "de froid et de chaud. Soun un pee mettra en Wy et "lautre en Loundres," &c. The third is *le chievre de Car* (this is elsewhere, Cott. MS. Julius A. v., written Carneruan):—"Apres cesti dragoun vendra un chieure hors "de Car, qi auera corns dargent et barbe comune, sustra "hors de ses narriz un bruil qe signifiera damage, feim, "mortalite de gent, et perte de terre," &c. The fourth is *le sengler de Windesor:*—"Apres cesti cheure vendra "hors de Wyndesore un sengler, qe auera teste de sen, "quor de leoun, regard de pitee, son viaire sera repos as "malades," &c. The fifth is *lasne del bois Trunkouse:*—"Apres cesti sengler vendra un asne, qe auera pee de "plum, teste de ascer, quoer de arresme, peil porcine, et "dure beste serra. En son temps serra sa terre moult en "pees. En le primer an de son regne," &c. The sixth is *la talpe:*—"Apres cesti asne vendra une talpe, maldit de "la bouche dieu, cheitifs, coward com leure, peil auera "veluz com cheure, vengeance cherra sur luy pur pecche. "Le primer an de son regne il auera," &c.

The first three prophecies are directly ascribed to Henry the Third, Edward the First, and Edward the Second respectively. As the MS. only comes down to the year 1332, there is no direct application made of the last three kings indicated; but in the text, p. 236, the author seems, by the appellation of Pie-de-plomb given by him to Edward Prince of

Wales, to designate that prince under the fifth king. These prophecies cannot be shown to be of earlier date than the reign of Edward the Second, and therefore the application which is found in 20 A. iii., and other MSS. of that type, could not have been directly ascribed until after the *death* of Edward the Second. The earliest copy in which the prophecy of the six kings has been found was written quite at the beginning of the fourteenth century, after the accession of Edward the Second (Cotton. MS. Julius A. v.). This version differs in many respects from that found in MS. Reg. 20 A. iii. On the subject of the alleged prophecy of Merlin applied to the royal succession after the death of Richard the Second, there is a curious passage in Froissart, wherein the book called "The Brut" is mentioned (lib. iv. cc. 68 and 82, ed. Buchon, vol. iii. pp. 333 and 369).

p. 230. *la dignite de Londres laquelle ordonnera la cite Urclernie.*

The text of all the manuscripts of Wavrin is corrupt in this passage. The Paris MS. reads, *adornera la cite Dorobernie.* John of Salisbury, afterwards bishop of Chartres, in a letter written to the Convent of Canterbury in the year 1169, makes a very interesting allusion to this prophecy: —"Ecce enim Londoniensis episcopus publice non sine "dolore fidelium protestatus est, quod primæ Britannia- "rum sedi, videlicet Cantuariensi ecclesiæ, nullam debet "obedientiam, et quod cathedram metropoliticam illuc "transferri faciet ubi eam esse debere fingit, ne dicam "mentitur, scilicet ad ecclesiam Londoniensem, ubi archi- "flaminem gloriatur sedisse dum Jovialis religio cole- "batur. Et fortasse vir prudens et religiosus cultum "Jovis instaurare disponit, ut, si alio modo archiepisco- "pari non potest, archiflaminis saltem nomen et titulum "assequatur. Fretus tamen est oraculo Merlini, qui, nescio "quo repletus spiritu, perhibetur ante adventum beati "Augustini Anglorum apostoli vaticinatus esse delendam "esse Christianam religionem, et denuo reformandam "*quando Londoniensis dignitas Doroberniam adornabit.*" "Sed quia Merlianus philosophus prophetæ sui futilem "novit auctoritatem, etiam ad validiora certe subsidia "dicitur confugisse, præsumens de potentatu principis, de "ecclesiæ debilitate, de avaritia Romanorum, de pusilla- "nimitate vestra, de paupertate archiepiscopi et multitu- "dine divitiarum suarum, quibus adversus sapientiam et

" justitiam Dei confidit se prævaliturum in vanitate sua," &c.—Joh. Salisbur. Epist. cclxxxix. ad Convent. Cantuar., A.D. 1169. (Patrolog. Curs. Comp. Paris, 8vo., 1855, p. 330.)

p. 230. *et le pastour de Hebroic sera frequente du royaulme Armoricque.*

This passage also seems to be corrupt; it is meant to represent the words in Geoffrey:—" pastor Eboracensis sep-" timus in Armorico regno frequentabitur." Sampson, archbishop of York, is supposed to be referred to. The commentary of Alanus de Insula upon the prophecy is this:—" Eboracensem archiepiscopum, qui a prophana " Saxonum gente ab ecclesia et civitate expulsus, navigio " transfretavit in Armoricum regnum, id est, minorem " Britanniam, in finibus Galliarum, super littus Oceani " sitam, ibique in civitate Dolis metropolitanam sibi ca-" thedram collocavit. Venerunt autem cum eo *sex* fratres " ipsius, sancti et magnifici et magnarum virtutum viri; " Melanius, Matutus, Maclovius, Pabutual, Paternus, Was-" loeus, qui in aliis civitatibus ejusdem regni ordinati sunt " et ecclesiæ Dei præfecti .... Hos autem septem fratres, " usque in hodiernum diem non solum gens incola terræ " illius sed et finitimæ regiones, septem Britanniæ sanctos " appellant " (lib. i. p. 32).

p. 230. *la paille noblesse.*

The Paris MS. reads *la paille de la noblesse.*

p. 231. *comme listoire declara cy-apres.*

See p. 453.

Ce fut au temps Saint Augustin ou les pastres bretons ne luy volrent obeyr.

See the account of Saint Augustine's arrival in Britain, pp. 459 et seq.

Et adont pluies sanguines descendront du chiel.

See Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 688, the year in which Cadwalader is represented to have died.

par le roy de Northumberlande.

Ethelfrid, king of Northumbria. See post, pp. 463 et seq., and p. 468.

p. 231. *et sept sceptres royaulx seront lors acraventez, et un diceulx sera saintiffye.*

Cf. the Commentary of Alan de Insula on the seven royal sceptres (lib. i. p. 43, et seq.)

p. 232. *sy comme il apperra cy en arriere en listoire.*

See p. 489.

p. 233. *la mobilite des Anglois.*

These reflections on the character of the English are of older date than Wavrin.

p. 235. *troix cens ans.*

The Commentary by Alan de Insula on the period referred to by this prediction shows that the 300 years should be computed from the death of Cadwalader in 688, and should comprise the 150 years "during which the island shall "continue in a state of war:"—"A morte enim Cadual- "lonis per centum ferme et quinquaginta annos, licet in "nemoribus Waliarum delitescentes, Saxonibusque sub- "jecti, diras tamen in eos frequenter irruptiones faciebant. "Quod autem adjunxit, *et* 300 *annis insidebit*, non sunt "dividendi 300 anni isti a præcedentibus 150 annis, sed "illi potius 150 anni in 300 comprehendi. Trecenti nempe "anni fuerunt a diebus Caduallonis usque ad adventum "Danorum in Angliam et regnum ipsorum super Anglos" (lib. ii. p. 50).

p. 235. *quatre cens chincquante ans.*

The figures here are apparently corrupt. It will require that we should read 340 years instead of 450, in order to make the lapse of time from the exile of the Britons correspond with A.D. 1028. The year 1017 would, however, be more correct if the date of Cnut's obtaining the kingdom of England be the event alluded to:—"sed advenientibus "Danis, et uberes Angliæ terras primo quidem depopu- "lantibus et regni coronam capiti suo devictis Anglis, "imponentibus." (Comment. Alani de Insula, lib. ii. p. 50.)

et ilz ployeront lamie par lyens dorez.

The Paris MS. here reads:—"et ils ployeront la vie par "liens araierens, et qui est celle mere fors que la terre "laquelle les anciens infectz des erreurs gentilers deifiount "comme mere et fontane, et tous les dieux a cause de

" ceo quelle a tous les mortels admenistre la copieuse
" fertilite de nourriture maternel, et cest la sentence
" Merlin au texte."

p. 236. *mais le disme de Neutrye lui nuira.*

The application of this prophecy is made in the text to the conquest of England by the duke of Normandy in 1066. In the Commentaries of Alan de Insula it is referred to the time when Aelfred, King Ethelfred's son, returned from Normandy in 1042, and the decimation of his Norman companions, which was then made at the instigation of Earl Godwin. Cf. Willelm. Malmes. Gest. Reg. Angl. lib. ii. (ed. Hardy, p. 321), and Henr. Huntingdon (ed. Petrie, p. 759). Alan condemns the usual interpretation: —" De hac Neustriæ, id est, Normanniæ decimatione,
" nociva Germanico draconi, diversi diversa suspicantur,
" nescientes quid loquantur, et de quibus affirmant falsa et
" mendacia, de corde suo commentantes nec ad veritatem
" historiæ recurrentes" (lib. ii. p. 64). The gloss in the copy of Geoffrey's Hist. Brit. (MS. Reg. 13 D. ii.) on the words "Neustriæ decimatione" is: — " quam fecit God-
" winus de Normannis qui applicuerunt cum Alfredo
" fratre Sancti regis Edwardi."

aprez succederont deux dragons.

The commentary given in the text is equally obscure with the prophecy itself. Ordericus Vitalis, referring to this prophecy, has:—" Succedent, inquit [Merlinus], duo
" dracones, domini scilicet libidinosi et feroces, quorum
" alter invidiæ spiculo, id est, Gulielmus Rufus, in vena-
" tione sagitta suffocabitur; alter, id est, Rodbertus dux,
" sub umbra carceris stemma pristini nominis, id est,
" ducis, gerens, peribit."—Ord. Vit. Hist. Eccl., pars iii. lib. xii. c. 22. (Patrolog. Curs. Complet., tom. clxxxviii. p. 920.) Alan de Insula, who may be presumed to have been acquainted with Orderic's history, in like manner applies the prophecy to William Rufus and Robert Curthose, the two sons of the Conqueror (lib. ii. pp. 73-80); and so also in MS. Reg. 13 D. ii., "duo dracones," *i.e.*, " duo filii Willielmi regis."

Succedera le lyon au liepart de leesse.

This can scarcely be called a translation of Geoffrey's words, "succedet leo justitiæ," but there can be no doubt that the same prophecy is intended. The comment and application in the text afford a fair specimen of the value

of such interpretations in general. Here Edward the Black Prince is represented as the "lion who shall succeed " to the leopard of gladness, through whose roaring the " Gallic towers and the barons of the isle shall tremble." A writer in the fifteenth century might again in turn with no less appearance of truth have applied the prediction to Henry the Fifth, whilst in the twelfth century it was universally supposed that Henry the First was designated by the "lion of justice." See Suger's Life of Louis le Gros (ap. Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Script., vol. iv. p. 295). Ordericus Vitalis, referring to the same prophecy, writes:—"*succedet leo justitiæ* (quod refertur ad Henricum), ad cujus rugitum Gallicanæ turres et insulani dracones contremiscunt, quia ipse divitiis et potestate transcendit omnes qui ante illum in Anglia regnaverunt." —Ord. Vit., pars iii. lib. xii. c. 22. (Patrolog. Curs. Complet., t. clxxxviii. p. 920). This view is also adopted by Alan de Insula in his Commentaries (lib. ii. p. 85):—"Hen- " ricum vocat [Merlinus] leonem justitiæ, quod cum " summa justitiæ regnum tractavit et magno timori fuit " et Gallorum principibus et regulis insulanis." From the passage in the text we are enabled to obtain an approximation to the period when the version of the *Brut*, in which the translation of the prophecies of Merlin and the commentary thereupon occur, was compiled; and coupled with the date when the earlier of the two MSS. in the Imperial Library (referred to as the Paris MS.) appears to have been written, we may assume that it was a compilation between the year 1356 and the early part of the fifteenth century.

p. 237. *Car je ne voy aujourdhuy en ce present royaulme synon desolation et desconfort.*

The allusion here made by the author to the condition of France in his own times gives an importance to the passage. From it we may obtain some clue to the period when the remarks were written. The earliest MS. known in which they occur is preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, No. 5621 (olim f. fr. 10,210. 3. 3.), written undoubtedly before the close of the first quarter of the fifteenth century. If therefore, as seems not improbable, the author had in view the mischiefs occasioned to the people of Languedoc and the neighbouring provinces through the misgovernment of the Duke de Berri in 1390, the MS. in question must have been written whilst the grievances probably were fresh in the author's memory,

and being himself a native of Le Bourbonnois, they would very likely have come within his own experience. Under any circumstances there can be no pretext for ascribing the sentiments here expressed, and others similar throughout the volume, to Wavrin, or as applying to any events of his day.

p. 238. *En icelluy temps le rond sera fait demy.*

The translator, in interpreting this prophecy, has, in the first instance, misapprehended the sense of the original passage, "*Findetur forma commercii, dimidium rotundum erit.*" The first part of the sentence he seems to have rendered by "laliance deulz sera fainte et ne sera mye vraye," *fainte*, that is, "trompeux," *dissimulé*, from "fingere," whereas *findetur* is obviously from "findere," to divide; the form of commerce (that is, coin or money) shall be divided; the half shall be round. This again the translator has transposed, and writes, "the round shall be made half." No wonder then that the interpretation given by the translator should differ from all the usual modes of explaining this prophecy of Merlin. Thus, in the text it is explained to mean, "the "monarchy of the realm, round by true obedience to the "sovereign lord of the kingdom, which shall be made half "because of the division, for the plague of civil war shall "dissever them, and divide the royal diadem into two "crowns or kingdoms." This interpretation has been thought to refer to the fatal contests between Charles VII. and Henry V. (Choix de Chapitres inédits de Wavrin, vol. i. p. 16, ed. Dupont. 8vo., Paris, 1858), but the MS. in which the commentary is found was written before the events had occurred. The prophecy itself offers a stumbling-block to commentators. Our old chroniclers have not only blundered in applying it, but by a want of precision in recording the fact deemed to be its fulfilment, they have misled their readers; and, on a corrupt text, has been grounded an erroneous theory (Sperlingius de Nummorum Bracteatorum et Cavorum Origine. Lubec, 4to., 1700, p. 79). William of Malmesbury informs us that, in the reign of Henry I., all the silver money was ordered to be cut up and broken, the king having heard that it was refused to be taken from traders because the coins were broken, notwithstanding they were of good silver:—"Cum nummos fractos, licet boni "argenti, a venditoribus non recipi audisset omnes vel "frangi vel incidi præcepit;" and Simeon of Durham writes:—"Et quoniam sæpissime dum denarii eligebantur, "flectebantur, rumpebantur, respuebantur, statuit ut nullus

" denarius vel obolus *quos et rotundos esse jussit*, aut etiam " quadrans, si integer esset respueretur." Cf. Flor. Wigorn. sub ann. 1108, p. 653 (ed. Francof. 1601), and Hoveden (Script. post Bedam, ed. Saville, 1601), p. 471. This passage has had a sense given to it different from its obvious meaning. At the time of the introduction of the new coin above referred to, in the year 1106, the penny, according to Stowe, "was wont to have a double cross with a crest " in such sort that the same might easily be broken in " the middest, or into four quarters, and so to be made " into halfpence or farthings." The ordinance of Henry I. has been usually taken to be the first introduction of the coinage of a round halfpenny, and consequently the commentators of the twelfth century have referred to this period the fulfilment of the prophecy of Merlin. It has only very recently been discovered that silver halfpennies of the reign of King Alfred are still extant, but I am not aware that any writer has spoken of that reign as the time when the prophecy was accomplished. This is the commentary of Alan de Lisle on Merlin's prediction:—"Findetur forma com- " mercii, dimidium rotundum erit. Hoc est quod dicit: " Nummos quibus commercia totius regni fiebant, per me- " dium spherice circumcidi ac rotundari præcepit (Henri- " cus rex) ad certum pondus." (Alani Comment. lib. iii. p. 88.) Matthew Paris, speaking of this prophecy, states that in the year 1210, on the 7th of June, King John, having landed in Ireland, established there the English laws and customs, and appointed John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, his justiciary, who caused money to be made of the same weight as English coin, and ordered that the halfpenny, as well as the farthing, should be made round. The king likewise commanded that such money should be received in England as well as in Ireland. "*De hac autem* " *rotunditate Merlinus vates prophetavit, dicens: 'Findetur* " *'forma commercii, dimidium rotundum erit.'*" (Matt. Paris, ed. Tiguri, 1589, p. 221.) And at a still later period this prophecy is referred to a mintage of halfpence and farthings by Edward I., anno 1279. "Nam quia denarios findi in " duas partes pro obolis et in quatuor partes pro quad- " rantibus, consuevit, ordinatum fuit ad tollendam occa- " sionem defalcationis monetæ quod rotundi essent denarii " oboli et quadrantes." (Matt. Westm. Flores Hist.) Walsingham writes:—"Hoc anno [A.D. 1280] moneta Angliæ " per tonsuram nimis deteriorata ex mandato regis reno- " vatur. Obolus quoque, qui prius formam semicirculi " habebat, tanquam pars denarii in medio divisi, fit rotun-

" dus, *juxta vaticinium Merlini, dicentis,* 'findetur forma " 'commercii, dimidium rotundum erit.'" (Chron. Mon. S. Albani, ed. H. T. Riley, M.A., vol. i. p. 19. Lond. 8vo., 1863.) See also Robert of Brunne's Translation of Peter of Langtoft.

p. 238. *Et sy serount les chats du lion transformes en poissons maritains.*

The translator interprets this as meaning deceitful flatterers, who gain the heart "of the lion" by treacherous blandishments in order to do injury; so they shall be changed into sea fishes, for they shall be banished from their country for their vices, and shall become sea-pirates, where the fish shall devour them. Gervase of Canterbury cites this prophecy in speaking of the death of Henry's children, who were drowned in 1120, off Barfleur:—"Et " sicut Merlinus prædixerat, catuli leonis in æquoreos " pisces sunt transformati." (Chron. Gervasii ap. Twysden, p. 1339, l. 13). Alan de Insula, commenting on the same " prophecy, writes:—"Servat [Merlinus] leonis metaphoram, " Henrici regis filios catulos leonis appellans, sicut ipsum " leonem justitiæ nuncupavit. Ait itaque catuli leonis " in æquoreos pisces transformabuntur. Quod ita factum " constat. Nam cum rex Henricus a Normanniacum " filiis navigaret in Angliam, subito tempestate oborta, " submersa est navis in qua liberi ejus erant, sicque æquo- " reis piscibus esca fuerunt, patre superstite, qui per pro- " videntiam Dei in alia navi positus erat." (Alan de Insula, lib. iii. p. 89.)

Apres que laigle du lyon sera vivifie dessus la montagne Morane.

This is intended to represent the Latin text of Geoffrey:— " Et aquila ejus super montem Aravium nidificabit." Alan de Insula gives two different readings of this mountain, *montem Morianum* and *montem avium,* which he conjectures may designate Italy under the name of Mons Alpium or Mons Jovis (Mont Giu or Mont Jouy, the great St. Bernard), " a parte videlicet totum intelligi volens." And he adds:— " Scio quosdam codices habere *montem Aravium,* qui " utique intra insulam Britanniæ est, sicut Merlinus in " consequentibus demonstrabit. Per montem itaque Ara- " vium insula regni Britanniæ significatur, cujus ipsa " [Mathildis] in filio ex dono patris obtinuit principatum, " sicut postea plenius ostendemus." Alan had previously

said:—"Aquilam cæteris avibus altius volare, nemo est "qui dubitet. Aquilam ergo Henrici regis vocat ejus "filiam Mathildem, quæ nupta Henrico Romanorum im- "peratori, facta est et ipsa imperatrix Italiæ, domina "Romanorum." (Comm. Alani de Insula, lib. iii. p. 88–91.) The translator in the text refers the prophecy to Angloiz (Englist or Hengist), "who for his cruelty shall be killed "with great torture; but his eldest son, represented by the "eagle, shall be reared in the mountain by the favour of "some tyrants, in order that by him the people may still "be tormented." The tradition and explanation, generally accepted in the twelfth century, by which the fulfilment of the prophecy is referred to the Empress Maud, had probably died away before the beginning of the fifteenth century.

p. 240. *lisle sera ennoiee de nocturnes larmes.*

This is said by Alan de Lisle to refer to the death of Henry the First:—"Hæc jam de morte regis Henrici "dicuntur, quæ totius insulæ populo lachrimosa fuit ac "flebilis. Quo defuncto in Normannia et corpore ejus "regio more curato, ejectis intestinis atque in sacrato "loco contra ecclesiam ante altare cumulatis, cum reli- "quum corpus ejus in navi positum esset ut in Angliam "transportaretur ad portum nocte applicuit universam- "que patriam miserabili ejulatu atque inconsolabili plan- "gore complevit" (lib. iii. p. 93).

. . . . *et sefforceront de voller jusques au ciel, mais la faveur des nouveaulx sera esleve.*

The words omitted in the text are wanting also in the Paris MS., but they are required to complete the sense, as in Geoffrey:—"Væ tibi . . . nitentur posteri transvolare "superna, sed favor novorum sublimabitur." Alan de Lisle, in commenting upon Merlin's prophecy, has:—"Hoc "est, regni coronam capiti suo imponere; sed *favor* "*novorum sublimabitur.* Novos appellat Gaufridum co- "mitem et filios ejus ex Matilde filia regis, in quos major "hominum numerus tanquam in naturales dominos sese "affectuosius ac familiarius inclinabit. Unde et Henricus "primogenitus fratrum, post dira prœlia et diuturna bella, "tandem inito fœdere pacis cum Stephano rege, successor "regni ab illo designatus est futurus post obitum suum. "De quo Stephano subditur," &c. (lib. iii. p. 94).

p. 240. *Et nuira pitie aux cruelz jusqua ce quil se vestira de la memore de son progeniteur.*

Alan refers this to the agreement concluded between King Stephen and Henry in 1153, as to the succession to the crown:—"*Nocebit possidenti ex impiis pietas, donec* " *se genitore induetur*, cujus sensus iste est: Jam Ste- " phanus regio diademate insignitus erat, et regni pos- " sessor: homo mansuetus et pius, sed impii homines " ejus pietate abusi, nunquam eum infestare quieverunt, " donec sese genitore induit, Henricum videlicet juvenem " affiliando, id est, in filium adoptando et regiæ dignitatis " successorem post excessum vitæ suæ, ut jam diximus " designando." (Alani de Insula Comm., lib. iii. p. 94.) And Matthew Paris, speaking of the same transaction, says:—"*Et sic illud propheticum Merlini attendatur, quod dicit:* " 'Nocebit,' &c. Manifestum est regem Stephanum, Hen- " ricum instituisse hæredem quem non genuit dum ipsum " adoptavit in filium et regni participem et postmodo suc- " cessorem," &c. (Matt. Paris, Hist. Major, edit. Tiguri, fol. 1589, p. 83.)

Et lui chaint des dentz de saingler trespassera les haultesses sòuveraines des montaignes, et lumbre galeasce.

This is explained by Alan:—"Itaque, quod dicit, hoc " est, cum pacificatus fuerit Henrico Stephanus rex, illius " auxilio fultus, ac per hoc se ipso fortior, atque animosior " factus, et quasi in aprinam feritatem alternatus, cacumina " montium et umbra galeati transcendet; montium vocat " oppida in montibus sita, versus Albaniam, id est, Sco- " tiam," &c. (Alan de Ins. Comm., lib. iii. p. 95.)

Et sera donne fraim a ses maxilliers quil fera forgier en Armoricque.

In the interpretation of this prophecy by Alan of Lisle (lib. iii. p. 97), it is referred to the continual repressions of the Welsh and Scotch by the power of King Henry II.; and he adds, in further explanation:—" qui neque in " Anglia neque in Normannia, sed in terra Andegavensium, " comitis videlicet Gaufridi patris ejus Armorico sinui " vicina atque contermina, oriundus fuit." It is curious to compare the interpretations which Merlin's celebrated prophecies have received at the hands of the different chroniclers who have recorded the fulfilment of them according to the circumstances of the times in which they

respectively wrote. Alan treats the bridle as employed by Henry to curb his foes. His Commentary was compiled not later than the year 1170, and therefore antecedently to the date of either of the events referred to by Ralph de Diceto and Matthew Paris. In writing of the above prophecy, "Albania shall be indignant, and having called her "neighbours, she shall cause great bloodshed, and into "her jaws shall be put a bridle, which shall be forged in "Armorica," Matthew Paris refers the fulfilment on one occasion to the imprisonment of William the Lion of Scotland, in 1174, and on another to the compulsory and humiliating conditions of the peace which Henry accepted from Philip, king of France, and which was concluded on the 28th of June 1189, a few days only before his death.

In the year 1174 the king of Scotland was defeated and taken prisoner, and the people did not fail to say that this event clearly coincided with one of the prophecies of the celebrated Welsh bard:—"Rege autem (Scotorum) apud "Richemont castellum carcerali custodiæ deputato videtur "impleta Merlini prophetia, dicentis, 'Dabitur maxillis "'ejus frænum quod in Armorico sinu fabricabitur.' Sinum "Armoricum vocans castellum de Richemont ab Armoricis "principibus, et tunc ab hæreditario jure possessum." (Matt. Paris Hist. Major, edit. Tiguri, fol. 1589, p. 125.)

On the subject of the peace Matthew Paris remarks:—"In hoc autem eventu, videtur prophetia (vel prognosti-"catum dici debeat) Merlini completa quæ dicit, 'Dabitur "'maxillis ejus frænum quod in Armorico sinu fabricabitur.'" (Ibid., p. 145.)

On this same prophecy Ralph de Diceto exclaims:—"Ecce rex Anglorum Henricus, qui tot populos viriliter "edomuerat, qui victoriam semper reportaverat ab inimicis, "proh dolor! juxta prophetiam Merlini, maxillis suis dari "frænum cognoscere potuit." (Ymag. Hist. ap. Twysden, col. 645.)

p. 240. *et cellui dorra laigle par aliance rompue, et en la tierche deffiance sesjoyra.*

The Latin text of Geoffrey has here "Deaurabit illud "aquila rupti fœderis et tertia nidificatione gaudebit." John of Salisbury, in a letter to Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, written in 1166, mentions this prophecy. The Empress Maud was then living; she died 10th September 1167. He writes:—"Et si transfretaverint, fortasse me-"diante imperatrice pax ecclesiæ reformabitur, aut "Domino propitio causa vestra in meliori calculo relin-

" quetur. Instat enim tempus, ut aiunt, quo *aquila* " *rupti fœderis*, juxta Merlini vaticinium, *frœnum deaura-* " *turâ est, quod apro ejus datur, aut modo fabricatur in sinu* " *Armorico*. Nam sicut accepi pro certo postquam priores " litteras exaraveram in accessu Filgeriarum grave dam- " num perpessus est, quod adhuc deplorant apud nos " amici Francorum quorum quidam capti sunt, alii vul- " nerati, dum purum sitientes argentum nitebantur strenui " præ cæteris apparere." And in the same letter he adds: —" Ego quidem sic illam interpretor prophetiam, ex- " pectans ut aquila, quacumque subornatione incommo- " ditates istas inauret: nisi forte Alexander noster Merlini " cognatus, et oraculorum ejus interpres prudentior, aliud " sentiat."—Johan. Salisbur. Epist. clxxvi. ad Tho. Cantuar. Archiep., A.D. 1166. (Patrolog. Curs. Complet., vol. cxcix. p. 171.) Alan also applies this prophecy to Matilda and her son Henry, afterwards King Henry the Second: —" Aquilam istam quidam, imo pæne omnes, intelligunt " Mathildem imperatricem, de qua superius dictum est, " *Aquila ejus super montem Morianum*, sive montem " avium, seu (ut nonnulli codices habent) montem Arauium " *nidificabit*. Hæc igitur aquila Henricum filium suum " deauravit, quoniam ex materno jure ad eum regni " corona devenit. Quæ bene aquila rupti fœderis nomi- " natur, non quod ipsa ruperit, sed quod ei alii multi de " majoribus regni principibus ruperunt, illud videlicet " juramentum quod ei fecerunt, jubente rege Henrico se- " niore patre ipsius Matildis, de successione regni, mortuo " fratre suo Roberto (Willielmo), qui jam coronatus fuerat " et inunctus in regem antequam in mare demersus et " vita privaretur et regno. . . . . Hoc sacramentum Matildi " fecisse etiam Stephanum regem non incerta opinio est. " Stetit hæc fides integra et illæsa vivente Henrico rege, " sed eo moriente, emortua est fœdere violato. Dicitur " ergo aquila rupti fœderis, non quod aliis ipsa, sed quod " alii ipsi ruperunt." (Alan de Ins. Comm., lib. iii. p. 97.) With respect to the latter part of this prophecy, *in tertia nidificatione gaudebit*, Alan explains it thus: —" Tres enim filios habuit, Henricum, Gaufridum, atque " Willielmum, e quibus duobus, secundi et tertii, mortes " vidit et luxit, de tertio superstite, id est, Henrico " gavisa. Verum quoniam prima ejus nidificatio fuit, hic " ipse Henricus, non tertia, secunda vero Gaufridus, " tertia autem Willielmus præmissa interpretatio vacil- " lare videtur, nec Mathildi convenienter posse aptari. " Possumus autem non absurde dicere quod prima ejus

" nidificatio fuerit cum primo marito suo, Henrico vide-
" licet imperatore Romanorum, secunda cum secundo, id
" est, Gaufrido comite Andegavorum, tertia cum Christo
" Rege cœlorum, cui tertio loco post mortem duorum quos
" diximus maritorum immortali immortaliter nupsit: viduí-
" tatem suam ipsi perpetuo dedicando atque insupera-
" biliter adhærendo." (Ibid., p. 98.) It may be inferred from the last passage that the empress had not been very long dead at the time it was written. It is important to compare these interpretations, written before the events which later writers refer to, with the subsequent interpretations of those writers.

Ralph de Diceto and Matthew Paris distinctly refer the prophecy to Queen Eleanor, under the appellation of *aquila rupti fœderis*. Henry had kept her confined in prison since the year 1173, and she was only set free after her husband's death upon Richard's arrival in England in 1189:—
" Alienor regina, quæ per annos plurimos artæ fuerat depu-
" tata custodiæ statuendi quæ vellet in regno potestatem
" accepit a filio. Datum siquidem est in mandatis regni
" principibus, et quasi sub edicto generali statutum, ut ad
" reginæ nutum omnia disponerentur. Itaque diebus istis
" propheticum illud venit in lucem quod ambiguitate verbi
" latuerat," ' Aquila rupti fœderis tertia nidificatione gau-
" ' debit.' Aquila siquidem appellata, quoniam duas alas
" expandit super duo regna tam Francorum quam Anglo-
" rum; sed a Francis propter consanguinitatem disjuncta
" fuit per divortium, ab Anglis vero per custodiam carce-
" ralem a thoro viri segregata fuit; custodiam dico sede-
" cim annis continuatam. Sic ' Aquila rupti fœderis '
" utrobique. Quod autem additum est ' tertia nidifica-
" ' tione gaudebit,' sic potes intelligere. Primogenitus
" filius Alienoræ reginæ Willielmus ætate puerili decessit.
" Henricus filius reginæ secundus sublimatus in regem,
" hostiliter congressurus cum patre, naturæ debitum solvit.
" Ricardus filius tertius tertia nidificatione notatus mater-
" num nomen in singulis intendebat extollere, qui quoniam
" patri restitit, et Francorum Normannis semper adver-
" santium partes fovere non minimum videbatur, nominis
" sui famam apud bonos et graves viros denigratam atten-
" dit; sed ut tantos excessus redimeret, matri suæ quem
" poterat honorem exhibere curavit, ut in obsequio ma-
" terno quod in patrem commiserat, deauratum omnibus
" appareret." (Rad. de Diceto, Ymag. Hist. ap. Twysden, col. 646, 647.)

Matthew Paris refers to the same event as being the

fulfilment of the prophecy of Merlin:—"Hiis profecto "diebus venit in lucem prophetia Merlini, ubi dicitur: "*Aquila*, siquidem regina illa est appellata, quia duas "alas super duo regna, Francorum videlicet et Anglo- "rum, expandit; et propterea propter rapacitatem, quia "tam animas quam corpora sua rapuit speciositate. Hæc "a rege Francorum disjuncta fuit propter consangui- "nitatem per divortium, a rege Anglorum propter sus- "picionem, et custodiæ carcerali deputata. Sic igitur "aquila rupti fœderis utrobique fuit. Quod autem addidit, "*et tertia nidificatione gaudebit*, sic intelligi potest," &c. (Mat. Paris, Hist. Major, edit. Tiguri, 1589, p. 146.) The queen's imprisonment, the coronation and subsequent death of Henry, and the accession of Richard the First were events unknown to Alan at the time when it is presumed his Commentary was written. Alan, however, in common, as it seems, with some others of his contemporaries, does not altogether reject the view that the queen of Henry the Second, and not his mother, is designated by the prophecy:—"Quidam tamen putant, "imo multi asserunt aquilam rupti fœderis debere intelligi, "non prædictam Matildem imperatricem, sed reginam "Francorum, quæ consanguinitate inventa inter ipsam et "virum suum, regem videlicet Ludovicum, rupto fœdere "maritali, dissociata est a thoro jugali, nupsitque Hen- "rico duci Normanniæ, nondum regnum Anglorum "adepto. Cujus frænum, id est, potentiam quodammodo "deauravit, ac plurimum decoris adjecit, addito videlicet "principatui ejus totius Aquitaniæ dominatu. Hæc aquila "tertia nidificatione gaudebit, hoc est, vel de tertio filio, "quem jam habet, vel de tertio marito, quem forte ha- "bebit adhuc. Potest haud incongrue et sic intelligi, "quod, videlicet, primus ejus nidus in Francia fuerit, "secundus in Normannia, tertius in Anglia." (Alan. de "Ins., p. 99.)

p. 240. *Et lors sesmerveilleront les petis chatons regens.*

The MSS. have *sesmerveilleront* for *sesveilleront*, and *regens* probably for *rugissans*, "and the little roaring whelps "shall wake;" there would seem, however, to be yet some ground for the reading *regens*. We have "evigilabunt "rugientes catuli" in Geoffrey of Monmouth. The Commentary of Alan de Insula raises the question; "catulos "rugientis vocat [Merlinus] filios Henrici regis. Unde "quidam dicendum putant, regentis, non rugientis, id est,

" regis, minus attendentes quam sit convenientius atque " expressius dictum evigilabunt rugientes catuli juxta me- " taphoram proprietatemque leonis " (lib. iii. p. 100). In the text this prophecy is referred to the " good duke," the duke of Armorica or Lesser Britain, a descendant of the House of Corineus. The chroniclers of the twelfth century are unanimous in applying it to the sons of Henry the Second; and the silence of Alanus de Insula as to their actual rebellion in 1173 is a remarkable feature, which seems to justify the belief that he wrote before that event. (Cf. Girald. Camb. de Instr., Dist 2, cap. 4); the prediction is referred to distinctly by John of Brompton and the Abbot of Peterboro'. Hoveden affirms that the children of Henry rebelled against their father at the instigation of Louis, king of France, of Raoul de Faye, and (as it was said) even of Queen Eleanor :—" Et statim post Pascha " totum regnum Franciæ, et rex filius regis Anglorum, " et Richardus frater ejus comes Pictaviæ, et Gaufridus " comes Britanniæ, et fere omnes comites et barones " Angliæ et Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ et Andegaviæ et " Brittanniæ insurrexerunt in regem Angliæ patrem." (Rog. de Hoveden, Annal. ap. Savile, p. 534.) John Brompton adds :—" Tunc vero adimpletum fuisse videtur illud " Merlini vaticinium, quo dicitur, ' Evigilabunt rugientes " ' catuli et postpositis nemoribus infra mœnia civitatum " ' venabuntur; stragem non minimam ex obstantibus " ' facient et linguas taurorum abscindent; colla rugientium " ' onerabunt catenis et avita tempora renovabunt.' Hoc " vaticinium Merlinus de filiis regis Henrici prædixit, " rugientes catulos eos vocans pro eo quod guerram " movendo in patrem et dominum surrexerunt."

Benedict of Peterborough refers to the same prophecy, and gives it the same application :—" Hujus autem ne- " fandæ proditionis auctores extiterunt Lodowicus rex " Franciæ, et (ut a quibusdam dicebatur) ipsa Alienor " regina Angliæ, et Radulfus de Faia. Prædicta quidem " regina eo tempore habuit in custodia sua Ricardum ducem " Aquitaniæ et Gaufridum comitem Britaniæ, filios suos; " et misit eos in Franciam ad juvenem regem fratrem " illorum, ut cum eo essent contra regem patrem ipsorum. " Tunc vero adimpletum est illud Merlini vaticinium, qui " ait, ' Evigilabunt rugientes catuli et postpositis ne- " ' moribus infra mœnia civitatum venabuntur; stragem " ' non minimam ex obstantibus facient et linguas tauro- " ' rum abscindent; colla rugientium onerabunt catenis et " ' avita tempora renovabunt.' Hoc vaticinavit Merlinus

" de filiis regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, et vo-
" cans eos rugientes catulos significavit illos insurrecturos
" contra patrem et dominum suorum et contra ipsum
" werram moturos." (Benedict. Abb. Petroburg. de Vita et Gestis Hen. II. et Ric. I., ed. Tho. Hearne. Oxon. 1735, 8vo., i. p. 48.)

p. 241. *Et a vye leur temps seront renouvellez.*

This reading in all the MSS. is corrupt; so also in the Paris MS. The Latin text of Geoffrey, " et avita tempora
" renovabunt," is explained by Alan:—"id est, avorum
" suorum, Rollonis videlicet, et Willielmi nothi dirissima
" prœlia restaurabunt." (Alani de Insula Comm., lib. iii.
" p. 101.)

Et de la du premier au quart.

The text is here again corrupt. The Paris MS. reads correctly, "*du premier au quart et du quart au tiers.*"

des seigneurs terriens et de leurs officiers.

This is a reflection by the translator on the rapacity of the officers of state in his own age, towards the close of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century.

Et le sextille de Hybernie, &c.

The translator's explanation of this prophecy, as in almost every case, differs wholly in its application from that of the commentators of the twelfth century. Alan de Lisle conceives its accomplishment not yet to have taken place in his day, and suggests its future fulfilment in the person of one of the six sons of Henry II. The conquest of Ireland by King Henry in 1171 had evidently not been effected when this commentary was written, for if that event had been known to Alan, he could scarcely have omitted referring to it. The allusion to the king's illegitimate son as *clericus magnæ, ut aiunt, juxta ætatem probitatis*, would also seem to have been written some time antecedent to Geoffrey Plantagenet's election to the see of Lincoln in 1173. Alan had previously spoken of the children of Henry Fitz Empress, " quos catulos rugientis sive regentis Merlinus
" appellat," the grand-children of Rollo in the tenth degree, and of King Henry himself as "Henricum regem,
" *qui nunc est*, patrem Henrici, Richardi, Gaufridi, et
" Johannis;" and then he says, in explanation of the prophecy, " *Sextus mœnia Hyberniæ subvertet, et nemora*
" *in planitiem mutabit. Diversas portiones in unum reducet*

"*et capite leonis coronabitur.* Henricus, qui nunc in "Anglia regnat, quinque filios suscepit ex regina con- "juge sua, quorum unus mortuus est, quatuor vero "supersunt. Habuit et sextum ex concubina, qui clericus "est, magnæ, ut aiunt, juxta ætatem probitatis. Hic "itaque vel sextus dicetur Henrici regis filius, si mor- "tuus ille quem habuit ex regina inter alios computetur, "vel quintus, si soli superstites a propheta numerantur, "et alius adhuc expectandus, quem hic sextum appellat. "Possumus tamen sextum istum intelligere qui in Anglia "regnaturus sit post quatuor istos, et alium quintum, "quicunque ille sit, hoc est, sive istorum frater sive "non, de quo dicitur quod *Hyberniæ sit mœnia subversu- "rus, excisurus nemora, et in planitiem mutaturus diversas "portiones,* id est, regna diversa, non est enim unum "regnum sed plura ad unum regnum reducturus, ejusque "coronam assumpta feritate et fortitudine leonina suo "capiti impositurus." (Comm. Alani de Insula, lib. iii. pp. 102, 103.)

p. 242. *son commencement sera desordonne.*

The translator in the text, still following out his application of the previous part of the prophecy to some "prince "born in Ireland, keen in battle, who shall be one of six "brothers, and shall cross the sea and come into Great "Britain with a large army," &c., adds, "in his youth he "shall be cruel and abandoned to all vice, but in his old "age he shall be converted," &c. This also, according to Alan, is part of the same prophecy, and he continues to apply it to one of Henry's children, who was to reign after him, profligate in his youth, but virtuous and religious towards God and the church in after life in restoring bishoprics, and monasteries, and other works of piety. He shall clothe two cities with palls, and shall bestow on them virgin gifts. "*Duas urbes duobus palliis induet;* hoc "est, duas metropolitanas sedes duobus palliis adornabit, "quod est, in sacerdotalibus infulis archiepiscoporum "plenitudo honoris. Hoc et beatus Malachias illius quon- "dam gentis apostolus in diebus carnis suæ facere volens "et hujus rei gratia laboriosum iter terra marique primo "ad Innocentium papam [ob. 1143], arripiens, usque Ro- "mam, secundo ad Eugenium [ob. 1153] qui ab Inno- "centio quartus fuit, in ipso itinere, apud Claram "vallem febre correptus, loco et tempore, quo longe "ante præelegerat atque prædixerat, feliciter obdormivit

" in Domino " (p. 103). Alan then continues with reference to the sons of Henry:—" Sed non omnes filii referunt patres, " sed versa vice ex optimis parentibus pessimi interdum " alii oriuntur, et ex impiis aliquando patribus boni. " Ita ut supradicto rege, qui tam præclaris virtutibus " pollens inter beatos collocare dignus habebitur, nascetur " filius paternæ bonitati per omnia dissimilis." It is certainly remarkable that these words, written while Prince John (born in 1166) was yet almost an infant, should bear so forcible a resemblance to his after character, and that the loss of Normandy to the English crown should have taken place in his reign, a circumstance not unfitly described under Merlin's prophecy:—" Par cely " proprement perdera Neustrie ses isles, et sera des- " pouillie de sa premiere dignite." Compare Alan de Ins. Comm., lib. iii. 107.

p. 242. *Apres dist Merlin quil penestrera toutes choses.*

There is an omission of some words here in the text, as in all the MSS. of Wavrin, A. B. and C. 2, which are nevertheless necessary to the sense. These are supplied by the Paris MS., which reads, "*Apres dist Merlin que de lui ystra le lin qui penestrera*," &c. The translator, still avoiding any allusion to Henry II. and his descendants, so distinctly pointed to in the commentaries of Alan de Lisle, says, with reference to the king designated by the lynx, and the loss through him by Neustria of both its isles, and its former dignity, says: "This valiant king, who shall " be called the lynx, shall be so prudent, and shall in " himself possess such great discretion, that by virtuous " example he shall show plainly the ruin of his own people. " And this king shall be very wise and courageous in " battle, for he shall conquer the whole of Neustria, and " subjugate the Normans." This is scarcely less mystical than the prediction itself. In a manuscript in the British Museum, written in the reign of Richard II., King Henry III. is referred to as the lynx:—" Hic licet præceps fuisset " in factis, quia tamen fortunatos semper habebat exitus, " *putant eum multi apud Merlinum fatidicum per lincem* " *designatum omnia penetrantem.*" (Egerton MS. 672, f. 50.) Alan's commentary on the prophecy, " Egredietur ex eo " lynx penetrans omnia quæ ruinæ propriæ gentis immi- " nebit," seems to show his belief that the accomplishment was not fulfilled in his time, and that the person represented by the lynx was yet unborn. " Et hoc probat argumento,

" cum subdit, a patre, *Per illum enim Neustria, id est,* " *Normannia* utramque *insulam amittet, et pristina dignitate* " *spoliabitur.*" (Comm. Alani de Insula, lib. iii. p. 105.)

Matthew Paris distinctly applies the prophecy to Henry III., who, he believes, is there designated by the lynx:— " Erat autem [Henricus III.] staturæ mediocris, compacti " corporis, alterius oculi palpebra demissiore; ita ut par- " tem nigredinis pupillo celaret. Robustus viribus sed " præceps in factis; in quibus tamen quia fortunatos et " felices exitus habuit putant eum multi apud Merlinum " fatidicum per lincem designatum, omnia penetrantem." (Matt. Paris, Hist. Major, edit. Tiguri, 1589, p. 977.) This passage appears to be the foundation of the remark in the Egerton MS.

p. 243. *Doncques vivant le veillart en son cheval blanchissant.*

Alan, in his commentary upon this prophecy, speaks again of Arthur, the belief by the Britons in his immortality, and their expectation to return some day to their former greatness:—" Quia igitur de morte tanti regis, nec historia ista, " nec alia quæpiam loquitur, nulla ratione, ut dictum est, " Britones ad credulitatem mortis ejus adduci possunt, sed " omnis, aut pæne omnis illa natio adhuc eum in insula " Avallonis, quo curatum deportatus est, delitere ac vivere " opinantur." And again, " Sic Arturum inclytum regem " suum, Britannica gens in præfata insula commoraturum " ac victurum existimat usque ad revocationem suæ gentis, " ipso duce, in insulam regni patrum suorum." . . . .

" *Niveum autem senem*, de quo supra diximus, putant " eum propter vitæ longevitatem appellatum. Nos autem, " licet eorum opinioni, vel potius errori, de vita adhuc " Arturi nullo modo assentiamus, sed ridcamus, reditum " tamen Britannici populi in naturale solum et iterum " regnaturos, si Merlino creditur, negare non possumus." (Comm. Alani de Ins., lib. iii. p. 112.)

p. 243. *Cadavaladrech sy appellera Caduvach et prendra en sa compaignie Albanie.*

The Paris MS. for *Caduvach* reads *Cauuauch*. The Latin text of Geoffrey has here Conanum. " Cadwa- " lader shall call to him Conan, and shall take Albania " into his alliance; and then shall be the slaughter of the " foreigners, and the rivers shall run with blood; the

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" Armorican fountains shall break up, and they shall be " crowned with the diadem of Brutus " (lib. vii. c. 3). Compare the subsequent history as narrated in the Chronicle, lib. 3, cap. 51, p. 489, and the allusion made by the Britons to their prophecies (p. 491).

Fordun refers to Cadwalader's expulsion from Britain, and his subsequent death at Rome, and adds:—" Mer- " linus Ambrosius de receptione Britonum sic prophetatur: " ' Cadwaladrus vocabit Conanum, et Albaniam in socie- " tatem accipiet, tunc erit strages alienigenarum, tunc " flumina sanguine manabunt, tunc erumpent montes " (fontes) Armorici, et Bruti diademate coronabuntur,' &c. " Porro filius ejus Iuor et nepos Yny, nunc Wallia, nunc " Scotia recepti, collectis navibus inquietatione sævissima " regnum Britanniæ per multos annos affecerunt." (Johan. Fordun Scot. Hist. ap. Gale, i. pp. 647, 648.)

The Welsh have ever been ready to show their confidence in the prescience of their prophet. Matthew of Westminster gives an illustration of their fatuity in reference to this particular prophecy. On the occasion of some of the nobles of King Edward the First's army being drowned off Anglesea, the chronicler adds:—" Hoc igitur Wallenses " non infortunio sed miraculo ascribentes, suo principi " suggesserunt quod viriliter ageret nec timeret eo quod " in brevi secundum prophetiam Merlini diademate Bruti " debuit coronari. Princeps igitur Walliæ Leolinus, as- " sumpto exercitu copioso, ad campestria descendebat, " fratri suo Davidi montana relinquens. Eadmundus " hæres famosi militis, jam defuncti, Rogerii de Mortuo- " mari, cum quibusdam marchionibus irruit in exercitum " Leolini et sine detrimento suorum magna multitudo " Wallensium est perempta, in quo conflictu caput principis " fuerat amputatum et ad civitatem Londinensem depor- " tatum, et hedera coronatum per multa tempora super " Turrim Londini fuit erectum, de qua prius pater suus " Griffinus occidit et fractis cervicibus expiravit." (Flor. Hist., edit. Lond. 1570, p. 370.) Compare also Alani de Insula Comm., lib. iii. pp. 113–115 (Francof. 8vo., 1608).

p. 243. *et les forces vertueuses floriront.*

This is a singular rendering of Geoffrey's "et robora " Cornubiæ virescunt." There are several similar misapprehensions of Geoffrey's text throughout this Chronicle.

p. 246. *par amour de Helaine de Vado par bastons.*

This passage occurs also in the same form in the Paris MS. The Latin text of Geoffrey is "propter Leænam de "Vado baculi;" and Alan thus comments upon it:—"Va- "dum baculi vocat oppidum quoddam in episcopatu Cestriæ "situm versus Walliam, quod nunc Angli patrio sermone "Stafort appellant, lingua namque Anglorum *Staf*, ba- "culum sonat; *fort* vadum significat. Leænam de vado "baculi vocat fœminam aliquam leoninæ feritatis et "altæ nobilitatis, loci illius dominam, vel inde natam, "cujus amore succensi et capti duo reges duellum com- "mittent, vel ipsi inter se pugnantes, vel pro se duos "alios, singuli videlicet singulos committens. Est enim "duellum, bellum duorum. Erit autem tanta hominum "internecio ut fons derivatus in amne pro amne sanguinem "manare videatur." (Comm. Alan. de Ins., lib. iii. p. 129.)

p. 247. *Lacteur dist que siecle est lespace de cent ans.*

The author here referred to has not occurred. He is probably the person before indicated under the description of "le Maistre des Histoires," and the author perhaps of a version of the *Historia Britonum*.

p. 250. *Londres florira adont.*

So also in the Paris MS. The mistake for *plorira*, *lugebit* in the Latin version, is not therefore peculiar to the MSS. of Wavrin's Chronicle.

p. 251. (Rubric.) *Cy apres sensieult la seconde cause des propheties.*

The Paris MS. here supplies an emendation by substituting *pose* for *cause*.

p. 253. *Et de la cite de droit la forest de Thamit.*

This represents "ex urbe Canuti nemoris" in the Latin text of Geoffrey. The Paris MS. reads *Et de la cite de la forest de Tamith.*

p. 255. *aux fondemens Hericius . . . au bort de la mer.*

The Paris MS. reads "Hericius *leur duc,*" and *port* for *bort*, as in MSS. B. and C. 2.

p. 257. *muchees marmoriannes.*

This singular reading of the Latin text of Geoffrey, "occulta submarinorum," is not peculiar to the MSS. of Wavrin's Chronicle. The Paris MS. reads *muchees marmoriennes.*

p. 264. *Gemisseurs.*

In the Paris MS. *Gemisseurs* and *Gemissoires.* In Geoffrey, "Gewisseorum."

edifiera un crapault.

So also in the Paris MS.; in the Latin text it is "nidificabit bubo." The peculiarities throughout of the translated passages from Geoffrey are generally found in the earlier MS. in the Imperial Library, and cannot therefore be attributed to errors of the transcriber of Wavrin's Chronicle.

p. 282. *leur efficiale verite.*

The text from these words to the end of cap. 57, p. 286, "mais je prie et requiers humblement la benoite Trinitet," does not occur in the MS. in the Imperial Library 2806 (olim anc. f. fr. 8387). The MS. 5621 (olim. anc. f. fr. 10210. 3. 3.) has the entire chapter as in the text.

p. 287. *nostre seigneur par voix angelique.*

Compare the preface of Alan de Lisle to his Commentaries on the Prophecies of Merlin, p. 3. In this place the Chronicle greatly enlarges Geoffrey's narrative, and puts sentiments and words into the mouth of Vortigern not found in any other version.

la fureur des enfans du roy Constant.

Merlin's address to Vortigern, and the prophetic announcement of the death by poison of Aurelius and Uther, are given more briefly by Geoffrey (lib. viii. c. 1), and by Alfred of Beverley, in nearly the same words (Alur. Bev. Annal., lib. v., edit. Hearne, Oxon. 1716).

p. 288. *le noble roy Constant leur pere.*

We should perhaps read here *frere,* but Constantine is also written *Constant;* if the father and not the brother be referred to in this case, there would seem to be some omission in the antecedent narrative, since no mention is found previously of the murder of Constantine having been procured by Vortigern's instigation.

p. 289. *le preu roy Artus, filz du roy Uther Pendragon.*

See the interpretation given by Merlin at p. 327 of the star which appeared after the murder of Aurelius Ambrosius.

p. 291. *dune royne qui fut appellee Galloyse.*

The narrative is here again more ample than Geoffrey's. The allusion to the origin of the name of Wales is repeated in cap. 53 of lib. iii. p. 500. The queen's name is there written *Agalaes*. Compare lib. i. c. 19, p. 86, where one of the daughters of King Ebrot is called *Galays*.

le chastel de Genorre . . . sur la riviere de Gaye.

Compare Geoffrey, lib. viii. c. 2, and Nennius, c. 50. The locality of Caer Guortigern, fixed by Nennius on the river Tivy ("juxta flumen Teibi"), is given by Geoffrey on the Wye ("super fluvium Gauiæ"). The name of the hill on which the castle was built is not mentioned in the text. Geoffrey calls it Cloarius, which Sir F. Madden believes, with reason, to be a corruption by the scribe, and to be intended for Mount Doward, not far from Gennarew. The marks of ancient fortifications on the hill and the discovery in the last century of the bones of a gigantic person support the conjecture as to the locality of Vortigern's castle.

p. 292. *Eldol comte de Clocestre.*

The address of Aurelius to Eldol, earl of Gloucester, is conclusive as to the motive of his vengeance against Vortigern, being the murder as well of Constantine as of Constans. The exhortation and the narrative of Vortigern's death are both more ample than in Geoffrey. The allusion here to the Greek fire is peculiar; in the account of the siege of Sparatin by Pandrasus, Geoffrey writes: — "Græco igne atque calidarum aquarum aspergine "hostes retrocedere cogebant" (lib. i. c. 7). This is probably the earliest mention of the use of this destructive fire by any English writer. See a note in Bentley's edition of the assault of Massoura, p. 81, and again at p. 428. (Excerpta Historica, Lond. 8vo., 1831.)

p. 294. *Quant renommee qui partout volle.*

Compare this chapter with Geoffrey, lib. viii. cc. 3, 4. Set speeches are put into the mouths of Aurelius and Englist which do not occur in Geoffrey.

p. 299. *occyrent* 400 *consulz et nobles barons.*

In this speech Eldol refers to the incident mentioned at p. 215. Compare with Geoffrey (lib. viii. cc. 5, 7) the number of Britons said to have been slain on that occasion, and also the narrative of the battle between the Britons and the Saxons, and of the defeat and death of Englist.

p. 306. *Cocta le filz Englist.*

The names of Englist and his son Cocta, and of Orsus, will be easily recognized as the Hengist and Octa and Eosa of Geoffrey.

p. 307. *Seigneurs, je voy que toutes les esglises.*

This speech of Aurelius to his assembled barons at York is not in Geoffrey. It is perhaps the earliest specimen recorded of a royal speech on the opening of a Parliament.

p. 309. *lun sadvanca et lui dist.*

The name of the spokesman is given in Geoffrey as Tremonnus, archbishop of Caerleon, and Wace follows Geoffrey. The Chronicle makes the recommendation of Merlin to the king proceed from the master mason, and Aurelius thereupon puts a question respecting Merlin to Elidath the archbishop. Elidath is not referred to at all by Geoffrey in this place, and the archbishop of Caerleon is altogether ignored by the Chronicle.

p. 310. *en la region de Gemisseres.*

This is doubtless intended for the "nationem Gewisse-"orum" of Geoffrey. The fountain frequented by Merlin, called Gallabas, is called Galabes in Geoffrey (lib. viii. c. 10), and in Wace (MS. Cott. Vitellius A. x.) *Labanes.*

p. 312. *par les geans des plus derreinens fins dAufricque.*

Cf. Geoffrey, lib. viii. c. 11, and consult "Celtic Druids," Lond. 4to. 1827, chap. vi., sect. xviii., pp. 230 et seq. Mr. Higgins, the author, states that a fragment of one of the uprights of the inner oval, then in the collection of the Geological Society, having been shown to an eminent geo-

logist, without the least suspicion of where it came from, "he said it looked like an African stone, but if it were "British it must have come from Anglesey." Ibid. Stonehenge, p. vii. note. Compare also "Cyclops Christianus" by Algernon Herbert, Lond. 1849.

p. 313. *certaines pierres quy estoient en la montaigne de Kilareth.*

Probably Kildare. See Geoffrey, lib. viii. c. 12, and Wace, vol. i. 387. Compare Giraldus Cambrensis, Top. Hibern., Dist. ii. c. 18.

p. 316. *en la montaigne dAmbrith pour celebrer les obseques funeraux.*

At the festival or solemn court held by King Aurelius on Whit-Sunday to celebrate the erection of the stones said to have been brought over from Ireland to form the sepulchre of the kings at Stonehenge, the king wore the crown upon his head and dined in state; two archbishops were appointed, viz., Sanxo or Sampson to the metropolitan see of York and Dubricius to that of Caerleon. It is remarkable that this is said to have been done *by the advice of his people and with the concurrence of all who were summoned to this election.* Geoffrey adds, "whom he was willing to "please in this device," (lib. viii. c. 12).

p. 319. *Pascent le maisne filz du roi Vortigier.*

The combat between Pascent, the third son of Vortigern, and Catigern, has been before referred to. See note (p. 206), p. 555. He is mentioned by Nennius (c. 53) as having received a territory from Ambrosius:—"Pascent, "qui regnavit in duabus regionibus, id est, Buelt et "Guortigernianum, post mortem patris sui, largiente "Ambrosio, qui fuerat rex in omnes regiones Britanniæ." His speech to the Saxons here given in form does not occur in Geoffrey or in any other version. The narrative, moreover, of the treachery of Pascent and the death of Aurelius by poison is amplified from Geoffrey's (lib. viii. c. 14).

p. 322. *un Saxon, nomme Coppa.*

The name of the murderer of Aurelius is called by Geoffrey *Eopa*, and by Laȝamon Appas.

p. 324. *O tu Pascent, traître desloyal.*

This apostrophe is peculiar to the Chronicle. Cf. Geoffrey, lib. viii. c. 14.

p. 327. *Une fille que tu auras.*

There is considerable confusion in the narrative relating to Arthur's sister. Geoffrey mentions one daughter of Uther, Anna, married to Loth, king of Lothian. See p. 344, but compare lib. ix. c. 2, where he says Hoel, king of Armorica, was son of Arthur's sister by Dubricius, king of the Armorican Britons. The Breton writers speak of two daughters, the elder of whom bore the name *Emine*. According to the story, Anna was born after the death of Gorlois, if Ygerne were her mother as well as Arthur's (see p. 338 and 343); but the inconsistencies in the accounts will scarcely admit of any explanation. The metrical version of Brut thus speaks of Uther's two children, Arthur and Anna:—

" Ele out enz un fiz conceu
" E a son terme ad un fiz eu,
" Artur out nun, de sa bunte
" Ad grant parole puis este.
" Apres Artur fu Anna ne,
" Une fille qe fu donee
" A un baron pruz e curtais,
" Loth aveit a nun de Leoneis."
(MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi.)

The printed copy of Wace (ii. p. 30) contains two additional lines:—

" De li fu nes li quens Walwains
" Qui tant fu preudom de ses mains."

And after this the anonymous metrical version and Wace's Roman de Brut agree very closely. See note (p. 357), p. 591.

p. 330. *la montaigne d'Aven.*

Geoffrey speaks of this mountain as *Damen* (lib. viii. c. 18), and Wace has "Daniens li mons avoit nom" (vol. ii. p. 13). The anonymous metrical version of Brut gives some curious additions, which indicate the locality:—

" Icel mont a cel ee
" Diamned esteit apelee,
" Mes nus qui el pais manum
" Windegates ore lapelum.
" El soverain est un coudrei,
" E el miliu un grant perrei;
" Desuz si curt un russellet,
" Ke nus apelom Coquet."
(MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi.)

p. 345. *Le Chapitre X^e^.*

Compare this and the following chapters with Geoffrey (lib. viii., cc. 22, 23, 24.) The narrative is much amplified.

p. 353. *Clocestre.*

So in the Paris MS. Geoffrey names Cilcestre as the place where Arthur was consecrated king by Archbishop Dubricius; Gloucester is not named in any other version.

p. 357. *devers le roy Hoelus, nepveu du roy Artus.*

See note (p. 327), p. 590. The Chronicle proceeds to say:—"This Hoelus was the son of Dubricius, who in his "time had been king of the Armoric Britons, and who had "espoused King Arthur's sister." Budic, according to the Breton writers, was reigning in Bretagne when the two sons of Constantine, Aurelius and Uther, were placed under the protection of the king of that country. He is named in the text (p. 165) King Pudis. Budic was the father of Hoël the Great, by his wife Adenissa. The printed copies of Geoffrey's Historia Regum Britanniæ have *Dubricius* (lib. ix. c. 2), but some MSS. read *Budicius*. See Hearne's note in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, i. 169. According to the Abbé Gallet and Dom Morice, the continuator of Dom Lobineau, Budic, king of Bretagne, should be the same person as Deroch or Debroch. (Mémoires de Gallet, sur l'Origine des Bretons Armoricains, and Hist. Eccles. et Civile de Bretagne, par Dom Morice. 2 vols. fol. Paris 1750–1756, vol. 1, p. 695, note vi.)

p. 360 *au port des Couthonisiens.*

The Paris MS. reads, "au rivage des Cothonosiens."

puis prendrent leur voye vers Pague et assegierent la cyte de Bladone.

The Paris MS. reads, "apres prinstrent leur voie vers Pague et assiegerent la cite de Badone." This is a singular misapprehension of the Latin of Geoffrey, "Inde "arrepto itinere versus pagum Badonis urbem obsident" (lib. ix. c. 3).

p. 362. *Chaigny.*

In the Paris MS., *Seingny.*

p. 364. *Thederic.*

In the Paris MS., *Chedrich.*

p. 364. *en la cyte de Aclud.*

Harl. MS. 636 reads "en la vile de Alclude ke nus "appeluns Edingburgh."

p. 365. *en lisle de Clavecaert.*

This name, unless it be a corruption of Thanet (Galf. Mon., lib. ix. c. 5), is obscure. Wace (vol. ii. p. 58, note) has *Tegneguic*, Teignmouth in Devonshire.

p. 366. *de lestang de Lynoyoth..*

Lochlomond in Dumbartonshire. Compare Nennius, c. 68, De Mirabilibus Britanniæ Insulæ (ed. Petrie, p. 77), and Geoffrey, lib. ix. c. 7.

p. 369. *Aneleseth.*

Geoffrey names this king, to whom Arthur restored the sovereignty of the Scots, Angusel or Augusel.

ou temps de Aurelien Ambroose.

The marriage of Loth to Arthur's sister is here, as in Geoffrey (lib. ix. c. 9), placed in the time of Aurelius Ambrosius. This would negative the presumption that Anna was the daughter of Ygerne, the widow of Gorlois, by Uther Pendragon. Gavain and Mordreth, who subsequently play so conspicuous a part in this history, are also both named by Geoffrey as the nephews of Arthur.

p. 371 *jusques a la fin de la terre.*

Cf. Geoffrey, lib. ix. c. 11. The fame of Arthur must have been established before the time of Geoffrey. Compare the Commentaries of Alan de Lisle, lib. i. p. 26 (ed. Francof. 1608).

p. 376 *yroit subjuguier les aultres provinces de Gaulle.*

The names of the several countries conquered by Arthur are not mentioned here nor by Geoffry, lib. ix. c. 11. Compare Wace, vol. ii. p. 90, and La3amon. See also Cott. MS. Domitian A. x.

Et dona Neustrie.

Again Neustria and Andegavia alone are mentioned by Geoffrey. Compare Wace, vol. ii. p. 92, and Cott. MS. Domitian A. x.

p. 383. *unes lettres depar Lucius Tiberii Cesar.*

" Si li tendirent lettres depar Luces le Espaynol, em-
" pereur de Rome, en cestes paroles: Luces, procureur de
" la comunaute a Arthur, roy de Bretaygne, ceo ke il ad
" deservi. En merveillant," &c. Harl. MS. 636, fo. 21 *verso*.

p. 389. *Ne dyent mye les propheties de Sibille.*

" Remembrez vous ke Sibille en sa prophetie escrit ke
" troys Bretons ysterunt de Bretaygne ke Rome a force
" cunquerunt; ly duy sunt ja trepasses ke la seygneurie
" en aveyent." Harl MS. 636, fo. 22 *verso*.

p. 391. *Gerinus le duc de Chartres et les douze pers de Gaulle.*

See note (p. 71), p. 516.

p. 393. *Mordreth son nepveu regent.*

This relationship of Mordreth to Arthur has been questioned. In the Harl. MS. 636 he is called his cousin:—
" baila a Modred sun cosyn le fiz Loth de Lodonoyse e
" a Guenware le royne, ky les uns Gonnore appelent,"
fo. 23 *recto*, and Gavain is also there called the son of Loth:—" Walweyn, chivaler de grant renoun, ki fust le
" fiz Loth de Lodonoyse" (fo. 22).

p. 394. *un geant . . . . des partyes d'Espaigne.*

The name of the giant was Dinabus according to the French Brut (MS. Reg. 20 A. iii. and Cott. MS. Domitian A. x.) For more information respecting this giant see Sir Fr. Madden's note in Laȝamon, iii. 398.

p. 400. *du tombeau Helaine.*

There is a small rock near Mont S. Michel, called *Tombelaine*, which seems to be a corruption of *Tombe d'Helene*. Monstrelet records a victory obtained at this place over the English in 1426. "En ces jours eut une terrible et grand
" rencontre au pres du Mont S. Michel, entre les Anglois,
" qui tenoient le Mont de Hellem, dune part, et les Fran-
" cois et les Bretons d'autre part: mais en conclusion les-
" dits Anglois y furent morts et desconfits. Si obtindrent
" victoire les Francois, et par consequent gaignerent la
" dessusdicte forteresse." (Vol ii. p. 33 *verso*, ed. 1595.)

p. 401. *de coste le fleuve dAlbe.*

It was reported to Arthur that the Romans were near the town of Autun in Burgundy, having pitched their tents beside the river Aube. The great battle was fought in a valley called Siesia. See note (p. 413), p. 594.

p. 404. *et lui bailla tel cop de son espee.*

The inscription on Gavain's sword is said to have been—

" Jeo su forte trenchaunte è durs,
" Gaban me fist par mult graunt cure;
" Quatorze ans avoyt Jhesu Crist
" Kaunt Gaban me trempa e fist.
" Sage feloun deyt em doter,
" E fol felun eschuer,
" Fol deboneir de porter
" E sager deboneyr amer."

(Harl. MS. 636, fo. 24 r°.)

p. 407. *Son aultre oncle, qui estoit frere du roy Constantin.*

According to the narrative in the text, after the murder of Constantin and his burial at Stonehenge, the crown devolved immediately on his nephew, Aurelius Conan, apparently in derogation of the right of his other uncle, Constantine's brother; this brother, according to some accounts, is nevertheless included in reckoning the six kings who succeeded Arthur. See note (p. 230), p. 563.

p. 413. *devers Leon, son compaignon, empereur de Ytalie.*

Lucius is here called the colleague of Leo, emperor of Italy. It is difficult to say who is referred to. Cf. Wace, vol. ii. p. 195, vv. 12,852 et seq.

en un vallee appellee Siesia.

In the MS. of Wace, in the Library de Ste. Genevieve (y. f. 10), the reading is Soissie; and the MS. in the Imperial Library, 73, Cangé, reads Suison. There is a village in Burgundy near Dijon, in that diocese and bailiwick, called Val-de-Suzon, which seems to indicate the locality. Alan de Lisle identifies it with a valley not far from the monastery of Alba ripa, a Cistertian abbey in the diocese of Langres (Alani de Insula Comm. in Proph. Merlini, lib. i. p. 19, ed. Francof. 1608.)

p. 418. *lempereur Lucius Hyberius.*

Compare Geoffrey, lib. x. cc. 8–11. The whole narrative from the battle between Arthur and the Romans to the death of Lucius is more ample than in Geoffrey.

p. 435. *portez a Caen en Northmandye.*

Wace, vol. ii. p. 218, has Chinon. See Sir F. Madden's note in Laȝamon, vol. iii. p. 405, note 113.

p. 435. *Bruges, qui adont este nomme Theruant.*

Geoffrey says that Holdinus was carried to Flanders, and buried in his own city of Terouane (Terivana), lib. x. c. 13.

son nepveu Mordreth.

" Modred ke fust le frere Gaweyn, qe moult me greve " recorder, pur ceo ke decourtoysie de vasselage e chescun " honir." Harl. MS. 636, fo. 26vo. The comment on the treason of Mordreth and Guenever's disloyalty to Arthur, and the apostrophe to the traitor here introduced in the text, are wanting in Geoffrey, who very briefly notices the incident at the close of this tenth book.

p. 436. *dist lacteur de ce livre.*

The author here appears to have misapprehended Geoffrey, or to have seen some other account not now extant. The opening of the eleventh book of the Historia Reg. Brit. commences with a brief address to Robert, earl of Gloucester, in reference to the matter spoken of at the end of the preceding book. He says:—" Of this matter, most " noble consul, Geoffrey of Monmouth will be silent; but " he will briefly relate, albeit in an ordinary style, what " he has found in the aforesaid Breton treatise, and has " heard from Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, a man well " skilled in many histories, concerning the battles which " the renowned king (Arthur), after his return to Britain " upon this victory, fought with his nephew." Upon this passage the translator enlarges considerably, assigns reasons for the silence of Geoffrey, and introduces some remarks on the guilt of the offender See also page 448. Compare this and the following chapter with Geoffrey's condensed narrative of the battles between Arthur and Mordreth, and the fate of the two leaders.

p. 440. *au port appelle Nirutupith.*

This reads very much like a corruption of the "Rutupi "portum" of Geoffrey. Wace has Rommenel; and the place where Mordreth and his allies met Arthur on his landing is variously represented by later writers.

p. 441. *et la fina ses jours.*

Geoffrey also mentions Guenever's retirement to a nunnery at Caerleon, but he does not so clearly state that she ended her days there (lib. xi. c. 1). She appears to have been Arthur's second wife. See the account given by Giraldus de Barri of the discovery of King Arthur's body. (Giraldi Cambrensis de Instructione Principum, Excerpt. ex libro primo, ix., ed. Brewer, 1846, App. p. 191.)

p. 443. *au pays de Cambula.*

The battle where Arthur and Mordreth fell was near the river Camel in Cornwall. The date assigned for it in the Annales Cambriæ is A.D. 537.

p. 446. *et le noble Artus a mort navre.*

The narrative here is derived from some other source than Geoffrey. The allusion to Gifflet, to the history of Saint Graal, the Knights of the Round Table, the treason of Ganelon, and the twelve Peers of France, indicate a familiarity with the historic legends and popular romances current on the subject in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

p. 448. *cincq cens et dix sept.*

This date is not authorized by any other writer. Geoffrey has 542. Wace (ed. Le Roux de Lincy, vol. ii. p. 231), "Sis cens et quarante deus ans." This probably should be 542.

p. 453. *Gurmond, roy dAuffrique.*

See the prophecy of Merlin relative to this African king, supposed to be designated by "le loup maritain," page 230. There is here in the text a remarkable confusion of the stories of Gurmond, king of Africa, invading Ireland, King Catherith (or Certik as he is sometimes called), forming an alliance with the Saxons against his own barons and against Carenth, his invitation to Isbert, nephew of the king of France, the siege of Gloucester, and the flight of Catherith into Wales. It is evident that Geoffrey has not

alone supplied the materials for the narrative in the text (xi. 8). In the Saxon Chronicle, under the year 576, the conquest of Cirencestre is joined with the taking of Gloucester; the dates and incidents, the names of the characters introduced, and the localities are so confounded in the several versions of what is apparently one and the same story, that it is scarcely possible to offer any rational conjecture. Compare the account in the French prose versions of the Brut d'Angleterre, MS. Cott. Domitian A. x., and the additional MS. 18,462, Art. 1., Lestoire des Engles solum Geffrei Gaimar (ed. Petrie, p. 772 et seq.), and see also Sir F. Madden's able preface to the Romance of Havelok the Dane (printed for the Roxburgh Club, London, 1838). The story of the destruction of the city, effected by tying nutshells filled with combustibles to the legs of sparrows, is not referred to in the text, and the allusion is very slight to Carenth, who appears to figure in the Brut under the description of "*un quistroun de la quisine, qui avoit a noun "Cuaran,*" and who is presently identified with Havelok, "*car cesti Cuaran fu le roi Havelok, fiz le roi Birkebein "(Kyrkebayn) de Denmarz, qe puis fu roy de Denmarz.*" (MS. Cotton Domitian A. x.) See the account of Giraldus de Barri "In Britannica legitur historia Gurmundum ab "Africa in Hiberniam advectum, et inde in Britanniam a "Saxonibus ascitum, Cirecestriam obsidione cinxisse. "Qua tandem capta, et passerum, ut fertur, maleficio, "igne succensa, ignobili quoque tunc Britonum rege "Kereditio in Cambriam expulso, totius regni dominium "in brevi obtinuisse."—Topog. Hiberniæ, Dist. iii. c. 39. (Anglica, Hibernica, &c., ed. Camden, fol. Francof. 1602, p. 749). See also Eulogium Historiarum, ed. Haydon, vol. ii. pp. 378–9.

p. 461. *Legecestre, la ou Procimial, consul de la cite.*

See the Saxon Chronicle under the year 607, where this city is also called Leicester. It is believed that Chester is the place intended. The name of the *consul* or earl, here called Procimial and Procimail, should be more correctly written *Brocmail*, as in the Saxon Chronicle. In the Welsh version of Geoffrey it is written *Brochwel.*

p. 463. *que Eldefridus tendroit paisiblement la terre au decha du Hombre.*

See the prophecy of Merlin, commented on at p. 231, and supposed to be fulfilled by the agreement here men-

tioned between Ethelfrid and Cadwan, and the breach of it referred to at page 468.

p. 464. *sa premiere femme.*

Compare Wace (edit. Le Roux de Lincy, ii. 264) and Geoffrey (lib. xii. c. 1). See also Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, 8vo. Lond. 1836–1839., vol. i. p. 347.

p. 470. *qui est nomme Gaureth.*

When King Caduale was endeavouring to make his escape after his defeat by Edwin, and finding his retreat to his own kingdom cut off, he determined to take refuge with King Salemon, of Lesser Britain. On their passage a violent storm arose, and the king and his companions having been in great peril, arrived at daybreak at an island which is called Gawreth. This is supposed to be Guernsey. Compare Robert of Gloucester (vol. i. p. 243, edit. Hearne).

p. 473. *comme desmongne (tesmoigne) Gildas historiagraphe.*

There is a singular inaccuracy, which appears to run through all the editions of Geoffrey, and is followed by his translators, and imitated by Peter of Langtoft (MS. Cott. Julius A. v.), and others; in this view Caduale is made to cite Gildas in his address to King Salemon of Armorica; whereas, in fact, the author himself interpolates the speech of Caduale, and in corroboration of the truth of what the king was describing to Salemon, mentions what Gildas had testified relative to the abominable vices into which the Britons had fallen; after this citation the author makes the speaker again resume his address, "and for these reasons," added King Caduale, "I con-" clude," &c. The reasons referred to are those which Caduale had been assigning for the degeneracy of his own subjects in Britain.

p. 475. *Malgo . . . qui le quatriesme apres Artus rengna.*

Of the six kings of Britain who reigned after Arthur, Malgo, here called the *fourth*, should be the fifth according to the interpretation of Merlin's prophecy given by Alan de Lisle, who reckons the brother of Constantine among the kings, and makes the accomplishment of the prophecy end with Catherith, or Certik, who was defeated by Gurmond and the Saxons after the siege of Cirencester. See page 455.

p. 476. *le lignage entre toyetmoy.*

The descent of King Salemon of Armorica and Caduale, king of Britain, from Malgo, is traced through his two sons Emuanus and Ruith. Cf. Geoffrey, lib. xii. c. 6, where the grandson of Emuanus is called Jago instead of Rageuth, as in the text.

p. 477. *par son droit nom la scavoit nommer.*

The story of Brian and his sister and the death of Pellicus, King Edwin's magician, is adopted from Geoffrey, but the name of the sister, *Galarne*, is only given by Laȝamon.

p. 482. *le roy Caduant dEscoche.*

Geoffrey calls this ally of Caduale, Aidan, king of the Scots, and says also that he was slain with Osric, brother of King Edwin, and his two nephews. The Annales Cambriæ place the death of Aidan or Aedan in A.D. 606. Cf. Robert of Gloucester, i. 246.

p. 489. *la xij^e. Kalende de Decembre.*

Cf. Geoffrey (lib. xii. c. 13), where the date is 15 kal. Dec. (17 November). This was in the year 634. See Bedæ Hist. Eccl., lib. iii. c. 1, ed. Petrie, p. 173. In the Eulogium Historiarum the death of Caduale is placed in A.D. 677, 15 kal. Dec. (vol. ii. p. 377, ed. Haydon.)

Bede en sa cronicque appelle Egoual le jovenceau.

In the printed text of Geoffrey we have "*quem Beda* "*Ethelwaldum vocat*" (lib. xii. c. 14, ed. Giles, p. 224). In the Eulogium Historiarum, c. 75 (vol. ii. p. 379, ed. Haydon) the name is written "*Diedwaldam.*" Geoffrey, unless some tradition or chronicle existed to justify his narrative, has apparently created an entirely new personage in the character of Cadwalader, the son of Caduale, king of Britain. All the incidents here recorded of him, including his pilgrimage to Rome to receive baptism, and his death there in 688, seem to belong to Caedualla or Ceadwalla, who was the son of Cenwalch, king of Wessex, by Saxburga, daughter of Wibba and sister of Penda, king of Mercia. Cf. Bedæ Histor. Ecclesiast. (ed. Petrie), lib. iv. c. 15, p. 226, and lib. v. c. 7, p. 253. The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales mentions Cadwalader, son of Cadwallon, son of Cadvan, king of the Britons (Brut y Tywysogion, ed. Petrie, p. 841); and in the Annales Cambriæ, under the

year 682, reference is made to the great mortality (an. 678, Beda, iv. c. 12; an. 677, Tigern.) in Britain, "in qua Catgualart filius Catguolaum obiit." (Monumenta Historica, p. 833). See the Commentary on the Prophecy of Merlin, p. 233 et seq.

p. 498. *a la maniere de laigle.*

Geoffrey relates, that after the angel had left Cadwalader, he went straight to King Alan, and gave him an account of what had been told him. Then Alan had recourse to several books, *as the prophecies of the eagle that prophesied at Shaftesbury*, and the verses of Sibyl and Merlin. The singular misconception by the translator of Geoffrey's allusion to the prophecies of the eagle is remarkable.

p. 498. *Ivorth et Inith.*

The corrupt reading of the MSS., in substituting "Morth "et Mith" for these names, is pointed out in the note. The error is repeated in the subsequent book, where they are again represented as "enfans au bon roy Caduualadreth." (Chron. d'Engleterre, vol. i. lib. iv. c. 1.) Geoffrey also calls Ivor and Ini the son and nephew of Cadwalader:— "Et cum nullam discrepantiam reperisset (Alanus); sug- "gessit Cadwalladro, ut divinæ dispensationi pareret; "et Britannia postposita, quod angelicus ei præceperat "monitus perficeret, *filium autem suum Ivor, ac Ini ne-* "*potem suum* ad reliquias Britonum regendas in insulam "dirigeret" (lib. xii. c. 18). It is strange that an interpretation should nevertheless have been given to this passage in Geoffrey by which the paternity of the two youths is transferred from Cadwalader to King Alan. See La3amon (ed. Madden), iii. p. 435, note 293, and compare the passage from Fordun, cited in note (p. 243), p. 584. In the Chronicle of the Princes of Wales it is said that after Cadwalader, "Ivor, son of Alan king of Armorica, which is called "Little Britain, reigned." (Brut y Tywysogion (ed. Petrie), p. 841. Peter of Langtoft has:—

"En Wales ala Ivor son fiz amez,
"Et Jony son neveaux, dunt Bede counte assez;
"Apres en Engleterre sunt els arryvez,
"Lx. aunz en guere par ca par la chacez."
(MS. Cotton. Julius A. v.)

Cf. Wace, vol. ii. p. 296, vv. 15,253 et seq.

p. 499. *chincq cens quattre vingz et huit.*

The date should be six hundred and eighty-eight. The error runs through all the manuscripts. (Cf. Geoffrey, lib. xii. c. 18.)

p. 500. *un duc nomme Alestang.*

Athelstan was the first sole monarch, and was elected to the regal dignity by the Witenagemot on the death of his father, Edward the Elder, in 924. This general description of the condition of Britain during the period from the death of Cadwalader until the accession of Athelstan is borrowed from Geoffrey, lib. xii. c. 19.

leur roine qui eut nom Agalaes.

See notes p. 520 (p. 77), and p. 587 (p. 291).

APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS.

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I.

Karolus, etc. Illegitime genitos quos vite decorat honestas, nature vicium minime decolorat. Nam decor virtutis abscondit in prole maculam geniture, et pudicicia morum pudor originis aboletur. Notum igitur facimus presentibus et futuris, quod licet dilectus noster Johannes de Waurain, miles, filius naturalis deffuncti Roberti de Waurain, quondam militis, ex illicita copula genituram traxerit, talibus tamen virtutum dono et morum venustate coruscat, quod in ipso supplent merita et virtutes quod ortus odiosus adjecit, adeo quod super eo deffectu natalium quem patitur gratiam quam nobis humilime requisivit a nostra regia majestate meruit obtinere. Nos igitur hiis actentis, et pro certis aliis causis, nos ad hoc juste moventibus, supplicationi ejusdem Johannis de Waurain annuentes, eundem de nostre regie potestatis plenitudine, certa sciencia, speciali gratia, et auctoritate regia legitimavimus et legitimamus per presentes, ac legitimacionis titulo decoramus; ipsum quoque in judicio et extra amodo pro legitimo reputari et censeri volumus et haberi. Concedentes eidem et cum eo dispensentes ut ipsius bona mobilia, temporalia, et immobilia quecumque acquirere et jam acquisita possidere valeat et tenere, et de eisdem inter vivos vel in testamento disponere ad sue libitum voluntatis; ad successionem quoque patris et matris suorumque

amicorum carnalium et aliorum quorumlibet ex testamento vel ab intestato, dummodo de eorum processerit voluntate, et nisi alteri foret jus jam quesitum, succedere possit et valeat; et ad quoscunque honores, officia, et alios actus legitimos admittatur, ac si esset de legitimo matrimonio procreatus. Et eciam quod sui liberi, si quos habeat, totaque ejus posteritas de legitimo matrimonio procreanda, in bonis suis quibuscunque eidem jure hereditario succedant et succedere valeant, nisi aliud quam deffectus hujusmodi natalium repugnet; predicto deffectu (quem prorsus abolemus), jure, constitutione, statuto, lege edito, et consuetudine, usu generali vel locali regni nostri ad hoc contrariis, non obstantibus quibuscunque. Solvendo tamen semel nobis financiam per dilectas et fideles gentes compotorum nostrorum aut thesaurarios componendam. Quocirca predictis gentibus compotorum nostrorum, et thesaurariis, omnibusque et singulis justiciariis et officiariis nostris, vel eorum locatenentibus, presentibus et futuris quibuscunque, et eorum cuilibet, prout ad eum pertinuerit, mandamus districtius injungendo quatinus prefatum Johannem de Waurain nostra presenti legitimacione et gratia uti et gaudere pacifice faciant et permittant absque quovis impedimento; quod si factum vel appositum reperierint, illud revocent et ad statum prestinum et debitum reducant et reduci faciant pariter et adnullari indilate visis presentibus. Quibus, ut ea firma et stabilia perpetuo perseverint, nostrum duximus apponi sigillum, nostro in aliis, et in omnibus quolibet alieno jure, semper salvo. Datum Bituris mense Octobris, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo septimo, et regni nostri vicesimo quinto. Sic signatum per regem in suo consilio.—*De la Loere. Visa-consentor. P. le Picart.*

II.

Anonymous Continuation of Monstrelet's Chronicle.

(Harl. MS. No. 4424.)

Prologue.

Pur ramener en perpetuele memore les nobles et haulz fais darmes aduenus es royaumes de France, dAngleterre, dYtalie, de Flandres, de Normandie, dAlemaigne, et en aulcuns aultres lieux en la Christiente, et pour donner consolation aux lisans, et exemple a tous nobles hommes pour entreprendre haulz fais darmes et notables, a lexemple de ceux qui par perpetuele memore en sont recommandez apres leur mort, et pour fuyr oyseuse, qui est lentree ouuerte a tous vices, je me suis dispose de faire et composer ceste presente cronique, en faisant laquelle je me suiz par la plusgrande et meure enqueste que jay peu informe des fais darmes contenus en ceste presente cronique non pas par ung seul, mais par pluseurs qui ont este presens aux besongnes, et qui mont samblez dignes de foy en traittant les besongnes selon la verite, tout le plus que jay peu sans hayne et sans faueur si come il apartient teles choses faire. Car a la verite mieulz vault les choses laissier sans escripre se elles ne sont vraies que les escripre faulses. Jassoice que souuent aduiengne que crainte et amour, hayne et convoitise, facent souuent maintes gens deuyer de vray jugement. Oultre je me suiz si meurement informe, que je nay fait les histoires grosser que lan ne fust passe aprez quelles sont aduenues afin que plus vraiement jen peusse estre certain. Mais je prye aux lisans et aux escoutans quilz me vueillent tenir pour excuse silz oyent ou lisent chose qui ne leur soit agreable ne plaisante, puis que je me suiz delibere de dire verite selon les relations que jay eues de ceulz

qui des choses mont informe. Je commence mon traittiet en lan mil iiij^{c} et xliiij., la ou fine Enguerran de Monstrelet son second liure, et le fine en lan mil iiij^{c}lxxj.

III.

(MS. Reg. 15 E. iv.)

PROLOGUE de lacteur sur la totalle recollation des sept volumes des anchiennes et nouvelles croniques dAngleterre a la totale loenge du noble roy Edouard de (*erasure*) v^{e} de ce nom. etc^{ta}.

Edouard, par la grace de Dieu roy de France et dAngleterre, seigneur dIrlande, pourceque au commencement de toutes choses contendans a bonne fin, selong la scentence des philozophes anchiens doit estre grace requise a celluy dont on la desire impetrer, en enssuant cest ordre decent mesmes a parsonne tant digne que vous, sire tres magnanime, ainchois que plus avant procede ou parfait de mon labeur entreprins, requier pardon de mes deffaultes avec correction licite par vostre grace renommee, pour laquele cuidier augmenter me suis de la presente oeuvre entremis, apres plusieurs fantasies doubtivement examinees, pesant leffect du commenchier de mon tres rude entendement quant a si noble charge emprendre, tumber ou parfond cavain de labysme traconal du sourgon et fontaine des haultes et flourissans hystores, emprinses et conquestes victorieuses du fatal principe jusques en diffinition du tres anchien royaulme renomme et peuple redoubte de la noble isle dEngleterre, pour ce mesmement que a mon samblant variable et doubtif en mesprendre aulcuns de mon concepveur incertains me pourroyent ce travail laborieux imputer a folle vanite ou emprinse presumptueuse ; comme ainsi soit que des

advenues dudit royaulme dont je veul et contentz, au Dieu plaisir, faire recueil et poursieute entiere, soit aucunement touchie en lieux divers qui pourroit aux dessudits sambler souffissance. Mais pour telz entendements contenter je proteste presentement que se en lisant et examinant les escriptures des anchiens historiographes je neusse trouve pluiseurs corruptions de verite par simcopations taciturnes et ampliations fallacieuses, sommierement prejudiciables a la parfection de vostre majeste directe, jamais ne me feusse avanchie de cest dilligence et paine laborieuse presumer en vostre faveur. Neantmoins, tres chier sire honnourable, apres pluseurs debas et molestes de corage mobile, mettant toutes doubtes arriere, moy, plus confiant en vostre grace pleniere que en mon sens rural, comme indigne et non souffissant, ardant en laugmentation et ampliement de vostre noble renommee ja clerement resplendissant par les rayes vertueux de vos belles victores, fatales et heureuses emprinses, par toutes terres espandues, considerant lheure propice et temps utille a ycelle canonisier, imprimer et intronisier par deseure les elemenz, poursievant la vraye genealogie de vos nobles predicesseurs par aucun terme ruynee, presentement regenere ou droit climat de sa regalite par heureuse et deue fortune, me suis en dilection plaisante advenchie par desir obstine de, a vostre loenge principalement declarable, en lieu decent et raisonnable querir, entammer, moyenner et parfunir les anchiennes et nouvelles croniques de la dite tres fertille et bellique isle dAngleterre, depuis la premiere habitation dicelle jusques au temps de vostre ampliation ; a laquelle je commenceray labourer sur le vii^e^ volume de mon oeuvre ; sachant, comme dist est, yceulx non avoir este jusques a present parsievis souffissamment en volumes consonans, sinon par petis traities et hystores cassees, excepte par maistre Jehan Froissart et Engueran de Monstrelet, quy, comme il

appert par la prosecution et lecture de leurs escripts, plus amplement traiterent en faveur patrial que de verite sermentee, ou grant prejudice de la vostre noble et droituriere ancession et succession lupardine, taisant ou minuant aucunement, comme jay apprins par lenqueste, du resveil de vos victoires souvent ce qui touche vostre exaltation envertence damour subgecte. Lesqueles choses ainsi passees et souffertes seroyent grandement au prejudice de vos gestes et industrie parsonele, se, par diligent examen nestoit le deffault relevele; considere encoires le magnanime propos delibere de vostre royal corage, lequel tres dignement loable apert, par vision arrestee, estre augmentation dhistoyre en poursieute de mon labeur a vostre loenge et honneur; avec ce que desja si vaillamment vous estes en vostre royal degre conduit, tellement quil est tout notoire vous estre bien de Dieu ame, qui, par divine provision, vous a restitue en vostre lieu deu, jadis inhumainement usurpe. Pour quoy, tres chier sire, il est de raison sans excuse que avec le Createur, qui au relief de vostre exaltation se entremet, les creatures si employent. Laquelle chose par longue espace en mon coeur tacitement ruminee, voyant ycelle poursievir commencement de bon effect, affin de moy deuement acquiter, puisque la vision me continuoit, je me suis delibere a mon pooir de satisfaire devers vous, congnoissant le sang leonique et lupardin estre par conjunctions fraterneles de loables aliances experientement unis en ung par vaines de ruisseaulx fluans journelement, lesquels loyaument entretenues les dis animaulx redoubtes par espece de furieuse nature meslee de prudence, atempree et arousee par liqueur damour inseparable avec gouvernement droiturier, accompaignies de martienne estude et dilligence bellique corrigeront le maulvais sang et extirperont les espines enrachinees entre les oliviers fructueux, qui par longue sterilite malheureuse ont

empeschie a la fertilite des humaines labeurs, et tellement exploiterront en la benediction de Dieu nostre Seigneur, quilz en acquerront avec le loyer perdurable la bienvoellance de tout leur poeuple en loenge perpetuelle, memorable entre les preux. A quoy dilligamment procurer, je proteste moy employer selon la possibilite de mon petit entendement. Quant au regard des fais glorieux comme jay chy-dessus promis, souffissaument acerterne que au moindre pourfit qui de mon labeur pourra naistre, les nobles et populaires qui par deffaulte de lecture redigee ou matiere a droit taillie nont par cy-devant congneu la obligation de vraye obedience royale, ycelluy mon dit labeur devant eulx seme et espars, et par desir de nouvelite concheu, aprenderont par diligence doresenavant a parfaitement obeyr, amer, honnourer et servir, plus que oncques mais, celuy noble roy Edouard V^e^, qui plus que nul son ancesseur en sera trouve digne se bien on cherche ses vertus, auquel humblement je supplie le commencement de ma bonne voulente accepter pour fin acomplie es loenges de sa valleur ou je me presume entremettre. etc^ta^.

Fin de nostre Prologue.

INDEX.

INDEX.

A.

Abaed. *See* Merencoriens.

Abdon, judge of the Hebrews, 40.

Acallius, king of Denmark, 379.

Acestes. *See* Axerces.

Achilles, 44.

Aclud, city built by Ebrot, 85; Hoelus lies sick at, 360; Arthur arrives at, 364.

Acquilee (Aquileia), Maximus slain in, 177.

Adjonet. *See* Ajonet.

Adriaticque, the, Brutus arrives in, 37.

Adryane (Ariadne), the goddess, referred to in Merlin's Prophecies, 280.

Aeller (Allectus), sent by the Roman senate to Britain, 163; slain by the Britons, 164.

Aeneas. *See* Eneas.

Affricains, 1; invade Briton under Gurmond, 453.

Affrique, Brutus arrives in, 67.

Agalaes, queen of the country called Wales, 500.

Agamenon (Agamemnon), commands the Grecian army 42.

Agampus, king of Gaul, marries Cordelia, daughter of King Leir, 88; dies, 91.

Agnoleseth. *See* Aneleseth.

Agornorille (Goneril), eldest daughter of King Leir, 87; marries the king of Scotland, 88.

Ajonet (Adjonet), regent of Britain on behalf of Maximus, betrothes his daughter, Ursula, to Conan, king of Armorica, 174.

Alain, king of Armorica, referred to in Merlin's Prophecies, 247; receives King Cadwalader at his court, 494; his advice to him, 496.

Albana, king of Cyrenia, marries his daughter to King Diodicias, 7.

Albanacus, third son of Brutus, and king of Albania, the division of Britain so called after him, 77; slain by a King Humbert, 77.

Albane (Albanum), city built by Ascanius, 55.

Albanie (Albania), the division of Britain assigned to Albanacus, son of Brutus, 77; called an island in the Prophecies of Merlin, 254; Aneleseth, king of, 369.

Albanye. *See* Albanie.

Albe, river in Burgundy, the Romans encamp near the, 401; King Arthur encamps on the, 409.

Albine, daughter of King Diodicias, gives the name to the island which she discovers, 5; the eldest of fourteen sisters, 8; her discontent at her marriage, 11; incites her sisters to acts of disobedience against their husbands, 12; her speeches to her sisters, 14, 16; murders her husband, the king of Damascus, 26; is taken prisoner with her sisters and brought before King Diodicias, 28; sentence passed on them, 29; is put to sea in an open boat with her sisters, 29; discovers the island which she calls after her own name, 33; becomes pregnant by the arts of the devil, and has children, who are giants, 34.

Albion, Island of, 2; the name given by Albine, daughter of Diodicias, 15.

Aldroen, king of Lesser Britain, 180. *See* Constantine.

Alestang (Athelstan), first Saxon king of Britain, 500.
Alfrid (also called Eldefrid), and Jouath, nephews of Penda, make war on Oswy, 483.
Allectus. *See* Aeller.
Allemaigne (Germany), 86 ; subjugated by the Britons under Belinus, 102.
Allemans (Germans), 102,
Allobroges (Allogres, Allobogres), province of the, 384 ; Arthur decides on meeting the Romans in the, 392 ; the people of, called Burgundians, 392.
Alpes (Alps), referred to in Merlin's Prophecies, 256; Arthur about to cross the, 434.
Allyduc de Tintagol, a Briton chief in King Arthur's army, slain in battle, 410.
Amaso. *See* Damaso.
Amatha (Amata), wife of Latinus, 50 ; kills herself, 52.
Amaury, son of Caradoc, earl of Cornwall, sent to Rome to bring over Maximus to Britain, 171.
Amazones, women of Scythia, 17, 18.
Ambrith, mount of, so called from the founder of a convent near by, 309 ; the burial place of the Britons murdered by Englist ; the stones from Mount Kilareth set up at, 316; Aurelius Ambrosius buried at, 328; Uther Pendragon buried at, 352.
Amires. *See* Marye.
Anathus, a Greek, taken prisoner by Brutus, is made the agent of delivering the Grecian army to destruction, 61, 62.
Anchises. *See* Eneas.
Androgenes, king of Britain, 101.
Androgenes (Androgeus), son of King Lud, 121 ; joins Cassibellanus against the Romans, 126; his quarrel with Cassibellanus, 137 ; allies himself with Julius Cæsar, 141 ; assists in the defeat of Cassibellanus, and is afterwards the mediator for peace between him and the Romans, 143 ; returns to Gaul with Cæsar, 147.
Aneleseth (Agnoleseth, Angelus, and Angueleseth), king of Albania, 369 ; his speech before King Arthur, 390 ; commands the left wing of King Arthur's army against the Romans, 414 ; killed, 440.
Aneleseth—*cont.*
Angelus. *See* Aneleseth.
Angiers (Anjou), Gaius, duke of, 376, 381 ; slain in battle, 423.
Angloiz (Englist), called "the lion." Referred to in Merlin's Prophecies, 238.
Angueleseth. *See* Aneleseth.
Anne, daughter of Uther Pendragon, married to Loth, duke of Londonesia, 344.
Ansigius, king of Norway, marries his daughter to Brennus, 96.
Anthenor, a Trojan ; sent by King Priam to treat with the Grecians, 41 ; accompanies Paris and other Trojans in the abduction of Helen, 41 ; betrays the city of Troy to Ulysses and Diomed, 43 ; arrives at the city of Venice with his followers, founds the cities of Genoa and Padua in Lombardy, and is buried at the latter town, 45.
Anthenoridein, name given by the followers of Antenor to the modern city of Venice, 45.
Anthioce (Antioch), city of, 7.
Antigonus, a Greek, brother of the King Pandrasus, taken prisoner by Brutus, 59.
Antigonus, king of Greece, defeats Brennus, 111.
Apolin (Apollo), temple of, 44; evil spirit in the image of, 65.
Apuleyus, referred to, as to the nature of "incubi," 224.
Apulia. *See* Puille.
Aquileia. *See* Acquilee.
Aquitaine, Gauffier, king of, 71 ; Brutus leaves, 73 ; subjugated by Arthur, 376.
Arabes, mentioned in the prophecies of Merlin, 244.
Argal, king of Britain, deposed by the barons, and restored again by his brother Helidus, 115.
Argoris, a knight in the army of Queen Gwendoline, 81.
Ariadne. *See* Adryane.
Aristones (Sosthenes), king of Macedonia *See* Brenius.

Armo, mountain of. *See* Richonne.

Armoricque (Armorica), the country of, conquered by Corineus and called by him Lesser Britain, 75 ; subjugated by Julius Cæsar, 123 ; possessed by Maximus, who gives it over to Conan, 173.

Artival, king of Britain, 119.

Artois, Philip, duke of Burgundy, count of, 2.

Artus (Arthur), son of Uther Pendragon, 338; (called the "boar of Cornwall" in Merlin's Prophecies, 230); his birth, 343; is crowned king at Gloucester, 353; leads his army against and defeats the Saxons at York, 355; raises the siege of York and retires to London, 357; is joined by Hoelus, king of Armorica, with an army at Southampton, 358; attacks the Saxons in the province of Lindicolnie and drives them into the forest of Caledon, 359 ; marches thence into Somersetshire and defeats the Saxons at Bath, 360; returns to the north to relieve his uncle Hoelus in the city of Aclud, 364; besieges the Scots in the lake of Lynoyoth, and defeats Gillomarus, king of Ireland, who had come to their assistance, 366; returns to York, 368; espouses Guenever, 370; brings to his subjection the kings of Iceland, Gothland, and the Orkneys, 370; invades Norway and Denmark, and subjugates these countries, 372; lands in Gaul, where he defeats Forlonus, the Roman governor of the kingdom, 373; his combat with Forlonus, 375 ; subjugates Gaul, Poitou, Acquitaine, and Gascony, 376; returns to Britain, 376; celebrates the festival of Pentecost at Caerleon, 379 ; receives the Roman embassy from Tiberius, 383 ; summons a council of his chiefs, at which it is determined to refuse obedience to the demands of the senate, 386–391 ; commands his army to meet at Barfleur, 392 ; appoints Mordreth, his nephew, regent, and guardian of his wife, and sets sail from Southampton, 393; his dream at sea, 393; combat with the Spanish giant, 398 ; encamps

Artus—*cont.*

his army on the river Albe, 401; sends to the emperor's camp three ambassadors to demand the withdrawal of the Roman army, 402 ; addresses his army on the battle field, 415; obtains the victory over the Romans, 422; subjugates all the towns of Burgundy, 435; prepares to cross the Alps, but is deterred by the news of Mordreth's treason, 435 ; withdraws his army to Gaul and thence crosses over to Britain, 438; is met by Mordreth at the port of Nirutupith, where he defeats Mordreth, 440; obtains a second victory at Winchester, 442 ; pursues Mordreth into Cornwall, fights with and kills him at Cambula ; Arthur mortally wounded, 445, 446; retires with the remnant of his army (in all nine knights) to a hermitage, and bequeaths his crown to Constantine, son of the king of Cornwall, 447 ; his death differently described, 447.

Arviragus, king of Britain, son of Hambelinus, defeats Claudius at Porchester, 150 ; beheads Lelius Hamo, the murderer of his brother Guiderius, 151 ; makes peace with Claudius and espouses his daughter Genois, 153 ; defends the kingdom against Vespasian, 154.

Ascanius, son of Æneas, 36 ; accompanies his father from Troy, 46 ; succeeds his father to the crown of Latium, 55 ; builds the city of Albanum and reigns for 38 years, 55.

Asclepidos (Asclepiodatus), chosen king of Britain, defeats the Roman generals Allectus and Gallus, 164 ; is slain by Choel, earl of Leicester, 165.

Asclepiodatus. *See* Asclepidos.

Assarat, son of Ebrot, king of Britain, 85 ; chosen chief over his eighteen brothers sent to invade Germany, 86.

Assairacus. *See* Brutus.

Assillik, king of Denmark, killed in battle, 446.

Athelstan. *See* Alestang.

Athenes (Athens), the Grecian army assemble at, 42.

Augustus, name taken by the Roman emperors, 56.

Aurelius (Aurelius Ambrosius) [*See* note p. 294], son of Constantine, king of Britain, 183; is sent by the barons, on the usurpation of Vortigern, to Armorica, 189; returns to Britain and is crowned, 290; besieges Vortigern in his castle of Genorre, and burns the castle, 293; marches against the Saxons, 296; defeats Englist at Koningsburg, 303; returns to London to settle the public affairs, 308; at the request of the bishop of Gloucester he visits the tombs of the murdered Britons at Salisbury, and determines on erecting a fitting monument there, 309; sends for the prophet Merlin, who advises him to procure certain large stones from the mountain of Kilareth in Ireland, 311; despatches an army under the command of his brother Uther, to obtain those stones, 312; celebrates a festival at Mount Ambrith, where the stones are erected 317; is seized with illness at Winchester 323; is poisoned by a Saxon named Coppa at the instigation of Pascent, 324; is buried at Mount Ambrith in the Giants circle, 328.

Aurelius Canault (Conan), murders his uncle Constantine, and is crowned king of Britain, 451.

Autun. *See* Ostum.

Auvergne, subjugated by Julius Cæsar 123.

Auxerre. *See* Saint Germain.

Avalon, king of Britain, 117.

Avalon, Isle of, 362, 447.

Aven, mountain of, 330.

Axerces (Acestes), king of Drepana in Sicily, 47.

Aymalec (Amalekites), king of, 305.

Azares, mountains of, 66.

Azincourt. *See* Wavrin.

B.

Babiloniens, take Jerusalem, 284.

Bade (Blade, Bladone, Vado), city built, by King Bladus, 87; prophecy respecting the city, 249; besieged by the Saxons, 360.

Baieulx. *See* Beduerus.

Baiolgas. *See* Beduerus.

Baltucus, brother of the Saxon duke Colgrin, is defeated by Cadore, duke of Cornwall, 355; joins his brother in York, 356; slain in battle, 364.

Bangor, convent of monks in, 459; Eldefrid, king of Northumberland, defeated at the city of, 462.

Bangornansith. *See* Bangor.

Barbefluith (Barfleur), Arthur appoints his army to meet at, 392.

Barfleur. *See* Barbefluith.

Basian (Basianus), son of Severus by his British wife, is crowned king of Britain, 159; slain in battle by Carausius, 162.

Basse Bretaigne, name given to the country of Armorica to distinguish from Great Britain, 6.

Basse Hibernie, former name for England, 5.

Bede. *See* Caduualladreth.

Beduerus (Benero), duke of Normandy and Esturia, seneschal and constable of King Arthur, is made duke of Normandy, 376; accompanies Arthur in his combat with the Spanish giant, 397; is killed in battle against the Romans, 424; is buried at Baiolgas, now called Baieulx (Bayeux), 434.

Benero. *See* Beduerus.

Belinus, constable of the British army, 126.

Belinus, son of Donal, king of Britain; succeeds to the kingdom, with the provinces of Logria, Wales, and Cornwall as his territory, 95; quarrels with his brother Brennus, 96; seizes his inheritance, 96; defeats Brennus and the Norwegians, 98; makes peace with, and is joined by Brennus, 100; subjugates the countries from

Belinus—*cont.*
Gaul to Italy, 102; invades Germany, 102; defeats the Roman consuls who had come to the assistance of the Germans, 104; captures and sacks the city of Rome, 105; returns to Britain, and builds the city of Caerleon on Uske, and also the gate called Billingsgate on the river Thames at London, 106; dies at London, 107.
Belnesgace (Bricache), Billingsgate built on the Thames, at London, 106.
Belue, a sea monster killed by Morbidus, king of Britain, 113.
Bessonus (Bosonus, Bozo), earl of Montfort (Exinceford or Oxford) and Richedent, a Briton noble in King Arthur's army, 402, 406, 408.
Bethli, son of Emuanus, 474.
Blace. *See* Phantholus.
Blade. *See* Bade.
Bladus, king of Britain, son of Rahudibras, builds the city of Bath and the baths there; his strange death, 87.
Bladus, son of Ebrot, king of Britain, 85.
Bledent. *See* Blederith.
Blederith (Bledent), duke of Cornwall, defeats the king of Northumberland, 462.
Bledo, king of Britain, 118.
Blegabet, king of Britain, 119.
Bocto, king of the Medes, 423.
Bodlano, Jannus de, a Briton noble in King Arthur's army, slain in battle, 426.
Bolconius, a baron in King Arthur's army, slain in battle, 426.
Boloan, son of Ebrot, king of Britain, 85.
Borellus, duke of Mans, 379.
Borellus, a Briton earl, 409, 411, 412.
Bosonus. *See* Bessonus.
Boulogne-sur-mer, Cæsar builds the Tower of Order at, 123; Cæsar returns to, after his defeat, 134; Leodegaris, duke of, 379.
Bourgignons. *See* Allobroges.
Bourgoigne (Burgundy) and Limburg, Philip, duke of, 2; the kingdom of subjugated by Cæsar, 123; Arthur arrives in, 401.
Bozo. *See* Bessonus.
Brabant, Philip, duke of, 2.
Brayus. *See* Gaius.
Brenius (Brennus), son of Donal and brother of Belinus; takes as his territory Northumberland and Wernorth, 95; disputes with Belinus the right of doing homage, declares war, and goes to Norway for aid, 96; marries the daughter of the Norwegian king, and sets sail for Britain, 96; is attacked at sea by Gurlat, king of Denmark, 97; lands in Britain and being defeated by Belinus flees into Gaul, 98; seeks the court of Segius, duke of Sens, in Burgundy; marries the duke's daughter, and succeeds to the kingdom, 99; invades Britain with a large army, but is reconciled by his mother to Belinus, 100; assists his brother in the subjugation of Gaul, Italy, and Germany, 102; accompanies Belinus to Rome, and sacks the city, 105; his army defeated by Camillus, 107; invades Macedonia and defeats King Sosthenes, 109; attacks the city of Delphos to get possession of the temple of Apollo, is defeated, 109; kills himself for grief thereat, according to Justin, 110.
Bretaigne (Britain), invaded by Julius Cæsar, 126; pays tribute to Rome, 145; is divided among the Saxons, 496.
Bretaigne-la-grant, name given to the island by Brutus, to distinguish it from Basse Bretaigne, 6.
Bretons, defeated and subjected by Julius Cæsar, 126; retreat to the province of Wales, 498.
Bretons, Anglois, 273.
Bretons, Armoricques, 425.
Bretons, Latins, 55.
Brianus, nephew of Caduale, 464; incites his uncle to resist the claim of Edwin, king of the Northumbrians, 465; proves his attachment to King Caduale, 469; returns to Britain, 475; kills Edwin's sorcerer, 477; defends the city of Exeter against the Saxons, 478.
Brianth. *See* Brianus.
Bricache. *See* Belnesgace.
Briselle. *See* Merlin.

Bructus (Brutus), 6 ; son of Julius (Iulus) and grandson of Ascanius, 56 ; kills his father while hunting, 57 ; is banished from his country, and betakes himself to Greece, raises the Trojans there in rebellion against King Pandrasus, 57 ; his letter to the king, 58 ; defeats the Grecians for the first time, 59 ; his stratagem for the destruction of the Grecian army, 61 ; makes conditions for peace, 63 ; marries Inogent, the daughter of Pandrasus, and leaves Greece, 64 ; arrives at the island of Leogetia, and offers sacrifices to the goddess Diana, 65 ; advice of the goddess to Brutus, 66 ; he falls in with a colony of Trojans, on the Tyrian sea, under their chief Corineus, 67 ; joins his forces to these and arrives in Armorica, 68 ; defeats King Gauffier and ravages the country, 69, 70 ; departs from Armorica, and arrives in the island of Albion, whence he drives out or slays the giants inhabiting it, 73 ; apportions the island between himself and Corineus, 75 ; builds the city of New Troy, on the Thames, 76 ; his death, 76.
Bructus, history of, 55, 147.
Bruges (Dhernaut or Thernant), a town in Flanders. *See* Holdinius.
Brust, history of, referred to, 50.
Brutus Vert Escu, son of Ebrot, king of Britain, 85.
Buel, son of Ebrot, king of Britain, 85.

C.

Cabellus, a Roman general, 403.
Cadore, duke of Cornwall, defeats Baltucus and the Saxons, 355 ; defeats the Germans under Cedric, 365 ; his speech to King Arthur, 385 ; is appointed to conduct the Roman prisoners to Paris, 409 ; is slain in battle against Mordreth, 446.
Cador-Limenilz. *See* Cadore.
Caduala Lauirth, king of the Venedotians, 378.
Caduale (Cadualus), referred to in Merlin's Prophecies, 231 ; son of Cadwan, is sent to the court of Armorica, 464 ; returns to Britain to assume the crown, 465 ; his conference with Edwin, son of king Ethelfrid of Northumbria, 465 ; refuses to accede to his demand, 468 ; is defeated by Edwin and flees into Ireland, 468 ; departs for Armorica, 469 ; his adventures and arrival in Lesser Britain, 470 ; his address to king Salemon, 471 ; returns to Britain, 478 ; defeats and kills Edwin at Hedfeld, 479 ; defeats Osric and afterwards Oswald at Burne, 482 ; makes peace with Oswy, 486 ; his death, 487.
Cadualus. *See* Caduale.
Caduant, king of Scotland, 482.
Caduanth or Cauanth (Cadwan), king of the Venedotians, 462 ; king of Britain 463 ; makes peace with Ethelfrid, king of Northumbria, 463 ; receives at his court the wife of Ethelfrid ; has a son named Caduale, 464.
Caduualladreth (Cadwalader), king of Britain, son of Caduale, called Egoual by Bede, 489 ; is seized with illness after reigning 12 years ; the destructive famine and pestilence during his reign, 490 ; departs from Britain with his people, and goes to the king of Armorica, 494 ; desires to return to his country, 496 ; his dream and its results, 497 ; sets forth for Rome, where he dies, 499.
Caduvach. *See* Conan.
Caen. *See* Gaius.
Caercaradoc. *See* Salsebric.
Caerconan. *See* Coningsburg.
Caercordy. *See* Couroie.
Caercordy. *See* Kaercordy.
Caerleil (or Carduil), city built by Leir, king of Britain, 86.
Caerleir, city built by King Leir on the Soar, now Leicester, 87.
Caerleon (Caerlus Chaterlus, or Legionne), city built on the Uske by Belinus, 106. Referred to in Merlin's Prophecies, 230 ; Dubritius, archbishop of, 317, 353 ; Arthur holds a festival at, 377.
Caerlindeoch, city of, 358.

CENTRAL

Caerlud, name given to Trinovant, 120.
Cæsar, Claudius. *See* Claudien.
Cæsar, Julle (Julius). *See* Cæsar.
Cæsar, Lucius Tiberius. *See* Tiberius.
Calabre (Calabria), subjugated by Belinus, 102.
Caliburne, king Arthur's sword, 362, 363, 375, 429.
Calidonienne, forest. Referred to in Merlin's Prophecies, 253.
Calidone, forest of, 359 (called Cat Coit Celidon in the Briton language).
Cambelinus. *See* Kambelinus.
Camber, second son of Brutus, possesses the country of Cambria, 77 ; is subjected by Queen Gwendoline, 81.
Cambrie, 77, 254.
Cambula (Camlann), battle fought at, 443.
Camille (Camilla), queen, killed in battle against Æneas, 51.
Camillus, defeats Brennus, 107.
Canapile. *See* Diodicias.
Cangu, son of Ebrot, king of Britain, 85.
Canterbury. *See* Cantorbie.
Cantocoriens (people of Kent), Ethelbert, king of, 460.
Cantorbie (Canterbury), city built by Rahudibras, 87.
Capolus, king of Britain, 119.
Cappius Oenus, king of Britain, 119.
Carausius. *See* Karras.
Carduil. *See* Caerleil.
Carenth, 454, 455.
Caritius (or Carutius), Quintus, a Roman general, 392, 410, 421.
Carthage. *See* Eneas.
Cassandra, daughter of Priam, 42.
Cassibellant. *See* Cassibellanus.
Cassibellanus, son of Heli, 120 ; is chosen king, 121 ; his answer to Cæsar's letter, 124 ; defeats the Romans, and drives them back to sea, 127 ; repulses and expels the Romans a second time, 133; his quarrel with Androgenes, 137 ; is defeated by Cæsar and Androgenes, 142; concludes a peace with the Romans, 146 ; dies at York, 148.
Castor and Pollux, 40.
Catellus, Lucius, a Roman general, 421.
Catellus, Vitellius, a Roman general, 410, 412.
Cathenesse (or Cathenoix), Caithness, territory possessed by Brennus, 95 ; causeway made from Cornwall to, 98 ; the territory given to the Picts by king Maurius, 155.
Cathenoix. *See* Cathenesse.
Cathericus (Catherick), (referred to in Merlin's Prophecies, 230), king of Britain, 453, 454.
Catigern (Karticheru or Kartigern), son of Vortigern, 200 ; joins his father against Vorcimer, is killed in battle, 206.
Catillus, king of Britain, 118.
Cato. *See* Chaton.
Catullus, a Roman general, 392.
Catyllus, a Roman general, 392, 421.
Cecile. *See* Sicily.
Cedric. *See* Thedric.
Celericus, a Saxon duke in the army of Mordreth, 446.
Celianth, archbishop of Dol, 383.
Cenes Macoyt. 378.
Cercius, king of Britain, 118.
Cerirain (Cerdic), king of the Saxons allied with Mordreth, 439.
Cernu, son of Ebrot, king of Britain, 85.
Certorius. *See* Sertorius.
Cerxes, king of the Icturi, 392.
Cesar (Cæsar), Julle, (Gaius Julius), 106; conquers Gaul and other countries, 122 ; builds the Tower of Order at Boulogne, whence he sees the island of Britain, 123; his letter to Cassibellanus, 124 ; invades Britain, 126 ; is defeated and driven back by Cassibellanus, 127 ; returns to Boulogne, 122 ; appeases the Gauls, 131; lands in Britain, and is again expelled, 133 ; joins in alliance with Androgenes, 141 ; takes a third army into Britain, and defeats Cassibellanus, 142 ; receives tribute from the Britons, 145 ; returns to France, 147.
Cestebric (Chester or Decenfort), castle of, built by Rahudibras, 87.
Chancie (Kent), province of, 200.
Chartres, Gerinus, count of, 379.

Chaterlus. *See* Caerleon.
Chaton (Cato), refuses a triumph to Cæsar, 147.
Chester, castle of. *See* Cestebric.
Chitaree (Cytherea), island of, the Trojans arrive at the, 41.
Choel, earl of Leicester, kills Asclepiodatus, 165 ; is crowned king, 166 ; pays tribute to Constantius, 166.
Circilius (Salicius or Scicilius), king of Britain, 93.
Cirenne (Cyrenia), Albana, king of, 7.
Claudien (Claudius), invades Britain, is defeated by Arviragus, 152 ; concludes a peace by giving his daughter in marriage to Arviragus, returns to Rome, 153.
Clavecaert. *See* Thanet.
Clincorth (Dinooth), abbot of Bangor, refuses to assist St. Augustine in converting the Saxons, 459, 460.
Clocestre. *See* Gloucestre.
Clofault Kinninmanethon, 379.
Cloten, a British baron, 94.
Cloudiocenth. *See* Gloucestre.
Cocta, son of Englist, summoned from Germany, 203 ; surrenders with his uncle Orsus to Aurelius, 306 ; break their allegiance, 329 ; are defeated and taken prisoners, 332 ; make their escape to Germany, 343 ; lead an army of Saxons into Britain, 344 ; killed in battle, 349.
Cocta, Gaius Metellus, 392.
Cocta, Petreius, 408.
Colcos (Colchis), island of, 40,
Colgrinus, duke of the Saxons, 353 ; defeated by Arthur, at York, 355 ; killed in battle, 364.
Cologne. *See* Coullogne.
Collaterien, the wood of, referred to in Merlin's Prophecies, 257.
Compart. *See* Ostones.
Conan, 75 ; nephew of Ostones, opposes Maximus in Britain, and is defeated by him, 172 ; receives the kingdom of Armorica from Maximus, 173 ; called Caduvach, in Merlin's Prophecies, 243.
Constance. *See* Constant.
Constant, son of Constantine, 183 ; a monk at Winchester, 183 ; is induced by Vortigern to accept the crown, 184 ; is murdered by the Picts, 188.
Constant (Constantius), sent by the Roman senate to Britain, receives tribute from King Choel, 166; marries his daughter Helen, and is crowned king, has a son, Constantine, 167.
Constantin (Constantine), son of Constantius, 167; is crowned king, 168; deposes Maxentius emperor of Rome, 169.
Constantin (Constantine), brother of Aldroen, king of Armorica, sent with an army to aid the Britons, 182; is crowned, 183; killed by a Pict, 183.
Constantin (Constantine), nephew of King Arthur, and by him proclaimed his heir, 447; is crowned king, 449; pursues and slays the sons of Mordreth, 450; is murdered by his nephew, 450.
Constantinoble, (Constantinople), 2.
Coppa, a Saxon in the army of Pascent, poisons king Aurelius at Winchester, 324.
Corbueil, count of. *See* Cordeille.
Cordeille (Cordelia), youngest daughter of king Leir ; incurs her father's wrath, is married to Agampus, king of Gaul, 88; receives her father at court on his flight from Britain, 91; leads an army into the island and restores the crown to her father, 91; reigns after his death, her wars with her nephews, is assisted by the dukes of Sens and Laon and the count of Corbueil, 91; her death according to different authors, 92.
Corinee. *See* Cornevaille.
Corineus, chief of a colony of Trojans, discovered by Brutus, 67; joins his forces with those of Brutus, 68; arrives with the Britons in the island of Albion, 73; his combat with the giant Geogmagon, 74; chooses the portion of the island which he calls Cornwall, 75; returns to Armorica, which he conquers, 75; marries his daughter Gwendoline to Lotrin, son of Brutus, 78; dies in Cornwall, 79

Cornubye (Cornwall), Gorlois, duke of, 331; Cadore, duke and king of, 355, 370, 385.
Cornvaille (Corinee), Cornwall, the portion of the island allotted to Corineus, 75.
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Dubritius, bishop of Legionne (Caerleon), 317; crowns Arthur, 353; retires to a hermitage, 383.
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Duman (Duvianus) and Fagan (Faganus), bishops sent from Rome to preach Christianity in Britain, 157.
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Ebracus, son of Malvis, 14.
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Ebrot, king of Britain, pillages the coasts of Flanders, France, and other countries; builds the cities of Ebrach, Karcebrac, and Aclud, and a castle called Montdaguet; has twenty wives and forty children, 85.
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Edvinus (Edwin), son of Ethelfrid, is sent to the court of King Sallemon of Armorica, 463; returns to his kingdom of Northumberland, 464; his conference with Caduale, 464; defeats Caduale near the Humber, 467; is defeated by Caduale at Hedfeld, 478; is slain with his son Offrid and Godboth, king of the Orkneys, 480.
Egbricus, a Saxon duke in the army of Mordreth, 446.
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Eldebert (Ethelbert), king of the Contocorians, makes war on the Britons, 460.
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Elesatinus, king of Spain, killed on the side of the Romans, 425.
Eleuthere (Eleutherius), pope of Rome, 459.
Elgan, son of Ebrot, 85.
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Emnanius, king of Britain, son of Helidus, deposed and exiled by the barons, 117.
Emuanus, son of Malgo, 474.
Eneas, son of Anchises, 37; assists the Trojan princes in their abduction of Queen Helen, 41; sets out from Troy with his father Anchises and family, and arrives at Carthage, 46; arrives in Sicily in the country of King Acestes; buries his father on Mount Eryx in Sicily; builds a city and calls it Troy-restored, 47; leaves Sicily and arrives in the Tiber, 48; is well received by King Latinus, 50; is assisted by Evander against Turnus, 51; defeats Turnus, 52; kills Turnus; marries Lavinia, 53; succeeds Latinus, 54; builds the castle of Lavinum; description of his death by different authors, 54.
Enelinus, nephew of Androgenes, kills Ilregas, 137.
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Enenus, son of King Urian, 440.
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Epiford, valley of, battle fought in, 206.
Epystrefus, king of Media, joins the Roman army, 392.
Eridonius, king of Scotland, accompanies Cassibelanus to battle, 126.
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Escochois (Scots), 177.
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Escure (Stour), river, battle fought on, between Lotrin and Gwendoline, 79.
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Euander, king of Syria (Sirie), joins the Roman army, 392; is made a commander, 410 ; slain in battle, 412.
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Ferrex, brother of Porrex, flies from his brother to Suhart, king of Gaul; is killed in battle against Porrex, 93.
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Flandres (Flanders), Cæsar returns to, from Germany, 123 ; after repulse from Britain, 129 ; King Holdinius buried at Bruges in, 435.
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Flollo. *See* Forlonus.
Forestel. *See* Wavrin.
Forlonus (Frolle, Flollo), Roman governor of Gaul under the emperor Leo, is defeated by Arthur and flees to Paris, 373; is killed by Arthur in a duel on the isle of Notre Dame, 374.
France, the 12 peers (kings) of, 379. *See* Gaul.
Franchois (French), people said to be descended from the Trojans of Sycambre, 45.
Free, goddess worshipped by the Saxons, synonymous with Venus, 191.
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Fulgenes (Fulgenius), chosen leader of the Britons, 158 ; attacks the Romans before York ; is slain in battle, 159.
Fulgenius, king of Britain, 118.

G.

Gabius and Prosana, Roman consuls, 102; defeated by Belinus, 104 ; slain in battle at Rome, 105.
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Gaius (Guehus, Brayus, Kayus, Karo), one of King Arthur's knights, is made duke of Angiers or Anjou, 376 ; killed in battle, 423 ; buried at Caen in Normandy, 435.
Galaes, fountain of, Proph. Merl., 264.
Galays, daughter of Ebrot, king of Britain, 86.
Galbonites (Gibeonites), 306.
Galganus. *See* Gavain.
Galheim, Nicohtes, 379.
Galias, valley of, Proph. Merl., 258.
Gallabas, fountain of, 310.
Gallant de Salcelberict, a Briton earl slain in battle with the Romans, 425.

Galles (Wales), prince of, surnamed Pie deplomb, 236.
Galles (Wales), country possessed by Camber, son of Brutus, 77; origin of its name, 500.
Galloyse, a queen who is said to have given the name to the country of Wales, 291.
Gallus, Roman knight, despatched with Allectus to Britain, 163; killed by the Britons, and thrown into the river called after him Galvie, 165.
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Gand, son of Ebrot, 85.
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Gavain (Galganus), son of Loth, 369; at the court of Pope Simplicius, 372; appointed one of the chiefs of the Briton army, 414; his valiant acts on the battle field, 425, 426; fights with the Emperor Lucius, 427; killed in battle against Mordreth, 440.
Gavianus, king of Hungary, and Melga, king of Scythia (Seice), 176; invade Britain, 177; driven back by Gratian, 177; ravage the island in the north, 179.
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Gedion, king of Briton, 119.
Gemisseres, country of the, Merlin discovered in the, 310.
Geneviere (Guenever), a lady of Roman lineage, married to Arthur, 370; violated by Mordreth, 436; retires to a cloister, 441.
Genois, daughter of Claudius Cæsar, married to Arviragus, 153.
Genorre, castle of, situate on the river Gaye, Vortigern burnt to death in, 293.
Geomagon (or Gomago), chief of the giants inhabiting Britain, slain by Corineus, 74.
Gerinus, count of Chartres, joins the army of King Arthur, and brings the twelve peers of France, 379; is one of the ambassadors sent to demand the withdrawal of the Roman army from Gaul, 402; appointed a commander of the Briton army, 414.
Geronces, king of Britain, 117.
Getain (Geta), son of Severus by his Roman wife, is chosen king of Britain; secretly killed, 159.
Geudoline. *See* Gwendoline.
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Gillarum, a Scottish chief in the army of Mordreth, 446.
Gillomarus, king of Ireland, comes to the aid of the Scots; is defeated by Arthur, 366; submits to Arthur, 370; attends the festival at Caerleon, 378.
Gillomith, king of Ireland, 313; defeated by Uther, 315; allies himself with Pascent, and invades Britain, 321; slain in battle against Uther, 327.
Gillopatric, a Scottish earl in the army of Mordreth, 446.

Gimasius (Gonwais), king of the Orkneys, submits to King Arthur, 370 ; attends the festival at Caerleon, 379.
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Glas. *See* Du Glas.
Gloigem, daughter of Ebrot, 85.
Glois, son of Claudius Cæsar, is created duke of Wales and earl of Gloucester, 153. *See* Gloucestre.
Gloucestre (Gloucester), Clocestre, Cloudiocestre, name given by Claudius to the city founded by him, after his son Glois, 153; prophecies respecting the city, 264, 267; Morvith, earl of, 378.
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Gomago. *See* Geomagon.
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Gorboinath Masgtoyt, 379.
Gorboman, king of Britain, 113.
Gorlois, duke of Cornwall, defeats the Saxons under Cocta and Orsus, 332; withdraws with his wife Ygerne from court, 334; is slain at his castle of Demeloit, 340.
Gormond, king of Africa, subjugates Ireland, 453 ; invades Britain and assists the Saxons, 453; delivers the island to the Saxons, 457. *See* Carenth.
Goroganch, earl of Kent, 200.
Goullandois (Gothlanders), in the service of the king of Hungary, invade Britain, 177.
Gragius (Guigembrateruch), son of Belinus, conquers Denmark; grants the land of Hibernia to Spanish exiles, 108 ; dies at Caerleon, 109.
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Gratien (Gratian), brother of Valentinian, 171 ; slain by Maximus, 174.
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Grece, 2.
Gregory, pope of Rome, sends St. Augustine to Britain, 459.
Grifult Nanoyth, 378.
Grigois (Greeks), Troy twice taken by the, 40.
Guehus. *See* Gaius.
Guelfes (Guelphs), 284.
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Guennelon (Gannelon), 448.
Guertahet, king of North Wales, 126.
Guibelins (Ghibellines), 284.
Guicelin, king of Britain, 111.
Guichardus (Guichart or Gurlat), king of Denmark, attacks and defeats Brennus at sea, 96; is driven to a port in Northumberland by a storm, 97 ; does homage to Belinus on certain conditions, 98.
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Guidart, duke of the Poitevins, submits to Arthur, 376 ; appointed a commander of the Briton army, 415.
Guider, king of Britain, son of Kambelinus, refuses to pay tribute to Rome, 149; is treacherously slain in battle by the Roman Lelius Hamo, 150.
Guincestre. *See* Wincestre.
Guintonie. *See* Wincestre.
Guintonie (*See* Wincestre), Aurelius poisoned at, 324.
Guiscelin, bishop of London, departs for the court of Alain, king of Armorica, seeking aid, 180.
Gurgutius, king of Britain, 93.
Gurgutius, king of Britain, 118.
Gurlat. *See* Guichardus.
Gwendoline (Geudoline, Geudorme, Gaudoline), daughter of Corineus, married to Lotrin, 78; gives birth to a son named Madan, 79 ; quits the court and retires to Cornwall; collects an army and defeats Lotrin; drowns Hestrude and her child in the Severn, 79 ; defeats Offrin, king of Ireland, 80 ; subdues Camber, king of Wales, 81; dies in Cornwall, 84.

H.

Habraym, daughter of Lotrin and Hestrude, 78 ; drowned in the Severn, 79.
Hamo (Southampton), port of; Hoelus lands at, 358 ; Arthur embarks his army at, 393. *See* Lelius Hamo.
Hantonne (Southampton), port of, 99 ; name given to the place where Lelius Hamo was beheaded, 152.
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Hector, son of King Priam, 40.
Hecuba, wife of Priam, stoned by the Greeks, 44.
Hedfeld, battle fought at, between Caduale and Edwin, 479.
Helaine (Helen), wife of Menelaus ; abduction of, by Paris, 41 ; marries Paris, 41.
Helaine (Helen), daughter of Choel, earl of Leicester, and wife of Constantius, 167 ; goes to Jerusalem to find the cross of Christ, 147.
Helaine, niece of Hoelus, murdered by the Spanish giant, 394.
Helenus, son of Priam, 40 ; prophecies destruction of Troy, 42 ; leaves Troy with his followers ; arrives in Macedonia, where he builds a city called Servothion, 45 ; his followers increase and seek new habitation on the river Ladimo ; build a city called Sycambre, 45.
Heli, king of Britain, father of Lud, Cassibelanus, and Nemynus, 119, 120.
Helidus, son of Morbidus, king of Britain, is surnamed the Piteous, 113 ; chosen king of Britain in place of his brother Argal, 114 ; his meeting with Argal in the forest of Kalateria, 115 ; his stratagem for restoring him to the throne, 115 ; is re-elected king on the death of Argal, 116 ; deposed and imprisoned by his younger brothers, and a third time restored to the throne, 116.
Hemon, sire de Cornwall, husband of Regault, 88.
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Hercules, pillars of, 67.
Hericius (Hencius) builds a new city on the sea coast, 255.
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Hestor, son of Ebrot, 85.
Hestrudis (Hestrude), daughter of Humbert ; has a child by Lotrin, 78 ; is drowned in the Severn, 79.
Hibernie (Ireland), its position to Britain, 37 ; the island of, given by Gragius, king of Britain, to Spaniards, 108 ; the giant's stones in, 311 ; Gillomith, king of, defeated by Uther Pendragon, 313 ; Gillomarus, king of, defeated and subjected by Arthur, 370.
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Hoelus, king of Armorica, son of Dubritius by Arthur's sister, 357 ; lands at the port of Southampton with an army to the assistance of King Arthur, 338 ; accompanies Arthur into Gaul and reduces the Poitevins and Gascons, 376 ; attends the festival at Caerloen, 379 ; speech of, to King Arthur, 388 ; is appointed one of the chiefs of the Briton army, 414 ; his valiant acts on the battle-field, 425, 426 ; is left in command of King Arthur's army in Gaul, 438.
Holdinius, king of the Ruteni, a commander in King Arthur's army, 414 ; killed in battle, 425 ; buried at Bruges in Flanders, 435.
Hombre (Humber), 39.
Hosea. *See* Ozee.
Humbaut, king of Armorica, defeated by Maximus, 173.
Humbert, a Poitevin knight, 68 ; killed by Corineus, 69.
Humbert, king, father of Hestrude, drowned in the river Humber, 77.
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Ictures, Cerxes, king of the, 392 ; Preces, king of the, 421.
Idel, the son of, killed in battle on the side of the Britons, 412.
Ignogent (Inogent), daughter of Pandrasus, king of Greece, married to Brutus, 64.
Illandois (Irish), 177.
Ilregas, nephew of Cassibelanus, killed by Enelinus, 137.
Ilregas (Hilregas), nephew of Beduerus, duke of Normandy, 424.
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Ingenes (Jugenes), 113 ; deposes his brother Helidus, 116.
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Irrelgas de Pareriin, a Briton chief in King Arthur's army, slain in battle, 412.
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Isbert, nephew of the king of France, comes to the assistance of Carenth, 454.
Isis, goddess, evil spirit in image of the, 65.
Israel, people of, 6.
Italie (Italy), Æneas arrives in, 47 ; subjugated by Belinus and Brennus, 102.
Iuorth and Inith, son and nephew of Cadwalader, return to Britain to regain their kingdom of Wales from the Saxons, 499.

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Jahir, judge of Israel, 6.
Janus, first king of Laurentum, 54.
Jason, a Greek commander at the first siege of Troy, 40.
Jehan (John), king of France, mentions defeat of, at Poitiers, 236.
Jennes (Genoa), founded by Antenor, 45.
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Judas, a knight at Queen Gwendoline's court, 81.
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K.

Kaerchon (Caerconan), city of, taken by Aurelius, 304.
Kaercordy (or Caercordy), Merlin the prophet first discovered at, 221.
Kaerlindeoch, Arthur captures the city of, and drives the Saxons from, 358.
Kaerlion (Kaerlus or Chaterlus). *See* Caerleon.
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Kalatere, forest of, 115.
Kalendes dAoust (Calends of August), the Briton army to meet at Barfleur on the, 392.
Kambelinus, king of Britain, son of Tenancius ; the Romans refuse to take tribute from, 148 ; leaves two sons, Guiderius and Arviragus, 149.
Karadeux or Karados (Caradoc), earl of Cornwall, 171.
Karados. *See* Karadeux.
Karcebrac. *See* Ebrot.
Karlud. *See* Lud.

Karo. *See* Gaius.
Karras (Carausius), a freebooter in Britain, proceeds to Rome to disclose the weak condition of Britain; is made captain of the navy by the senate; returns to Britain, 160; ravages the island and its coasts, 161; kills King Basianus in battle and seizes the crown, 162, 163; slain in battle against the Romans under Allectus and Gallus, 163.
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Kidalente, city in Armorica; Caduale arrives at the, 471.
Kilareth, mountain of; the Giant's Circle at the, 311, 313, 315.
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Labienus, a Roman general, killed by Nemynus, 128.
Ladimoe, river in Macedonia, the Trojans make a settlement on the, 45.
Laminth (Wrolant, Verulam), the Saxons defeated at, 349; King Uther poisoned at, 352.
Lancorigan, a giant of Britain, 35.
Langon, son of Ebrot, 85.
Langres, town in Burgundy, taken by Arthur, 435.
Laomedon, king of Troy, father of Priam, Troy besieged in his reign, 40.
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Latin (Latinus), king of the country situate on the Tiber, 48; receives Æneas hospitably, 50; gives his daughter Lavinia in marriage to Æneas, 53.
Latins, unite with the Rutulians and Trojans, 54.
Laurence (Laurentum), city of Latinus, origin of its name, 48; formerly called Lavinum, 48; kingdom of, governed by five kings consecutively to the time of Latinus, 54.
Lavine, daughter of Latinus, 50; espouses Æneas, 53; is left pregnant at Æneas's death, has a son named Silvius Posthumus, 54.
Lavine (Lavinum). *See* Laurence.
Lavinon (Lavinium). *See* Æneas.
Lavinus, son of King Latinus, 48.
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Leir, son of Bructus Vert Esca, builds the city of Caerleir or Carduil, has a son, Rahudibras, 86.
Leir, king of Britain, son of Bladus, builds the city of Caerleir, now called Leicester, has three daughters, 87; his test of his daughters' affection towards him, 88; cruel treatment of, by the two elder ones, 88; his lamentation on his fate, 89; quits his country and goes to Gaul, 90; regains his kingdom, 91; dies at Leicester, 91.
Lelius Homo, or Hamo, a Roman knight, accompanies Claudius in his invasion of Britain, murders Guiderius, 150; is beheaded by Arviragus at a place named after him, Hampton, 152.
Leniar, son of Ebrot, 85.
Leodegaris, duke of Boulogne, 379; killed in battle, 425.
Leogetie, island of, Brutus discovers, 64.
Leominus, cousin of Constantine, whom he accompanies to Rome, has a son named Maximian (Maximus), 169.
Leonye, province of, given to the Saxons by Gurmond, 457.
Levant, Waleran de Wavrin sent by Philip of Burgundy with a naval force to the, 2.

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Lincole (Lincoln), Alexandre, bishop of; the letter of Geoffrey of Monmouth to, 226.
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Lindicolnie or Lindisferenze (Lincoln), the serpent of, in Merlin's prophecies. 268; the province of, near the mountain of Locate; the Saxons driven from by Arthur, 358.
Linligault, district of Wales, near the Severn sea, 368.
Linsoye, Linsonie or Luisoye, district given to Englist by Vortigern, 193.
Locate, mountain of, 358.
Lodrin. *See* Londres.
Logres. *See* Logria.
Logria. *See* Lotrin.
Loirre, Brutus anchors in the river, 68; descends the, 73.
Lombards, 284; the generations of, descended from Antenor, 45.
Lombardy, cities, towns, and castles built in, by Antenor, 45; objection of the women of, to intermarry with Trojans, 86.
Lomond. *See* Lynoyoth.
Londonie, called an island in the prophecies of Merlin, 254.
Londonne. *See* Londres.
Londres, Tour de, 116.
Londres (Lodrin or Londonne), London, 87, 116, 120, 457.
Lorraine, subjugated by Maximus, 174.
Loth, duke of Londonesye (London), marries Anne, daughter of King Uther, and takes the command of the army, 344; father of Gavain and Mordreth, 369.
Lotrin, eldest son of Brutus, holds the portion of Britain called Logria; is enamoured of Hestrude, 77; is compelled by Corineus to marry his daughter Gwendoline; begets a daughter by Hestrude, 78; is slain in battle against his wife Gwendoline, 79.
Lucan, quotation from, as to Cæsar's defeat, 143; referred to for a history of the civil war, 147.
Luces (Lucius), king of Britain, 156; is the first British king baptized, 157; dies at Gloucester, 157.
Lucius. *See* Cesar, Lucius Tyberius.
Lud, son of Heli, king of Britain, alters the names of Trinovant to Caerlud, 120; builds the gate called after him Ludgate; has two sons, Androgenes and Tenantius, 121.
Ludesgastee (Ludgate). *See* Lud.
Ludo. *See* Porrex.
Luor, son of Ebrot, 85.
Lupidus Marius, a Roman general, 392 killed in battle, 425.
Lynoyoth (Lomond), lake of; Arthur defeats the Scots and Irish in the, 366.

M.

Machedoine (Macedonia), country of, Helenus arrives in the, 45.
Maddam (Madan), son of Lotrin and Gwendoline, 79; is crowned king; has two sons, Memprisius and Malins; dies after reigning 40 years, 84.
Magaduc, son of Ebrot, king of Britain, 85.
Magaunius, bishop of Leicester, 383.
Magentius, a philosopher at Vortigern's court in Wales, 223.
Makanie, the island of, discovered by Brutus, 67.
Malannoy. *See* Wavrin.
Malgo, surnamed le Bel, king of Britain, 452.
Malgon, king of the Venedotians, 449.
Malins. *See* Malvis.
Malo (also called Ruial), son of Cunedrages, king of Britain, 92; wonderful phenomena in the reign of, 93.
Malvasius, king of Iceland, attends the festival at Caerleon, 379.
Malvis (Malins), son of Maddam, 84; kills his brother and becomes king; is devoured by wolves, 85.
Manatrie. *See* Diodicias.

Manissa, or Manussa, king of Babylon, joins the Roman army, 392 ; killed in battle, 425.
Manoisse de Cardoricanense, a Briton chief in King Arthur's army, slain in battle, 412.
Mans, Borellus, duke of, 379.
Marcellus Nucius, a Roman slain by Gavain, 404.
Margaduc. *See* Nargadul.
Margan, son of Maugladus, king of Scotland, and Goneril, 92 ; history of, according to Wace, 92.
Margan, king of Britain, son of Helidus, 117.
Maroch (Morocco), the straits of, Albine arrives in, 31.
Maron de Giungoreux (Mauron of Worcester), 378.
Mars, helmet of, referred to in Merlin's prophecies, 277.
Marye, queen of Britain, author of the Marian law translated into the Briton tongue by Amires, 111.
Maugladus, king of Scotland, husband of Agornorilla, seizes the kingdom of Britain from Leir, 88 ; conquered and deposed by Leir and his daughter Cordelia, 91.
Maulz, duke of. *See* Mans.
Maurius, cousin of King Constantine, accompanies him to Rome, 168.
Maurius, king of Britain, defeats Rodrit, king of the Picts, 155 ; sets up on the battle field the stone of Destiny, 155.
Maxence (Maxentius), also called Maximien, sent by Dioclesian to persecute the Christians of the west, 165 ; emperor of Rome, 168 ; deposed by Constantine, 169.
Maxentius. *See* Mezencius.
Maximien (Maximus), son of Leominus, 169 ; is chosen successor to Ostones, king of Britain, 171 ; departs from Rome and arrives in Britain, 172 ; defeats Conan, who opposes him, 172 ; conquers the country of Armorica, and bestows it on Conan, 173 ; overpowers Gratian and
Maximien—*cont.*
Valentinian and seizes the empire of Rome, 174 ; killed in Aquileia, 177.
Maximien. *See* Maxence.
Mede (Media), Diodicias king of, 6 ; Bocto, king of, 423.
Melga. *See* Gavianus.
Membrius. *See* Memprisius.
Memprisius (or Membrius), son of Maddam, killed by his brother Malvis, 84.
Menalipe, 17.
Menbritius, a knight in the army of Brutus, counsel of, to Brutus, 63.
Menelaus, husband of Helen, 42.
Menie (Menevia), city of, Pascent and Gillomith land at, 321.
Mens. *See* Mans.
Meralis. *See* Diodicias.
Mercurius, god worshipped by the Saxons, 190 ; called in their language Woden, 191 ; the planet, reference to, in Merlin's prophecies, 277.
Merencius (Mezentius), 51.
Merencoriens (Mercians), Penda, king of, 478; Abaed and Edbred, dukes of the, 486.
Merian, king of Britain, 118.
Merlin Ambroise, discovered by Vortigern's messengers at Kaercordy ; his quarrel with Dinabuch ; is brought, with his mother, before the king, 221 ; evinces his prophetical power, 224 ; commences his prophecies, 229; concludes them, 289; is sent for by Aurelius to Salisbury, 309; accompanies Uther to Ireland for the Giant's Circle, 312 ; raises the stones, 316; prophesies the birth of his children to Uther, 327 ; transforms Uther Pendragon into the form of the Duke Gorlois, and accompanies him in the form of Briselle, a servant of the duke, 338.
Mese, province of, 106.
Mesopotamie. *See* Diodicias.
Mezentius. *See* Merencius.
Minerve, goddess, temple of the ; the palladium in the, 43; temple of the, in the city of Bath, 87.
Montdaguet, castle of. *See* Ebrot.

Mont Senis, Gaul subjugated by Belinus as far as, 102.
Morane, mountain of, 238.
Moray (Mureith or Murefrensie), province and city of, Arthur pursues the Saxons to, 365; Urianus, king of, 369.
Morbidus, king of Britain, defeats the Morianes and kills their king, 112; is swallowed by a sea monster, 113.
Morcymer. *See* Vortimer.
Mordreth, son of Loth, and nephew of Arthur, 369; appointed Regent by Arthur, 393; violates Queen Guenever, 436; allies himself with Cerirain, king of the Saxons, 439; defeated by Arthur at Nirutupith, 440; a second time at Winchester, 442; slain by Arthur, 445.
Morius, son of Ebrot, king of Britain, 85.
Mortaigne, port of, Brutus arrives at the, 73.
Morulth (Morvith or Morville), earl of Gloucester, 378; commands a legion, 432; attacks the Romans in their rear, and causes their defeat, 443.
Murefrensie. *See* Moray.
Mureith. *See* Moray.
Murith, city in Northumberland founded by Julius Cæsar; Oswald pursued by Cadwale to, 481.

N.

Nargadul (Margaduc), king of the Demetians, opposes Ethelfrid, king of Northumbria, 461.
Nemynus (or Enemyon), brother of Cassibelanus, 120; dies of wounds received from Julius Cæsar, 130.
Neptunus, the god, 31, 32.
Neustrie. *See* Northmandie.
Nirutupith, port of, battle fought at the, between Arthur and Mordrith, 440.
Noirroys (Norwegians), under Brennus are defeated by Belinus, 98; join Gavianus and Melga, 177.
Norcymer. *See* Vortimer.
Norgalles (North Wales), 126. *See* Venedocia.
Norgusie. *See* Norwegue.
Northmandie, duke of; referred to in Merlin's prophecies, 259.
Northmandye (also called Neustria), subjugated by Cæsar, 123; prophecy respecting, 235, 236; province bestowed on Beduerus, constable of King Arthur, 376.
Northmans, one of the nations which inhabited Britain, 39; name of London changed by the, 120
Nostre Dame. *See* Forlonus.
Northumberlande (or Northumbrie), land of, possessed by Brennus, 95; Gurlat of Denmark driven to, by storm, 97; Ethelfrid, king of, slaughters the monks of Bangor, 461; Edwinus takes possession of his land of, 468; land of, laid waste by Caduale, 481; Oswald succeeds Edwinus in, 482; Oswy succeeds Oswald in, 485.
Norvins. *See* Offrin.
Norwegue (Norgusie, Norway), kingdom of, Brennus arrives in the, 96; subjugated by Arthur, 372.

O.

Oceane, the sea, 37.
Ocestre (Exeter?), Vespasian assails the city of, 154.
Octavien (Octavius), Rome is mistress of the world under, 122.
Octherilz, one of King Arthur's chiefs, slain in battle, 446.
Octius Silius, king of Britain, 119.
Offrid (Osric), brother of King Edwin, slain in battle against Caduale, 482.
Offrid (Osfrid), son of King Edwin, killed by Caduale, 481.

Offrin, king of Ireland, 79; invades Britain, landing at the town of Norvius, defeated and beheaded by Gwendoline, 80.
Orcades or Orcaine (Orkneys), the isles, Gragius meets with the Spanish exiles in, 108 ; subjugated by King Arthur, 370.
Orion. *See* Oroyson.
Orithya, mother of Penthesilea, 17.
Orobenie, duke of (Dorobernia), 378.
Oroyson (Orion), the flaming sword of, 277 ; interpretation of prophecy of, 278.
Orsus, brother of Englist. *See* Cocta.
Osce (Uske), river, prophecy respecting the, 249.
Osric. *See* Offrid.
Ostencius Lesius, a Roman general, commands a division, 421.
Ostones, duke of Wales, seizes the crown of Britain on the departure of Constantine, 169 ; defeats Trahen, who is sent over by Constantine to Britain, 169 ; is defeated by Trahen and flees to Compert, king of Norway, for aid, 170 ; returns to Britain and resumes the crown, 170 ; bequeaths it to Maximus, and gives him his daughter in marriage, 172.
Ostun (Autun), city in Burgundy, 284 ; the Romans encamp in, 401 ; taken by Arthur, 435.
Osuuath (Oswald), king of Northumberland, 232 ; reference to, in Merlin's prophecies, 232; defeats Penda at Heldefeld, 481; defeated and slain at Burne, 482.
Osuuath (Oswy), brother to Oswald, succeeds to the kingdom of Northumberland, 483 ; defeats and slays Penda, 486 ; makes peace with Caduale, 486.
Oswald. *See* Osuuath.
Oswy. *See* Osuuath.
Ourselle (Ursula), daughter of Ajonet, king of Britain, betrothed to Conan, king of Armorica, 174 ; is, on her voyage to Armorica, driven by a storm into Germany, is beheaded at Cologne, 176.
Ovide, Æneas's death described by, 54.
Oxford. *See* Bessonus.
Ozee (Hosea), king of Israel, 92.

P.

Pade (Padua), city founded by Antenor, Antenor buried at, 45.
Pague, the Saxons march towards, 360.
Palatin Mount. *See* Pallante.
Palladion. *See* Minerve.
Pallante (Pallanteum), city built by Evander on Mount Palatin, 51.
Pallas, son of Evander, slain by Turnus, 51 ; Æneas shrouds the body of, 53
Pampainsal, king of Britain, 119.
Pandrasus, king of Greece, holds the exiled Trojans in slavery, 57 ; collects an army, is defeated by Brutus, 59 ; Brutus takes prisoner, 62 ; Brutus marries the daughter of, 64.
Pandrasus, king of Egypt, joins the Roman army, 392 ; commands the second battalion, 421.
Panthafillee, or Phanthasilee (Penthesilea), 17 ; killed at Troy, 43.
Pardon, son of Ebrot, 85.
Paris, son of Priam, 40 ; is sent with other nobles and an army into Greece to avenge the dishonour of Hesione, 40 ; lands at the island of Cytherea, 41 ; carries off Helen, wife of Menelaus, 42 ; marries Helen, 42.
Parys (Paris), city of, the Roman prisoners conducted to, 409. *See also* under Forlonus.
Pascent, son of Vortigern, 200 ; joins Vortimer against their father, kills his brother Catigern in battle, 206 ; having fled to Germany, incites the Saxons to invade Britain, 319 ; is defeated by Aurelius and escapes to Ireland, 321 ; allies himself with King Gillomith and invades Britain, 321 ; defeated by Uther Pendragon and slain, 327.
Pasie, the isles of, 153.
Peandath (Penda), king of the Mercians, 478 ; taken prisoner and does homage to King Caduale, 479 ; defeated by Oswald at Heldefeld, 481 ; slain at Winnerdfeld, 486.

Pelagiens, heresy of the, 202.
Peleus, a Greek commander at the siege of Troy, 40.
Pelus (Pelias), king of Thessaly, sends Jason to the isle of Colchis, 40.
Pellicus, King Edwin's sorcerer, 468; killed by Brianus, 476.
Penda. *See* Peandath.
Pentecouste, feast of, held by Aurelius at Mount Ambrith, 317; held by Arthur at Caerleon, 377
Peredruth Maberidurth, 378.
Peredur, 113; joins his brother Ingenes and deposes Helidus, 116.
Perse (Persia). *See* Diodicias.
Petroiis, king of Libya, a commander in the Roman army, 421.
Phanthasilee. *See* Panthafillee.
Phantholus, leader of Spanish exiles from Blace, receives from King Gragius the land of Hibernia, 108.
Phanus, fourth king of Laurentum, 54.
Phœbus, god worshipped by the Saxons, 190.
Piccus. *See* Picus.
Picus (Piccus, or Putris), third king of Laurentum, 54.
Picz (Picts), under their king Rodrit, defeated by the Britons, 155; defeated by Englist, 193.
Pie-de-Plomb. *See* Galles.
Pieronne, river; reference to, in the Prophecies of Merlin, 243.
Piger, a British baron, 94.
Pir, king of Britain, 119.
Pirus (Pyrrhus), son of Achilles, kills Priam, 44.
Poitevins, people of Poitiers, defeated by Brutus, 69; history of the, 70; Guidart, duke of the, subdued by Hoelus, 376.
Poitiers, Brutus arrives in, 68.
Poitou, Brutus passes the kingdom of, 68.
Polixena, daughter of Priam, killed by Pirus, 44.
Pollicetes, duke of Vithinie (Bithynia), a commander in the Roman army, 421.
Pollidamas, son of Anthenor, 43.
Pollus (Pollux), 40.
Pompee (Pompey), is sent by the Roman senate to the East, 122; refuses Cæsar a triumph, 147.
Porcestre (Porchester), besieged by Claudius, 152.
Porrex, son of Gabogdo, kills his brother Ferrex in battle, is slain by his mother Ludo, 93.
Porrex, king of Britain, 118.
Portineuses (Portunians), duke of the, 391.
Portunians. *See* Portineuses.
Preces, king of the Icturi, a commander in the Roman army, 421.
Priant (Priam), son of Laomedon, 40; sends Antenor to treat with the princes of Greece, 41; is slain by Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, 44.
Priant (Priam), younger son of King Priam, accompanies Helenus in his flight from Troy, 45.
Procimail (Brocmail), earl of Leicester (? Chester), defeated by Ethelfrid, king of Northumberland, 461.
Pridgem, the shield of King Arthur, 362.
Prosana. *See* Gabius.
Pudis, king of Lesser Britain. *See* Aureluis.
Puille (Apulia), conquered by Belinus, 102.
Putris. *See* Picus.
Pyramus, chaplain of King Arthur, 369.

Q.

Queux, le Seneschal, steward of King Arthur's household, commands a division of the army, 414.
Quinotus Lempritenensis (Cynoc of Llanpatern), bishop, made archbishop of Caerleon, 449.
Quintilien, Roman governor of Gaul, 402; slain by Gavain, 403.
Quintius Millius. *See* Catyllus.

R.

Rahudibras, son of Leir, 86; builds the cities of Canterbury and Winchester and the castle of Chester, has a son named Blaudus, 87.
Rangeuth, son of Bethli, 474.
Reculfus, a Norwegian baron, made king by the people, defeated and slain by Arthur, 372.
Redel, king of Britain, 119.
Regault, daughter of King Leir, 87; married to the duke of Cornwall, 88.
Regin, son of Ebrot, 85.
Reguith Mathgluth, 378.
Rehoboam. *See* Robboam.
Remus, brother of Romulus, founds the city of Rome, 92.
Richedent. *See* Bessonus.
Richomacus, a Briton baron in King Arthur's army, slain in battle, 426.
Richonne, a giant, slain by Arthur on Mount Armo, 399.
Ritherith (Kitherith), a Briton earl, 409, 411.
Robboam (Rehoboam), 284.
Rodeths. *See* Ruteni.
Rodrit, king of the Picts, slain in battle by Maurius, king of the Britons, 155.
Romarus, king of Britain, 112.
Rommains (Romans), 1; refuse aid to the Britons, land in Britain under Severus and defeat the Picts and Scots, 158; defeated by King Arthur, 422.
Romme, subjugated by Belinus and Brennus, 103.
Romme, or Rommenie (Rome), 48; sacked and destroyed by Belinus and Brennus, 105.
Rommenel (Romney), port of, Cæsar disembarks at, 141.
Rommenie. *See* Romme.
Romulus, cotemporary with King Bladus, 87; Rome built by, 92.
Ronixe, daughter of Englist, 199; married to King Vortigern, 200.
Routh, the lance of King Arthur, 362.
Rugat (or Rudat), a British baron, 94.
Ruial. *See* Malo.
Ruith, son of Malgo, 474.
Runo, son of Peredur, king of Britain, 117.
Rus, son of Ebrot, 85.
Rutelliens (Rutulians), unite with the Latins and Trojans, 54.
Ruteni (Rodeths, Ruthenes), duke of the, 391; Holdinius, king of, 414.

S.

Sabrine (Severn), river of Britain, 39; origin of the name of, 79; prophecy respecting the, 249.
Sagitaire (Sagittarius), sign of, prophecy respecting the, 278.
Saint Aaron, church of, founded at Caerleon, 378.
Saint Amphibal, church of, the son of Mordreth killed in the, 450.
Saint Augustin, called the preacher of Ireland, by Merlin, 231; sent to Britain by Pope Gregory, 459; seeks the assistance of the Briton clergy to preach to the Saxons, is opposed by them under their abbot Clincorth, 459; goes to Ethelbert, king of the Kentmen, 460.
Saint Graal. *See* Artus.
Saint July Martir, church of, founded at Caerleon, 377.
Saint Germain, bishop of Auxerre, sent to Britain to preach Christianity, 202.
Saint Katerine, put to death by Maxentius, 168.
Saint Leu (St. Lupus), bishop of Troyes (Treves), 202.
Saint Michiel, Mont de, combat of Arthur and the Spanish giant on, 394.
Saint Pierre (St. Peter the Apostle), preaches at Antioch, 153; monastery of, in Demetia, Merlin's mother a nun in the, 222.
Saint Venant. *See* Wavrin.

Salsebric, or Salsebrith (Salisbury), also called Caercaradoc, Aurelius goes to, 309 ; Constantine interred in the circle of stones near, 450.
Salicius. *See* Circilius.
Sallemon, king of Lesser Britain, receives Cadwale and Edwin at his court, 464 ; Caduale flees to the protection of, 469 ; speech of to Caduale, 471.
Samuel, the prophet, Elideth, bishop of Gloucester, refers to, 305.
Sanson, appointed archbishop of York, 317 ; resigns his office, 383.
Sardicia, king of Damascus, husband of Albine, 23 ; murder of, by Albine, 26.
Satratur (David ?), uncle of Arthur, made archbishop of Caerleon, 383.
Saturne (or Saturnus), god worshipped by the Saxons, 190 ; planet, prophecy respecting the, 281.
Saturnus, second king of Laurentum, 54.
Saul, first king of the Hebrews, 76.
Saumis (Ebbsfleet), port of, Englist lands at, 189.
Saverne (Severn), valley of, Arviragus marries the daughter of Claudius in the, 153.
Saxone or Saxongne (Saxony), Englist, prince of, 6; Englist arrives in Britain from, 190.
Saxons, one of the nations formerly occupying Britain, 39; land in Britain under Englist, 190; aid Vortigern in defeating the Picts, 193; expelled from the island by Vortimer, 207; return to Britain under Englist, 212; gain possession of the country, 218; defeated and driven to York by Aurelius, 504; surrender to Aurelius, 306 ; Aurelius grants the Marches of Scotland to the, 307; invade Britain under Pascent, 320; league with King Gillomith of Ireland, 321; defeated and dispersed by Uther, 349; besieged by Arthur in York, 354; expelled from Britain by Arthur, 359; break their promise to him and return to Britain, land at Totnes and lay waste the country, 360; their army destroyed by
Saxons—*cont.*
Cadore, duke of Cornwall, 365; join Gurmund, king of Africa, against Catherick, 453 ; the greater part of Britain given to the, 457; occupy Britain, 495; Alestang, duke of the, first Saxon king in Britain, 500.
Scater, a British baron calling himself king of Scotland, 94.
Scault, king of the Demecians, 378.
Sceva, son of Androgenes, 141.
Schepars, or Oschepars (Uske), river, city of Caerleon built on the, 106.
Scicilius. *See* Circilius.
Scorus, king of Lybia, joins the Roman army, 392.
Sebille (Sybilline), verses of, 498.
Segius (Seguin), duke of Sens in Burgundy, marries his daughter to Brenius, 99.
Seguin. *See* Segius.
Sens, duke of, assists Cordelia in her wars with her nephews, 92; Brennus is made duke of, 99; a prince in King Arthur's army, 391. *See also* Segius.
Separatin, castle held by Brutus against Pandrasus, 59.
Serahent (Stonehenge), Giant's circle of stones, called, 450.
Sertorius, king of Libya, a commanders in the Roman army, 410.
Servothion, city built by Helenus in Macedonia, 45.
Sever (Severus), sent from Rome to quell the Britons, builds a great trench between Scotland and Britain, 158; is killed before York, 159.
Sicie, or Scicie (Scythia), Rodrit, king of the Picts, invades Scotland from, 155. *See also* Amazons.
Siesia, valley of, the Roman emperor has to pass through the, 413; surprised and defeated by Arthur, 433.
Silenus. *See* Sylvius Posthumus.
Silius, king of Britain, 112.
Silius, son of Ebrot, 85.
Silinus. *See* Silvius.

Silvain Mauricius, a Roman general commands a battalion, 421.
Sineachil, king of Denmark, a commander in King Arthur's army, 414.
Sirie (Syria), Diodicias, king of, 6.
Soar. *See* Sorre.
Sorre (Soar), river, Leicester built on, by King Leir, 87.
Southampton. *See* Hamo.
Spaden, son of Ebrot, 85.
Stilbon d'Achadie, referred to in the prophecies of Merlin, 277.
Suars or Thoras, a Poitevin knight, killed by Corineus, 70.
Subgalleys. *See* Demetoires.
Subuculus Suspicius, a Roman general, 421.
Suhart, king of Gaul, gives assistance to Ferrex against his brother Porrex, 93.
Supicius (Simplicius?), Pope, 372.
Surmesetense (Somerset), province of, the Saxons invade the, 360.
Sybilline verses. *See* Sebille.
Sycambre, city built by the Trojans in Macedonia, 45.
Sychelinus, king of Norway, 372.
Sylenus Postmus. *See* Silvius Posthumus.
Sylimon, king of Lombardy, 86.
Sylvius Posthumus, son of Æneas by Lavinia, 55.
Syrie (Syria), Diodicias, king of, 6; Evander, king of, 393.

T.

Tamise (Thames), river, 39; Cæsar anchors in the, 126; brings his ships up the, 133; his ships founder in the, 133; prophecy respecting the, 263.
Tenancius, son of Lud, 121; accompanies Cassibelanus to battle, 126; is crowned king of Britain, 148.
Ternovant. *See* Trinovant.
Teucher, king of Phrygia (Frige), joins the Roman army, 392; commands the fourth battalion, 421.
Theodoceus, archbishop of York, hides in the woods in Wales, 458.
Theomis (Theon), bishop of Gloucester, elected archbishop of London, 449; seeks refuge from the Saxons in the woods of Wales, 458.
Tintagol, castle of. *See* Ygerne.
Tirianne (Tyrian), the sea, Brutus enters, 67.
Titus Livius, death of Æneas according to, 55.
Thalamon (Telamon), is a commander at the first siege of Troy, 40.
Tharse (Tarsus), city of, Diodicias, king of Syria, holds a festival at the, 8.
Thedric (Cedric), duke of Germany, invades Britain in aid of the Saxons, 356; defeated and slain at the isle of Thanet, 365.
Theodosius. *See* Theosien.
Theosien (Theodosius), king, allies himself to Valentinian, attacks Maximus in Aquileia, 177.
Thernant. *See* Bruges.
Theseus, king of Greece, Diodicias cotemporary with, 6.
Thezelinus, a prophet in the time of Cymbeline, 148.
Thimemarcus, king of Britain, 93.
Thir (Tyre), city of, 14; judgment passed on Albine and her sisters at, 28.
Thoras. *See* Suars.
Toscane (Tuscany), duke of, Turnus, 51; subjugated by Belinus, 102.
Totnes. *See* Conthonisiens.
Tour d'Ordre (tower of Order), built by Cæsar at Boulogne, whence he saw the coasts of Britain, 123.
Tours, a town of Touraine, at which Brutus arrives, 70; so called from Turnus, cousin of Brutus, 72.
Trahen, cousin of Constantine, accompanies him to Rome, despatched against Ostones, king of Britain, 169; slain in Britain, 170.
Treves. *See* Troye.
Triballiens, people of Greece, 110.
Trinovant (Troy Nouvelle, or Nove), name given to the first town built by Brutus in the island of Britain, 76.

Troceamors (Croceamors?), name of Cæsar's sword, 130.
Troiens (Trojans), 1; under Antenor arrive at Venice, 45; under Æneas at Carthage, 46.
Troye-la-restoree, city built by Æneas in Sicily, 47.
Troye (Treves), Maximus holds his regal seat at, 174.
Troyes (Troy), 36; the Greeks lay siege to, 42.
Troylus, son of King Priam, 41, 43.
Turcs, 2.
Turnus, duke of Tuscany, 50; leads his forces against Æneas, 51; is defeated by Æneas, 52; killed by Æneas, 53.
Tybere (Tiberius). *See* Cesar, Lucius Tiberius.
Tybre (Tiber), river, Æneas arrives in the, 48.
Tyrian sea, Brutus enters, 67.

U.

Ulfrid, son of Penda, succeeds to the kingdom of Northumberland, 488.
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